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THE ORIGINS OF OLD GERMANIC STUDIES IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

BY

KEES DEKKER



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In conclusion, let me refer to Alexander Pope's famous commonplace: "Whoever thinks a faultless piece to see, thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er shall be" (*Essay on Criticism* II, 253–254). I apologize for any errors remaining in this book; they are entirely my own responsibility.

Het heeft den Alwijsen God gelieft dat licht, soo langh als onder een
corenmate gestolpt geweest zijnde, in onse dagen op den Kandelaer
der waerheijt te doen verheffen door het te voorschijn comen
van de Gotse ofte *der Gotten Euangelien*.

Jan van Vliet, *'t Vader ons in xx oude Duytse en Noordse taelen, met d'uytleggingen,*
etc. ([Dordrecht], 1664), a1^v.

‘In our day and age, it has pleased the omniscient God to raise this
light, which for so long had been covered as if under a bushel,
to the chandelier of truth, by the appearance of
the Gothic (or the Goths’) Gospels.’

Cupio certè refelli, atque ab ipsis dissentientibus, si non perspicuè vera,
saltem veri simillima edoceri: neque enim aliâ mente ad hujus
Commentationis exercitium accessi, nisi ut magis
magisque explicetur Veritas.

Francis Junius, *Observationes in Willeram Abbatis Francicam paraphrasin cantici*
canticorum (Amsterdam, 1655), [π8^{r+v}].

‘I certainly desire to be refuted, even by those who hold different
opinions, and to be taught, if not the plain truth, at least what
is most probable, for I have not embarked on this exercise
of my commentary with any other intention than that
the truth should become more and more unravelled.’

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABäG</i>	<i>Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Bredaesche almanac</i>
<i>BC</i>	<i>Bredaesche chronijck</i>
<i>BGS</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft</i>
<i>BNB</i>	<i>Biographie nationale de Belgique</i>
<i>BWN</i>	<i>Biografisch woordenboek der Nederlanden</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>ELN</i>	<i>English Language Notes</i>
<i>FG</i>	Van Vliet's glossary of Old Frisian (Lambeth Palace, MS 783, ff. 91 ^v –126 ^v)
<i>FLH</i>	<i>Folia Linguistica Historia</i>
<i>HL</i>	<i>Historiographia Linguistica</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
<i>J109</i>	Van Vliet's notes in MS Junius 109
<i>KI</i>	Van Vliet's notes in Kiliaan's <i>Etymologicum</i>
<i>LA</i>	Lambeth Palace Manuscript 783
<i>LJF</i>	Libri juridici in folio
<i>LJQ</i>	Libri juridici in quarto
<i>LMD</i>	Libri miscellanei in duodecimo
<i>LMF</i>	Libri miscellanei in folio
<i>LMO</i>	Libri miscellanei in octavo
<i>LMQ</i>	Libri miscellanei in quarto
<i>MA</i>	Van Vliet's notes in MS Marshall 60
<i>MR</i>	Van Vliet's notes in Merula's edition of <i>Willeram</i>
<i>NNBW</i>	<i>Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>OW</i>	Van Vliet's notes in Junius's <i>Observationes</i>
<i>PBB</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Paul und Braune's Beiträge)</i>
<i>PRA</i>	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>PV</i>	Van Vliet's planned annotated edition of Frisian proverbs (Lambeth Palace, MS 783, ff. 379 ^r –387 ^v)
<i>RS</i>	<i>'t Recht van successie</i>
<i>RU</i>	Van Vliet's notes in Worm's <i>RUNIR</i>
<i>SO</i>	Van Vliet's annotations in his copy of Somner's <i>Dictionarium</i>
<i>TNTL</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal en letterkunde</i>
<i>VO</i>	<i>'t Vader ons</i>
<i>ZdA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur</i>
<i>VMKAW</i>	<i>Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen</i>
<i>VMKVATL</i>	<i>Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde</i>
<i>WNT</i>	<i>Woordenboek der Nederlandse taal</i>

INTRODUCTION

The study of the Old Germanic languages saw its first heyday in the Low Countries, in the period between the last quarter of the sixteenth and the last quarter of the seventeenth centuries. During this time, a variety of scholars from diverse backgrounds tried their hands at what was an unorthodox subject. One of these pioneers of Old Germanic studies was the seventeenth-century Dutch lawyer and a philologist Jan van Vliet, otherwise known as Janus Vlitius (1622–1666), who studied the Old Germanic languages during the last decade of his life. In this book, I aim to provide an analysis of Jan van Vliet's work on Old Germanic languages which is centred around his *modus operandi*, and the relation of his work to contemporary theories. The resulting conclusions will be compared with the methods and opinions of his contemporaries, especially those of Francis Junius (1590–1677), in order that we might gain a better view of Van Vliet as a philologist in the context of seventeenth-century Germanic philological studies in the Netherlands and surrounding countries. This study is, of necessity, exploratory, since there are no monographs taking a comparative approach to Jan van Vliet, or to any other Germanic philologist from the Low Countries. Recent publications on Van Vliet, as well as on Old Germanic studies in the Low Countries, are both scarce and incomplete.

The issues fundamental to this study are roughly divided into two main groups. The first group has to do with the life and work of Jan van Vliet. It is true that Jan van Vliet's work on Old Germanic language studies has not been entirely neglected, but scholarly attention to his work has been sketchy. Although the present studies form an important contribution to the image of Van Vliet as a Germanic philologist, his work as a whole has been left out of account up to now. Recently, Bremmer's investigations in the library of Leiden University and the Provincial Library of Friesland have brought previously unknown material to light. Moreover, only part of Van Vliet's surviving correspondence has been published. As a result, we only have a very incomplete picture of the philologist Jan van Vliet's work on Old Germanic languages. If we are to obtain an overall vision of his achievements it is essential for us to know exactly what material he studied, how he approached his material, what sources he used, what he published, and how his study of Old Germanic languages related to the events and achievements of the rest of his life.

A second group of questions involves the relation between Van Vliet's activities and those of his contemporaries and predecessors, and the place of Van Vliet within the historiography of Old Germanic language studies. This last requires an insight into the nature of the background of his studies as well as into the influence of contemporary scholars, and in particular a detailed evaluation of Van Vliet's dependence on Francis Junius. However, there has not been much historiographical attention to the works of other scholars from the Low Countries who were active in Old Germanic language studies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The greatest of them, Francis Junius, has been studied in the Netherlands only for his accomplishment in Gothic and on account of his work on Frisian. Other contemporaneous Dutch scholars working on Old Germanic languages have received even less attention. Johannes de Laet, whose correspondence with the English antiquarian John Morris has been the subject of a doctoral dissertation, has only rarely been mentioned in other publications. Much-needed research into the Old Germanic studies of Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn and the Flemish scholar Olivarius Vredius has yet to be carried out.

The relation between Old Germanic studies in the Low Countries in the seventeenth century and similar studies in the preceding century is also scarcely documented. Even the onset of Middle Dutch studies in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been virtually disregarded by historiographers of Dutch studies. Similar lacunae can be observed in the field of interdisciplinary connections. Relations between Old Germanic language studies and contemporary trends in the elevation and standardization of the vernacular, antiquarian activities, the study of indigenous law, Oriental language studies, and the study of grammar have only been summarily investigated.

1. The state of the art

It is only comparatively recently that philologists working on the study of Old Germanic languages before Rasmus Rask (1787–1832), Franz Bopp (1791–1867), and Jakob Grimm (1785–1863) have received much historiographical attention. From a modern point of view the work of earlier Germanic philologists was considered to be neither “scientific”, as

Van de Velde termed it,¹ nor a contribution to comparative linguistics. At the same time, these pre-nineteenth century scholars were not considered to be historians, for, although they unearthed and studied historically relevant texts, they did not aim to explain historical data. For various reasons, the study of Old Germanic languages did not play a role in the historiography of linguistics either. There were few interfaces between the grammatical description of Latin and the earliest investigations into vernacular languages. Comparisons between dead languages have nothing to do with language production or language behaviour. Moreover, in the study of Old Germanic languages, grammar was mostly left out of account. There was, as yet, no question of a systematic approach to the study of etymology.

The first genuine historiographical attention paid to the history of Old Germanic studies is to be seen in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a period in which it was common practice to give prominence to scholars whose work related to the national concerns. The best example is Von Raumer's *Geschichte der germanische Philologie*, published in 1870, one year before the recreation of the German Empire. Later studies were more modern than those of their predecessors in that they were more detailed and better documented, but there was still a tendency to compare the opinions and achievements of earlier scholars with present-day insights and methods, while historiographical assessment in a contemporaneous perspective featured less prominently.

Only in the last twenty years has the history of Old Germanic studies been approached from a more modern perspective. It is particularly in the field of sixteenth-century Old English studies that a great deal of work has been done. Scholars and their works have been reviewed in a contemporaneous context, sometimes even in relation to modern critical theories. With the help of modern methods and techniques, manuscripts, books, and correspondence have been critically reviewed.² Although scholars of Old High German have also recently received attention, they have not been studied as profoundly as the pioneers of Old English scholarship. Older Scandinavian studies have received even less attention.

¹ On the concept of "scientific" in relation to language studies, see R.G. van de Velde, "The Concept of Scientific in the Development of the Language Sciences", in *In Memoriam Friedrich Diez...*, Hans-Josef Nedderhede and Harald Haarman eds. (Amsterdam, 1976), 395–403. See also R.H. Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics* (London, 1979), 170–171.

² See for example the contributions by Rolf H. Bremmer Jr., Angelika Lutz, Richard Harris, E.G. Stanley, Carl T. Berkhout, and M. Sue Hetherington.

A comparative approach to the historiography of Old Germanic language studies has not been attempted, so far. Even the best modern studies have left this comparative aspect out of account. For example, the place of Old English in the paradigm of Germanic languages and its function as the ancestor not only of English but also of the language of the Low Countries remains unexplained in conventional histories of the English language. The strong interrelation between various languages, ideas and scholars in Jan van Vliet's work will demonstrate that such a comparative approach is essential for our understanding of the historiography of Old Germanic language studies in this period.

2. Methodological considerations

The exploratory nature of this study meant that there was no hard-and-fast method to apply. I have therefore tried to adopt various methodological principles from the historiography of linguistics, a discipline which is already well-developed, and closely akin to the historiography of Old Germanic language studies. For instance, in 1996 Werner Hüllen published his *Schemata der Historiographie*, many aspects of which are applicable to the historiography of the study of Old Germanic languages. These *Schemata* propose that a historiographical reconstruction of historical ideas requires processing historical data (texts) into a workable format by tracking down, preserving, making public, and editing relevant texts,³ and such preliminary activities have formed a considerable part of the work for this study. Further, Hüllen distinguishes between *Tatsachen und Argumente*,⁴ which he characterizes as two important complementary components of historiography. In this study, the nature of the material dictates that the facts outnumber the arguments, which are scarce owing to the practical nature of both Van Vliet's studies and Junius's activities. It has

³ See Werner Hüllen, "Schemata der Historiographie: Ein Traktat", *BGS* 6 (1996), 116, no. 23: "Das Auffinden, Konservieren, Bereitstellen und Edieren der historischen Texte ist, wie bei den Dingen, eine Arbeit, die historiographische Rekonstruktion erst ermöglicht..."

⁴ "In der historiographischen Arbeit gehen die Rekonstruktion der Tatsachenwelt und die der Argumentenwelt immer nebeneinander her. Die erstere würde sich allein in positivistischer Faktenbenennung erschöpfen, die letztere würde für sich dazu neigen, den Kontakt mit der historischen Wirklichkeit zu verlieren. Bloße Narration ist keine historiographische Rekonstruktion, weil sie nur Tatsachen aufführt...Bloße Exposition von Argumenten ist jedoch ebenfalls keine historiographische Rekonstruktion, weil sie die intendierten Sinnkonstruktionen nicht mit den Fakten in Raum und Zeit verbindet."

therefore been necessary to evaluate the abundance of data, and distil propositions from such data. Although such propositions are in themselves reconstructions created by the historiographer, they are indispensable if we are to assess Van Vliet's practical studies, for example his etymologies. In the cases where theoretical information was available from contemporaneous texts, such texts have been read in the language of the historiographical subject, in accordance with the precepts set by Hüllen.⁵

More specific guidelines from the historiography of linguistics that are applicable to the study of Old Germanic languages have been proposed by Swiggers who defines the terms "content", i.e. "the internal (properly linguistic) content of theories", and "context", i.e. "the setting of theories in their social and broadly cultural context", as two important complementary aspects of linguistic historiography, and argues for an approach in which the two aspects combined serve to achieve the aim of this discipline.⁶ In relation to the practical implications of this distinction, Swiggers states that "the most profitable and interesting approach in linguistic historiography is a history of problems (and their solutions), techniques and models, in significant relation to scientific traditions, to socio-cultural contexts and to individual achievements".⁷ The essential aspects of this manner of analysis are:

- (1) a number of themes, motives—or better, problems;
- (2) "actants", who have to solve a number of problems, and who may be cooperating or competing;
- (3) a chronology of events, marked by the activities of the actants, as well as a metachronology, which involves the relation of the actants with respect to the past as they perceive it;
- (4) an observer, who reconstructs (in a selective way) this chronology and metachronology.⁸

The principles formulated by Swiggers seem to me to apply to some extent to the topic under investigation here. Placing Van Vliet's work in the context of his time has yielded a number of themes and problems which have been compared with the activities of other actants. The resulting chronology of events has been adopted as a basis for a description

⁵ Hüllen, "Schemata", 117, no. 27.

⁶ Pierre Swiggers, "Reflections on (Models for) Linguistic Historiography", in *Understanding the Historiography of Linguistics. Problems and Projects*, W. Hüllen ed. (Münster, 1990), 21–22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

of the study of Old Germanic languages in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Metachronological aspects involve the relation between Van Vliet's work and his ideas about preceding and/or contemporaneous ideas having to do with the study of Old Germanic texts and languages.

My organization seems to run counter to Swiggers's principles in that, as a starting point, I have not selected a number of themes, motives or problems but the work of one particular actant. The main reason for this decision has been the exploratory nature of this study. The work of one particular scholar provided a suitable framework in this wide field of scholarship. Jan van Vliet's work seemed most suitable for this purpose because his diverse humanist scholarship is typical of the period. In his studies of Old Germanic languages, we find connections with both national and international scholars. More importantly, he was inspired by Francis Junius, with whom he was in close contact during the final years of his life. Van Vliet's relatively short active period and his limited output have made it possible to incorporate his entire work in one project and to trace the contemporaneous influences on his method and ideas. His studies also enable us to see the extent of Francis Junius's achievements from a contemporary point of view. In other words, the examination of Van Vliet's work itself raised themes that could be further developed in this study, and hopefully beyond it.

3. Contents of the chapters

Chronological aspects of scholarly work, the past as perceived and the present as experienced, have also determined the order of the chapters. Chapter I therefore offers a survey of the study of Old Germanic texts and that of language in general in the sixteenth century. It further considers the ways in which the two came to coincide and interrelate. Although both aspects have been discussed in books and articles on a variety of subjects, the presentation from the point of view of Germanic philology is original enough to justify my placing them at the beginning of this study. The nature and purpose of this chapter does not allow extensive elaborations on individual scholars, which is why I have chosen not to analyze the works of important pioneers in the study of Old Germanic languages, such as those of Paullus Merula, Cornelis Kiliaan, Bonaventura Vulcanius, and Richard Verstegen. Their influence will become apparent in chapters III and IV.

Chapter II discusses the social context by means of a selective biography of Van Vliet. It reveals that Van Vliet's life—his origin, education, career, fortunes and misfortunes, friends and enemies—had a profound influence on his work. In Van Vliet's case biographical data illustrate when and why he acquired his knowledge of Old Germanic languages. His friendship and scholarly contacts with Francis Junius will receive considerable attention. Much of my biography is based on hitherto unknown data collected from the municipal archives of The Hague and Breda, from the state archives at The Hague and 's-Hertogenbosch, and from Van Vliet's correspondence, in as much as it has been preserved.⁹ As a consequence, a great deal of new information has been added to the existing bibliographies of Jan van Vliet.

My initial approach to the research into Van Vliet's works proper was to make an inventory, selection, description, and evaluation. More than 250 libraries, institutions, and archives were sent a questionnaire asking for information. Together with the existing knowledge of Van Vliet's books, manuscripts, and correspondence, the resulting inventory comprised material from the entire spectrum of his activities. Subsequently, I selected, investigated, and described the items relating to his study of Germanic languages. The result was an extremely heterogeneous body of material classified as "primary", because it formed a direct result of Van Vliet's activities. Chapter III, therefore, contains a summary report of the findings of this investigation. Although its nature is descriptive, the chapter affords a view of Van Vliet's philological works which can be compared to an archaeologist's display of pottery fragments, with here and there a complete piece or a recognizable decoration. Its value therefore lies in the relation between the various items rather than in each particular fragment. However, this survey is indispensable for an overview of Van Vliet's activities, since much of this material was also hitherto unknown, or uninvestigated.

I have classified Van Vliet's sources as secondary material. In the primary material presented in chapter III, a range of more than 150 abbreviated references indicates his extensive use of sources. All of these references have been traced in manuscripts and printed books, and checked against the contents of both Van Vliet's library and that of Francis Junius. Some of the results of this lengthy process are presented in chapter IV, which also evaluates Van Vliet's selection and use of his sources and ref-

⁹ An inventory of the correspondence is given in Appendix 1.

erences. Its purpose resembles that of the previous chapter, in that it provides an insight into the practical side of Van Vliet's activities.

Chapter V discusses the trends and influences which Van Vliet would have perceived as belonging to the immediate past or near present. Again, the selective nature of this chapter should be emphasized. Some of the scholars discussed have never been considered in the light of the study of Old Germanic languages, and apart from being an elucidation of Van Vliet's personal chronology, additional aspects in this chapter may form a first impulse to further much-needed research.

Chapter VI presents my analysis of Van Vliet's Germanic studies in conjunction with relevant parts of the work of Francis Junius. In order to present a structured approach to their methods and ideas, I have divided the chapter into sections on 'scope', 'motive', and 'method', analogous to the methodological principles proposed by Swiggers for the description of etymological studies.¹⁰ The information for this chapter has been derived from primary sources—printed books, manuscripts, and correspondence—and has been collected from libraries in England, Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands. The nature of this information varies from that gleaned from etymological studies and glossaries to theoretical expositions. Information from Junius's correspondence has only been used in cases where it is probable that Van Vliet knew the contents, or when Junius commented on Van Vliet.

Chapter VII briefly describes the extent to which Van Vliet's ideas, in combination with those of Junius, survived in the eighteenth century. It also signals some of the changes in Old Germanic scholarship that were to occur after the turn of the century.

This book should not be regarded as the definitive history of the study of Old Germanic languages in the Low Countries in the seventeenth century as a whole. It is selective in that Van Vliet's work and achievements have been used to provide a starting point for such a history. My initial hypothesis is therefore that paying detailed and methodical attention to Old Germanic language studies such as those carried out by Van Vliet and his contemporaries will reveal a hitherto unacknowledged contemporary relevance of such studies in relation to the then current linguistic and historical issues.

¹⁰ Pierre Swiggers, "Le travail étymologique historique et analytique, perspectives, effets", in *Discours étymologiques...*, P.P. Chambon et G. Lüdi eds. (Tübingen, 1991), 29–45. See below, p. 241, for an explanation of these terms.

CHAPTER ONE

THE STUDY OF OLD GERMANIC LANGUAGES: THE BEGINNINGS

The end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries witnessed the awakening of an interest in the Old Germanic past. The period fostered a tradition, which, one century later, was regarded as a preliminary stage in the study of Old Germanic history and languages. In this chapter, I intend to present a selective discussion of the history of Old Germanic language studies, in which I will try to combine the present state of knowledge of activities in the sixteenth century with the way in which this period was perceived in the seventeenth century.

1. *Humanism and method*

It is a commonplace to remark that, during the Renaissance, the past was rediscovered. Classical authors, whose works had been embedded in the confines of Medieval scholasticism, their ideas blurred by generations of medieval translators and commentators, were once again placed in the centre of scholarly interest. As a result of a widespread study of classical texts, the example of ancient Rome became the model for all learning and cultural expression, from the compilation of manuscripts to architecture, painting, and sculpture. The resulting movement is called “humanism”. It aimed at institutionalizing and methodizing the new way of approaching classical texts, and promoting this mode of study as the basis, not only for university education, but for all social achievement.¹ Initially, the humanist movement arose in Italy among the intellectual elite at the Italian

¹ For the history of humanism and its implications on Western European scholarship, see for example Nicholas Mann, “The Origins of Humanism”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, Jill Kraye ed. (Cambridge, 1996), 1–19, who provides a more detailed definition of humanism, in which he stresses that, by its expression in teaching, humanism became “the embodiment of, and the vehicle for, that very Classical tradition that is the most fundamental aspect of the continuity of European cultural and intellectual history”. See also A. Goodman and A. Mackay eds., *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (London and New York, 1990); Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities...* (Cambridge Mass, 1986). On Renaissance methodology, see Neal W. Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (New York, 1960).

courts; Petrarch (1304–1374) and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) were among the first to reconsider their intellectual thinking. However, humanism quickly developed into a well-founded educational movement, characterised by attention being paid to system and method,² and became the basis for new intellectual ideas.

During the earliest stages of the humanist period, classical texts were almost exclusively appreciated for their didactic value. Texts were read for the acquisition of the correct knowledge of Latin or sometimes Greek, while their contents provided further teaching material.³ Among the writings of the famous classical authors, works of history were very frequent: Livy dealt with the history of the Roman empire, Pliny and Caesar had given accounts of foreign nations, and Varro and Ovid may be considered prehistorians.⁴ Naturally, much of the attention of the early humanists was aimed at the study of classical history, which served primarily as a model for contemporary man to learn from the past. Renaissance education aimed at producing statesmen who could bring back the glories of Ancient Greece and Rome, and mastery of the skills of Antiquity provided the best training for a statesman.⁵ Hence, the early humanist historians were concerned with the problem of how to read and write histories, rather than historical accuracy, and attached great importance to rhetoric.

The French historian and lawyer Jean Bodin (1530–1596) reacted against the early Italian way of interpreting texts and advocated a more objective treatment.⁶ Bodin's reaction to the Italian school of history originated in a similar dispute over a closely related humanist discipline, the study of law.⁷ In Italy the study of law was strongly based upon the methods of medieval glossators, and, although fresh methods were developed in the sixteenth century, these offered nothing really new. The study of law remained extremely intricate, largely based on commentary instead of objective interpretation of original texts, and besides, continued to be a very lengthy process. The reaction against this was:

² Gilbert, 71–72.

³ See Grafton and Jardine, 1–28, 58–82, for a description of the early development of humanist teaching and its entry in Italian universities.

⁴ T.D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London, 1950), 1.

⁵ See Joseph M. Levine, *Humanism and History...* (London, 1987), 75.

⁶ R.E. Asher, *National Myths in Renaissance France...* (Edinburgh, 1993), 30–31; Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Paris, 1566). On Bodin and his effect on French historiography, see J. H. Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Sixteenth-Century Revolution in the Methodology of Law and History* (New York and London, 1963).

⁷ Gilbert, 79.

...a Humanist method of legal interpretation in a movement led by Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), Ulrich Zasius (1461–1535), Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), and most famous of all, Andrea Alciati (1492–1550). These writers advocated and practised a philological approach to the study of law; their method was known as “mos Gallicus” because it became the vogue in French schools. The traditional method inherited from the glossators received, in the sixteenth century, the name “mos Italicus” to distinguish it from its new rival.⁸

The humanists blamed the old glossators for their long commentaries, which, in their opinion, were the result of their inadequate knowledge of Latin. In spite of the condemnations, annotated humanist editions, such as Budé’s annotations to the Pandects (1542), were sometimes as substantial as those of their medieval forebears, if only to resolve the many ambiguities in the texts.⁹

As the still unstructured humanist approach to the past nudged its way into Western Europe during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it was gradually moulded into shape by scholars like Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), Rudolph Agricola (1444–1485), Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540),¹⁰ and, most important of all, Desiderius Erasmus (1467–1536). Erasmus supplied humanism with theory and method by means of a set of important guidelines for textual studies, made explicit in a treatise called *Methodus*,¹¹ in which he defended humanist exegeses to the Bible and explained his motivation and principles. He began by stating that the highest goal attainable in life is piety. In order to achieve piety, the student should not turn to the old commonplaces of scholastic theology, which would only cause him to deviate from the goal by teaching him to dispute his case using the set phrases of traditional scolasticism. Instead, he should try to discover truth by empirical means. Truth is to be found within the words of the Bible itself, Christ and St. Paul being the perfect models. In other words, the proper way to arrive at truth is by a correct disciplined reading of the Bible, and the way to achieve this, according to Erasmus, is to read as a proper philologist should do. Consequently, if someone is

⁸ Gilbert, 94–95.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 97. See also J.G.A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law...*, *A Reissue with a Retrospect* (Cambridge, 1987), 8–29.

¹⁰ On the relation between Valla, Agricola, and Vives in the field of logic and dialectics, see Carlos G. Noreña, “Agricola, Vives and the Low Countries”, in *Erasmus in Hispania, Vives in Belgico*, J. IJsewijn and A. Losada eds. (Louvain, 1986).

¹¹ Grafton and Jardine, 145. See also Gilbert.

a good philologist he will automatically become a good theologian, for philology will teach how to distil the truth from the text by careful reading and proper consideration of the words read:

Let him not consider it adequate to pull out four or five little words; let him consider the origin of what is said, by whom it is said, to whom it is said, when, on what occasion, in what words, what precedes, what follows. For it is from a comprehensive examination of these things that one learns the meaning of a given utterance.¹²

Erasmus based his educational theories on Lorenzo Valla's lexical and philological annotations to the New Testament, which he had discovered in a monastery in Heverlee, near Louvain in 1504 and published in 1516.¹³ Valla had treated the scriptures as he would any other historical document, as if they were subject to decay through transmission and hence recoverable through the technique of textual criticism.¹⁴ Erasmus applied basically the same method, but increased the scope of his sources, which led to even more sophisticated improvements.¹⁵

The tradition of textual criticism, which slowly evolved from the achievements of early humanists, sought to achieve textual recovery by comparing various manuscripts of a text and adding emendations and explanations to it. Two kinds of emendations were distinguished: the *emendatio ope codicum* was solely based upon comparison of manuscripts to find the true reading of a word or phrase, while the *emendatio ope ingenii* was the result of the ingenuity (or imagination) of the editor.¹⁶ Either way, their aim was to improve understanding of texts, and since many texts concerned historical works, textual criticism was as much a historical as a philological occupation. The literary implications were then still unimportant. The concern for language, which was at the heart of humanist pedagogy, emphasized the word as the most important vehicle of

¹² Grafton and Jardine, 147.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 145. A more detailed exposition of Erasmus's method is found in Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology*, Erasmus Studies 2 (Toronto, 1977), especially 69–76, where the author expounds on the relation between 'piety' and 'humanism', and on the word as the prime mediator of meaning.

¹⁴ John F. D'Amico, *Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism: Beatus Rhenanus between Conjecture and History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1988), 16.

¹⁵ See Alastair Hamilton, "Humanists and the Bible", in Kraye ed., 100–117, who also describes the philological method of Valla's emendations in the Vulgate version of the New Testament and compares Valla's achievements with Erasmus's improved methodology and more far-reaching conclusions.

¹⁶ D'Amico, 10.

meaning, and words were therefore considered to be the essential part of a language and the key to understanding. The selection of the right idiom not only required a broad knowledge of vocabulary, but also an awareness of the historical development of a language, if a text were to be placed in its proper perspective. In addition, knowledge of manuscripts and palaeography was required for distinguishing between the better and the more corrupt manuscripts and to observe manuscript contamination. The purest version of any text was to be discovered by collation of the various sources available, and by selecting the oldest and purest forms from the most original manuscripts. In the words of the humanists, *ite ad fontes*, and so they did in every respect.

2. Manuscripts

The wish to return to the sources was reflected by a renewed interest in ancient manuscripts, an important characteristic of the humanist period. As might be expected, the Italians set the tone. In 1371 Giovanni Boccaccio discovered a Tacitus manuscript at Montecassino and made a transcript of it.¹⁷ Others followed suit, and the Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) was among the first to argue in favour of collecting manuscripts in public libraries, with a view to enabling scholars to collate the more recent but corrupt versions with older and purer specimens.¹⁸ However, it was the Papal secretary Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) who was to become the most renowned manuscript hunter of the fifteenth century. At the age of 36, Poggio, who was secretary to the schismatic Pope John XXIII (1410–1415), attended the Council of Constance (1414–1418), which functioned as an essential instrument for the spread of Italian humanism across Europe.¹⁹ As librarian of the *Bibliotheca Borgeseana*, he spent much of his time travelling in search of valuable acquisitions and augmented the collection considerably with material he discovered in the often neglected libraries of monasteries in southern Germany and Switzerland. Poggio's success and fame made him a model of humanist antiquar-

¹⁷ L.D. Reynolds, *Texts and Transmissions: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), 406–411. For an alternative opinion, see Ludwig Pralle, *Die Wiederentdeckung des Tacitus...* (Fulda, 1952), 13, who places the date between 1362 and 1370. See below, p. 14.

¹⁸ D'Amico, 13–14.

¹⁹ See Enrico Flores, *Le scoperte di Poggio e il testo di Lucrezio* (Napoli, 1980), 11–23 “Poggio Bracciolini e la residenza di Costanza”.

ianism.²⁰ His fame inspired contemporary and later scholars to peruse libraries for ancient manuscripts, so contributing to their preservation. However, he gained most renown for his role in the discovery of the Tacitus manuscripts containing the *Agricola*, the *Germania*, and the *Annales* I–VI in the German monasteries of Herschfeld and Corvey.

No early humanist discovery has proved to be of greater significance to Germanic scholarship than the fifteenth-century discovery of the Tacitus manuscripts.²¹ Tacitus's *Historiae*, part of the Montecassino manuscript discovered by Boccaccio, discussed at length the wars between Romans and Germanic tribes, while the same Germanic people were given a good press in the *Germania*. For the first time, humanist scholars were confronted with descriptions of Germanic tribes by an erudite Roman historian. The first printed edition of part of the works was produced as early as 1470, and in 1515 a complete *editio princeps* was produced by Filippo Beroaldo in Rome. From then on, virtually every self-respecting humanist wrote on Tacitus,²² and translations into various languages were made from 1526 onwards.²³ The effects of Tacitus's works are manifold and therefore hard to condense in one or two sentences, but their influence on historical thinking was most important in that they brought about a reconsideration of the national past in various European countries. In addition, his works had strong social implications because they often served to vindicate political rights, ranging from the defence of absolutism to the institution of regional freedom, and civil and religious liberties.

In the Netherlands, Tacitus's *Historiae* and a reference in his *Germania* (cap. 29) formed the basis for the Batavian myth, which extolled the Batavians, a Germanic tribe purportedly living on the banks of the Lower Rhine, as friends and even saviours of the Romans.²⁴ Their precise domicile would remain a matter of dispute between the provinces of Holland and Gelderland until well into the seventeenth century. As late as 1645 the

²⁰ Levine, 76–77.

²¹ For an account of the early history of the Tacitus manuscripts, see D'Amico, 113–114, and Pralle, who presents an alternative version of their discovery.

²² On the reception of Tacitus, see Else-Lilly Etter, *Tacitus in der Geistesgeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1966), 213–215, who presents a list of various editions and commentaries.

²³ Into German (1526), into Italian (1544), into French (1548), into English (1591), into Spanish (1613), and into Dutch (1616); see Etter, 214–215, for a list of Tacitus translations.

²⁴ See Karin Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism in Holland in the Age of Erasmus: Aurelius and the Divisiechroniek of 1517* (Nieuwkoop, 1992), on the origin of the Batavian myth and its role in Dutch historiography.

Nijmegen historian and antiquary Johannes Smetius published *Oppidum Batavorum seu Noviomagum liber singularis*, in which he meticulously applied the information given in Tacitus's *Historiae* to the geographical situation of Nijmegen to demonstrate that the Batavians had lived in Gelderland and that the Batavian rising had taken place around Nijmegen.²⁵ The Flemish philologist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), who worked on Tacitus for 30 years, produced no fewer than thirteen works on this writer.²⁶ Lipsius compared the Dutch war of independence against Spain with the early Batavians' struggle for freedom,²⁷ and presented the heroic deeds of Claudius Civilis and his valiant Batavians in the *Historiae* as significant for the Netherlands in the same way as the description of Germanic tribes in the *Germania* had been interpreted by the Germans. After Lipsius, Hugo Grotius used Tacitus as a model for his *Annales et historiae de rebus Belgicis*,²⁸ even deriving his title from Tacitus. The first full-fledged translation into Dutch, by Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, was not published until 1684.²⁹

In Germany, Tacitus was first introduced by Eneo Silvio Piccolomini (1405–1464), in a speech delivered before the Frankfurt *Diet* in 1454.³⁰ In the early sixteenth century, German humanists welcomed his favourable

²⁵ See also E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, "De Bataafse mythe opnieuw bekeken", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 3 (1996), 344–367.

²⁶ On Lipsius's works on Tacitus, see Etter, 115–149.

²⁷ Etter, 126–127, relates that the publisher Plantin, who printed Lipsius's Tacitus edition, feared for his economic ties with Spain and tried to quench Spanish anger. The comparison between the Dutch rising and the Batavian struggle was by no means unique to Lipsius, but a recurrent concept in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century history and literature. See for instance Chris L. Heesakkers and Wilma Reinders, *Genoegelijk boven al zijn mij de muzen: De Leidse Neolatijnse dichter Janus Dousa (1545–1604)* (Leiden, 1993), 37, who explain that the Leiden scholar Janus Dousa compared the siege of Leiden to the Batavian struggle against Roman imperialism. A different point of view was presented by the painter Otto Vaenius (Van Veen) (?1560–1634), who published 36 emblems by the Italian Antonio Tempesta in 1612. The first engraving pictures two figures, *Roma* and *Batavia*, shaking hands in brotherhood. The picture is an allegorical representation of the peace between Rome and Batavia in an atmosphere of friendship and equality; see Etter, 142–145.

²⁸ It was published posthumously as a result of Grotius's differences with the House of Orange and consequent life-long exile.

²⁹ An earlier corrupt translation by Leonard Fenacoli had appeared in Delft, in 1616.

³⁰ See Donald R. Kelley, "Tacitus Noster: The Germania in the Renaissance", in *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition*, T.J. Luce and A.J. Woodman eds. (Princeton, 1993), 155. Piccolomini, an Italian priest, who came to live in Germany as secretary of Emperor Friedrich III, compiled a description of Germany, appropriately named *Germania*, in which he relied heavily on Tacitus. This work was very influential; see D'Amico, 175; Etter, 150.

description of Germanic tribes in the *Germania*,³¹ for, so they argued, were not these ancient Germans, who had been blamed more than once for the destruction of Roman civilisation, considered by these same Romans, if somewhat primitive, to be morally and ethically superior to them, and could not they then rightly be seen as the true successors of the Roman Empire?³² The Basel printer Froben sensed the need for a Tacitus edition in Germany and turned to the German humanist Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547) to produce one. This first German edition was published in 1519, to be followed in 1533 by an annotated version, in which the *Germania* in particular had been provided with a copious commentary. A third edition followed eleven years later. His work on Tacitus made Beatus Rhenanus the founding father of German historiography.³³

In France, Guillaume Budé was among the first to study Tacitus.³⁴ In order to distinguish themselves from the Italians, French humanists, with the support of the court, claimed their nation to be of Germanic rather than Latin origin. To prove this, the royal historiographer and humanist scholar Jean du Tillet (†1570) provided the French with Frankish ancestors.³⁵ The Huguenot François Hotman (1524–1590) used the French–Frankish connection in support of the Protestant case in the fierce religious struggles of the sixteenth century, but otherwise advocated a more moderate viewpoint.³⁶ The tradition of the connection, or confusion, between the French and the Franks proved to be a long-lasting one.³⁷ The writings of Tacitus, then, not only provided an identity for Germanic nations and a definition for their culture, but they also diverted the course

³¹ The *editio princeps* of the *Germania* was published by Franciscus Puteolanus in Bologna in 1472. Over a dozen editions appeared before Filippo Beroaldo's edition of 1515. The first critical edition was compiled by Beatus Rhenanus in 1519; see Kelley, 156.

³² In his *Oratio in Ingelstadio publice recitata* (1492), the German humanist Conrad Celtis (1459–1508) argued that the Germans should emulate the ancient Roman culture and shake off their ancient reputation of savagery, as they were the “survivors of the Roman Empire”; see Harold B. Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470–1543* (Ithaca and London, 1989), 84–85.

³³ D'Amico, 157–163. See also below, pp. 34–35.

³⁴ Budé was a jurist, scholar of Greek, and numismatist; see David O. McNeil, *Guillaume Budé and Humanism in the Reign of Francis I* (Genève, 1975), 129–131, which gives a summary of Budé's merits.

³⁵ Jean du Tillet, *Chronicon de regibus Francorum* (Paris, 1570); he also published a French edition of the Carolingian Capitularies: —, *Praecipue constitutione Caroli Magni* (Paris, 1548).

³⁶ Kelley, 163–167; François Hotman, *Franco-Gallia...* (Genève, 1573).

³⁷ See below, p. 248.

of humanist historiography towards a geographically and chronologically much wider perspective, and hence a more profound interest in national and regional origins.

Humanist scholars realized that even the oldest manuscripts discovered in monastic libraries were not at all contemporaneous with the compilations of the antique texts they contained. At best, they were products of the Dark Ages (c.550–c.750),³⁸ but many of the manuscripts dated from the ninth and tenth centuries, a period known as the Carolingian Renaissance, owing to Charlemagne's attempts at a revival of the Roman Empire. Charlemagne's efforts included the reintroduction of classical Latin as a uniform language for legislation, administration, and scholarship, and as the language in which the doctrines of a uniform Christian Church had to be set out.³⁹ The result was an increase in the reproduction of older manuscripts. About seven thousand Latin manuscripts from the ninth century have been preserved, whereas the number that can be attributed to the three preceding centuries does not exceed two thousand.⁴⁰ As they strove to imitate the classics in every aspect, humanists set out to reproduce early Caroline minuscules, to which they had given the name *littera antiqua*. This type of writing was associated with uncontaminated classical texts and, by some, even with the style of writing in antiquity.⁴¹ Hence, it was much preferred to the Gothic book-hand of the later Middle Ages, or *littera moderna*, which they associated with the decay of textual tradition. Similarly, imitation of the layout and embellishments of Carolingian manuscripts became the trademark of humanist scriptoria.

For humanists who made use of these manuscripts, the Carolingian Renaissance acquired a special significance as a time when there was an attempt at reviving classical Latin in conjunction with strong efforts to preserve the original documents of the Christian Church. Unintentionally, this period became the object of research for those who were intrinsically interested in texts from earlier times. The revaluation of the Carolingian

³⁸ Reynolds, xv–xvii.

³⁹ For a characterization of the Carolingian Renaissance, see Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*... (London, 1969), 4, who attributed the movement to Charlemagne's educational policy: "there was a marked endeavour to resuscitate ancient and quite especially patristic literature, and to some extent also imitate and develop its thoughts".

⁴⁰ David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen, 1990), 121.

⁴¹ See also Martin Davies, "Humanism in Script and Print in the Fifteenth Century", in Kraye ed., 49, who states that "it is still an open question whether the earliest humanists really believed that the ancients had written in this style".

age as a result of a widespread use of its manuscripts by humanists played an important part in the first scholarly interest in the early Middle Ages, although it would take much longer for this period to become a topic of interest in its own right.

The Italian example of searching for ancient manuscripts in monastic collections and storing them in public libraries was followed in the sixteenth century by scholars from various countries north of the Alps. Among the first to go in search of historical manuscripts were Germans, encouraged by Emperor Maximilian I (1449–1519) to trace and copy manuscripts, not only of classical authors but also of vernacular texts. They included Jakob Wimpfeling (1445–1528), Franciscus Irenicus (Franz Fritz) (1495–c.1550), and Conrad Celtis, whose many discoveries included the works of the nun Hroswitha of Gandersheim, and the *Tabula Peuteringiana*, an ancient map.⁴² Their researches quickly led to the discovery of the first vernacular material. Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516), abbot of Spanheim, was the first to mention the Old High German⁴³ paraphrase of the Gospels by Otfrid von Weissenburg and the Old High German translation of Tatian's *Harmonia evangelica*.⁴⁴ The physician and mayor of St. Gall, Joachim von Watt (Vadianus) (1484–1551), discovered Notker's Old High German glosses of the Psalms, which he mentioned in his *Farrago de collegiis monasteriis Germaniae veteribus*, published by Goldast (1606).⁴⁵ In his correspondence Vadianus compared his own search for ancient manuscripts with the work of Poggio, who had also visited St. Gall. Unlike Trithemius, Vadianus was not only inspired by humanism but also by the Reformation.

The situation in England displayed remarkable similarities with that in Germany, and although the discovery and study of the oldest stages of the

⁴² D'Amico, 298. Celtis, who held strong views on German history and culture, also played a role in German Tacitus studies; see Segel, 83–91; D'Amico, 175–176.

⁴³ The works I designate 'Old High German' include texts such as Willeram's paraphrase of the *Song of Songs* and the *Annolied* which some handbooks classify as Early Middle High German stemming, from a period of transition; see Helmut de Boor, *Die Deutsche Literatur von Karl dem Grossen bis zum Beginn der höfischen Dichtung 770–1170* (Munich 1957), 101–132. However, this narrow distinction was not made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and is irrelevant to my topic in this book. To avoid unnecessary divisions, I have used "Old High German" for all German texts written before c.1100.

⁴⁴ Rudolf von Raumer, *Geschichte der germanischen Philologie...* (Munich, 1870), 16; Johannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Basel, 1494).

⁴⁵ Bernhard Hertenstein, *Joachim von Watt (Vadianus), Bartolomäus Schobinger, Melchior Goldast: Die Beschäftigung mit dem Althochdeutschen...* (Berlin and New York, 1975), 21, 25, 70–84; see von Raumer, 29.

vernacular commenced somewhat later than in Germany, the English caught up after 1535. The dissolution of the monasteries, which caused the downfall of religious houses and the dispersal of their libraries, accelerated the movement.⁴⁶ Although the dissolution caused an inconceivable wave of book destruction in the period between 1535 and 1558, it also provided an important impetus for those who were interested in history to start collecting medieval English manuscripts and to attempt to salvage the remains of the past.

John Leland (1506–1552) toured England from 1534 to 1543 in search of antiquities.⁴⁷ Although Leland concentrated on the Roman era, he attempted to draw a continuous cultural line from the Romans to the Anglo-Saxons, on which Levine commented: “he understood clearly and before anyone else in England that the many new devices of Italian Humanism could be employed not only to resuscitate classical antiquity but to recover the whole of the British past”.⁴⁸ Leland’s interest in manuscripts arose between 1526 and 1529, when he studied in Paris with Guillaume Budé. Back in England, he was instructed by King Henry VIII to search the libraries of the kingdom to recover manuscripts of importance to the nation’s history. Leland tried to gain some knowledge of Celtic languages as well as of Old English in order to be able to comprehend the nature of his finds. His annotations in various Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and his autograph transcript of parts of Ælfric’s *Grammar and Glossary*⁴⁹ illustrate his method, and his endeavour meant the beginning of a long tradition of Anglo-Saxon studies. Leland’s knowledge of attempts abroad to recover antiquities may well have been the result of John Bale’s reports.

⁴⁶ On the history of libraries and manuscripts in England, see C.E. Wright, “The Dispersal of Libraries in the Sixteenth Century”, in *The English Library before 1700*, Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright eds. (London, 1958), 148–175; —, “The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Studies...”, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1 (1951), 208–237. Margaret Aston, “English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), 231–255, gives a survey of sixteenth and seventeenth-century reactions to the dissolution of the monasteries by literary authors and antiquaries.

⁴⁷ See James P. Carley, “The Manuscript Remains of John Leland...”, *Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 2 (1985), 111–120; Kendrick, 45–64.

⁴⁸ Levine, 79–82.

⁴⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Top. gen. c. 3; see R.E. Buckalew, “Leland’s Transcript of Ælfric’s *Glossary*”, *ASE* 8 (1978), 149–164. On Leland’s Old English studies, see R.E. Buckalew, “Nowell, Lambard and Leland...”, in *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship, The First Three Centuries*, C. Berkhout and M. McCormick Gatch eds. (Boston, 1982), 20–22.

John Bale (1495–1563) was an early convert to Protestantism, for which he had been forced to leave England in 1540. He fled to Germany and returned upon the accession of Edward VI in 1547. During the reign of Mary Tudor, from 1553 to 1558, he went to the Continent again, this time to Basel. During his exile, Bale moved in the circle of the German humanists who discovered the Codex Argenteus, and counted Caspar von Niedbruck (†1557) and Conrad Gesner (1516–1565) among his friends. It seems possible that Bale knew about the discovery of the Codex Argenteus, especially because of the significance of this find for the Protestant cause, of which he was an ardent supporter.⁵⁰ Bale acquired fame both as a collector of manuscripts and as John Leland's publisher, and his correspondence gives a vivid picture of the way manuscripts were treated in England at the time.⁵¹ Writing to Thomas Cromwell in 1536, Bale publicly lamented the loss of manuscripts in England, in that the Germans scavenged English libraries, cutting out bits and pieces of manuscripts that were of interest to them.⁵² Leland's example and Bale's arguments stimulated Elizabethan scholars' interest in Old English manuscripts. Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504–1575),⁵³ for instance, was backed by royal support in his quest for the recovery of written remains of the past, and became a zealous collector. In 1560 John Bale sent Parker a letter in which he gave a list of as many as fourteen collectors whom he knew to possess Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.⁵⁴ Other early English humanists who collected Old English manuscripts gained less fame. They include Robert Talbot (c.1505–1558), one of the early reformers at Oxford and an industrious collector of manuscripts, Sir John Prise (1510–1573), a "visitor" of monastic houses who built up his collection from the

⁵⁰ See Konrad Burdach, "Die nationale Aneignung der Bibel und die Anfänge der germanischen Philologie", in *Festschrift für Eugen Mogk* (Halle, 1924), 281–282.

⁵¹ See C. Brett and J.P. Carley eds., *Index Britanniae Scriptorum: John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers* (Cambridge, 1990). On John Bale's achievements as an antiquarian, see Eleanor N. Adams, *Old English Scholarship from 1566–1800* (Yale, 1917), 13–15. Kendrick, 69–72, discusses his extensive use of the writings of Anniius of Viterbo. His role in the history of Germanic scholarship is also mentioned by J.F. Vanderheyden, *Schets van een geschiedenis van de Germaanse filologie* (Louvain, 1971), 134–135. A concise biographical note with a selective bibliography on John Bale can be found in Wright, "Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries", 229–231.

⁵² Wright, "Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries", 210–211.

⁵³ On Matthew Parker and his circle, see R.I. Page, *Matthew Parker and His Books* (Kalamazoo, 1993); M. Sue Hetherington, *The Beginnings of Old English Lexicography* (Spice-wood Texas, 1980), 27–31; Wright, "Dispersal of Monastic Libraries"; Adams, 16–27.

⁵⁴ Wright, "Dispersal of Monastic Libraries", 213–214.

manuscripts he forfeited, and Robert Recorde (c.1510–1558), a humanist scholar and an active champion of the Reformation. Recorde became the King's surveyor of mines and money, and amassed a large collection of old manuscripts. His knowledge of Old English appears from his marginal annotations in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS E ii.⁵⁵

Some decades later, similar humanist research in monastic libraries in Germany heralded the beginning of Gothic studies. Traditionally, the discovery of the Codex Argenteus, the fifth-century manuscript of the New Testament in Gothic, has been attributed to the Flemings Joris Cassander (1513–1566) and Cornelius Wauters (†1582).⁵⁶ Both were humanists and churchmen who had been forced to leave their native Flanders as a result of their irenic ideas, and had taken refuge in Germany. There they moved in a circle of prominent humanist scholars centered around Caspar von Niedbruck, a councillor of King Maximilian of Bohemia (later Emperor Maximilian II (1527–1576)), humanist, collector of manuscripts, and also a fervent Protestant. This circle included Johannes Matalius Metellus (†1596), Conrad Gesner, the aforementioned John Bale, Pirmin Gasser (1505–1577), Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Matthias Blacich 1520–1575) and the Flemings Cassander and Wauters. Their correspondence gives evidence of their search for manuscripts documenting the ancient past. Although their researches concentrated on religion, history and law, in the first place, the manuscripts they found also contained ancient traces of the vernacular languages.

In a letter dated 28 March 1553, Von Niedbruck asked Cassander about his visits to monastic libraries, and inquired what manner of material he had found there:

Therefore, I ask you urgently to write to me eagerly which libraries you have visited, and what, undoubtedly excelling in wisdom and age, you have found, and where, and especially what concerns religion, or what is written about opposing opinions of councils in the course of time, what concerns history, or what reviews the various laws of the ancients, or institutions or public government.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Buckalew, "Nowell, Lambarde and Leland", 20; Wright "Dispersal of Libraries", 159.

⁵⁶ See R.G. van de Velde, *De studie van het Gotisch in de Nederlanden...* (Ghent, 1966), 17–19.

⁵⁷ "Quare vehementer te rogo, ut non gravatim ad me perscribas, quas bibliothecas visitaris, et quid quoquo loco inveneris eruditione et vetustate praestans nempe et praecipue quod religionem concernat atque conciliorum de contrariis opinionibus pro serie temporis scriptum aut historicum sit, aut varias antiquorum leges, instituta, publicam gubernationem recenseat"; J.W. Schulte, "Gothica Minora", *ZdA* 23 (11) (1879), 58.

The draft of this letter has been preserved among Von Niedbruck's correspondence, and, on the back, there is an answer to this question, saying that "he [Cassander] has a testament in the Gothic language".⁵⁸

Among the same group of humanist scholars there was a distinct interest in manuscripts containing Frisian, a language traditionally renowned for its antiquity, and known to have been used in the early Middle Ages. In a letter of 22 January 1556, Johannes Saxonius of Hatstede, Dean of the Church of Hamburg and Canon of the Metropolitan Church of Bremen,⁵⁹ wrote to Cornelius Wauters: "Thank you very much for the book of Frisian laws you sent me".⁶⁰ In all probability, the book under discussion is a copy of the incunable edition of the Old Frisian laws, printed in the last decade of the fifteenth century.⁶¹ That these humanists were also interested in Frisian history appears from the same letter, in which copies of the lives of Boniface, Liudger, and Willebrord are discussed.⁶²

Ever since Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530–c. 600), runes had been associated with the writing of Germanic tribes.⁶³ Early humanist interest in runes not only arose in Scandinavia, where this might have been expected, but also among German humanists, who came across specimens of runes

⁵⁸ "Habet testamentum Gothica lingua"; Schulte, 59. A year later, in a letter of 6 June 1554, Von Niedbruck asked for a specimen of the Lord's Prayer and a Gothic alphabet. Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 18, mixed up the two letters. He printed a quotation from the second letter (6 June 1554), adding: "Apart from the fact that this letter sheds some light on their scholarly relation, it also carries at the bottom the remark '*habet* (this is Cassander) *testamentum gothica lingua*'". Both the reference to their literary relationship, which Van de Velde copied from Schulte, 59, and the quotation pertain to the first letter (28 March 1553) and not to the second.

⁵⁹ Johannes Saxonius (†1561), A humanist scholar born in Hatstede near Husum in North Frisia. He was a friend of Suffridus Petrus, who included him in his accounts of Frisians writers (1593). His letters to Cassander show his interest in Frisian history; see Petrus Burmannus ed., *Sylloges epistolarum...* (Leiden 1727), II, 242–245.

⁶⁰ "De libello legum Friscarum ad me misso magnam tibi gratiam habeo"; Schulte, 64.

⁶¹ See below, pp. 37–38.

⁶² Caspar von Niedbruck also possessed two lives of Boniface. In a letter of 28–01–1555 Von Niedbruck wrote to Cassander from Trier: "Quaeso proximis vestris scribite, quis vitam Bonifacii conscripserit, quomodo incipiat liber. Nam ego bis habeo vitam Bonifacii; nescio an eadem sit cum ea, quam vos habetis"; Schulte, 164. [I ask you to write in your next letter who wrote the life of Boniface, how the book begins, for I have two lives of Boniface; I do not know whether they are the same as the one you have.]

⁶³ Patrizia Lendinara, "Cosiderazioni sulla scrittura dei Germani in Venanzio Fortunato", *Annali-Sezione germanica...* 2 (1992, nuova serie), 28–33.

in early medieval and Carolingian manuscripts,⁶⁴ of which some listed variants of the then known alphabets.⁶⁵ Early German interest in runes was heightened by Tacitus's account in the *Germania*, in which he described a ceremony for auspices by a priest using sticks with carved characters.⁶⁶ In his *Polygraphia* Johannes Trithemius gave two Viking alphabets, one of which consisted of runes.⁶⁷ Scholars were not always aware of the origin of runic script. The Italian Canon from Padua Theseus Ambrosius presented what he considered to be a Thracian or Istrian alphabet, but in fact he was also dealing with runes. What the early humanists knew about the runes they derived mostly from information in the manuscripts. Derolez presents a comment originating from manuscripts circulating in Germany: "The letters which the Marcomanni use—we call them Nordmanni—we have written below; from them [i.e. the Nordmanni] those people descend who speak Germanic; with these letters they 'signify' their songs, incantations and divinations [for] they are still given to pagan practices".⁶⁸ Wolfgang Lazius (1514–1565) presented a complete runic alphabet, which was also printed by Melchior Goldast in 1606.⁶⁹

During the second half of the sixteenth century, the study of runes took root in Scandinavia, where most of the runic material was to be found. The Archbishop of Uppsala, Johannes Magnus (1488–1544), published a runic alphabet in his history of "Goths and Swedes" (1554); his brother Olaus Magnus (†1568) did the same in his illustrated history of the Northern nations (1555). Another Swede, Johannes Buraeus (1568–1652),⁷⁰

⁶⁴ For a complete investigation of runes in manuscripts, see René Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Bruges, 1954).

⁶⁵ On medieval interest in alphabets, see Lendinara, "Cosiderazioni sulla scrittura..."

⁶⁶ For a modern edition and translation of this passage, see Allan A. Lund ed., *P. Cornelius Tacitus: Germania* (Heidelberg, 1988), 77–79.

⁶⁷ Derolez, xxxiv; Johannes Trithemius, *Polygraphiae libri vi* (Cologne, 1571; first edition 1508), Oo6^v, spoke of an *Alphabetum Nortmannorum*.

⁶⁸ "Litteras quippe quibus utuntur Marcomanni, quos nos Nordmannos vocamus, infra scriptas habemus (a quibus originem qui Theodiscam loquuntur linguam trahunt); cum quibus carmina sua incantationesque ac divinationes significare procurant, qui adhuc pagano ritu involvuntur" (text and translation by Derolez, 354–355). Derolez, 358, rightly states that the Carolingian reference to "divinations" does not prove that the writer of the text knew Tacitus. However, for sixteenth-century humanists the correspondence with Tacitus must have been evident.

⁶⁹ Derolez, xxxv–xxxvi; Wolfgang Lazius, *De Gentium ... migrationibus* (Basel, 1557).

⁷⁰ Johannes Buraeus seems to have been the first to give a grammatical description of an Old Germanic language. Johannes Scheffer, *Suecia literata* (Hamburg, 1698), 51, mentioned a booklet by Johannes Buraeus entitled *Specimen primariae linguae Scantzianae, continens declinationes nominum adjectivorum et substantivorum, ut et syntaxin eorum in*

became royal archivist and inspector of antiquities, and collected and described stones with runes. Through the work of the Icelandic Arngrímur Jónsson (1568–1648), Danish scholars became acquainted with old Icelandic texts. In the seventeenth century, the study of runes gradually became synonymous with that of the oldest Scandinavian languages.⁷¹

3. *Feelings of national identity*

Rising awareness of national identity and the formation of new nations at the end of the Middle Ages coincided with the humanist movement; it may even be maintained that humanism, and, in particular, its strong historical basis, nourished a growth of regional and national feelings. Renewed interest in original Latin and Greek texts focused the humanists' attention on the histories of ancient empires and the myths of their origins. Interest in a nation's history and its geography, as well as in the origin of its people and language, became important features of the search for national identity. Inspired by Ovid and Virgil, the Italians Lodovico Ariosto (1474–1533) and Matteo Boiardo (1434–1494) emphasized that the Romans descended from the Trojans. In their works, Italian culture was seen as emanating from their illustrious Roman ancestors.⁷² These two elements, a Trojan ancestry and a close relation to the Roman Empire, in turn, became two important characteristics of a nationalism *avant la lettre*.⁷³ Humanism conveyed such ideas to the rising nations in sixteenth-century Europe. In France, Jean Lemaire de Belges (c.1473–1525) tried to model French history on Trojan origins and considered the French language equal to Italian and Latin.⁷⁴

The fact that, by virtue of their history and geographical situation, the Germanic nations could not claim direct descent from the Roman Empire did not hinder them at all from equally audacious claims. German

tabula (Stockholm, 1636); see von Raumer, 105.

⁷¹ See J.A.W. Bennett, "The Beginnings of Runic Studies in England", *Saga-Book...* 13 (1950–51), 270–271; Jakob Benediktsson ed., *Ole Worm's Correspondence with Icelanders* (Copenhagen, 1948), xi–xv.

⁷² See Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel* (Stuttgart, 1957–1965), 1103.

⁷³ Trojan ancestry was not exclusively a Renaissance idea, but was used throughout the Middle Ages; see Kendrick, 2–3. However, instead of discarding these myths, earlier Renaissance scholars revived and perpetuated them. On the Trojan myth, especially in France, see Asher, 9–43, "The Idea of a Trojan Origin".

⁷⁴ Asher, 16–18; Borst, 1120–1121.

humanists such as Conrad Celtis, Johannes Trithemius, and Johannes Aventinus (1477–1534) traced German origins to the Greeks and the Trojans, maintaining that the Germans had once written Greek.⁷⁵ In his *Compendium de origine rerum et gentis Francorum* Trithemius provided authenticity to his very detailed account of the Franks' Trojan ancestry by inventing a Frankish historian by the name of *Hunibald*, who had obtained this information from ancient "Scythian" historians. As is the custom with falsifications, the author claimed that the manuscript was lost. The invention of Hunibald by Trithemius influenced historiography both in Germany and France.⁷⁶ A different version of Germany's origin was based on a combination of the Bible, Tacitus's *Germania* and the *Pseudo-Berosus* by Anniius of Viterbo,⁷⁷ whose story combined information from the Bible, ancient myths and medieval Trojan legends. He made Noah the father of a race of giants, which inhabited the earth, and participated as the heroic ancestors in national myths. One of these giants was Tuysco, whom Tacitus had named as ancestor of the Germans.⁷⁸

England, proud of a long period of Roman civilisation, preceded and followed by an early Celtic era and the invasion of Anglo-Saxons from Germany, provided food for all tastes.⁷⁹ In imitation of Celtic chroniclers of the early Middle Ages such as Nennius and Gildas, Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote the *Historia regum Britanniae* (1135), in which he attributed the origin of the English nation to one Brutus, a descendant of Aeneas. The printer-chronicler Richard Grafton (c.1513–1572) copied this idea, while his colleague Raphael Holinshed (c.1520–1580) emphasized the

⁷⁵ Borst, 1053–1056.

⁷⁶ Asher, 13–15. On Trithemius, see also Noel L. Brann, *The Abbot Trithemius (1462–1516): The Renaissance of Monastic Humanism* (Leiden, 1981).

⁷⁷ The Italian Dominican Johannes Anniius of (Giovanni Anni di) Viterbo (1432–1502) claimed to have discovered fragments of manuscripts of twelve ancient oriental writers, who provided information on the early history of the world which the Bible did not supply. Anniius published an annotated edition in Rome, in 1498, and one without commentary, in Venice, in the same year; see Asher, 45.

⁷⁸ Anthony Grafton, "Inventions of Traditions and Traditions of Inventions in Renaissance Europe: The Strange Case of Anniius of Viterbo", in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, A. Grafton and A. Blair eds. (Philadelphia, 1990), 12–14. For the effect of Anniius's writings on sixteenth-century historiography, see Asher, *passim*; Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, *Annius von Viterbo und die schwedische Historiographie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Uppsala, 1992); Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, 1990). See also below, p. 30, fn. 104.

⁷⁹ On English historiography and antiquarianism, see Kendrick, *passim*.

Celtic origins of the nation.⁸⁰ Humanist antiquarians, including John Leland, John Bale, and William Camden, put more emphasis on England's Roman and Celtic origins.⁸¹

In the Low Countries, and particularly in Holland, the Augustinian friar and humanist Cornelius Aurelius was among the earliest to present arguments in favour of regional patriotism. In his *Divisiiekroniek* (Leiden, 1517), the first history of Holland ever printed, he introduced the Batavian myth.⁸² The same theme had led Aurelius to write two Latin poems in praise of his much-admired ancestors, which were published after his death by the Leiden humanists Bonaventura Vulcanius (1586) and Petrus Scriverius (1609).⁸³ According to Aurelius, the Batavians were the ancestors of the inhabitants of Holland, but keeping in line with tradition, he still accredited the province of Holland with a Trojan origin, as appears from the title page of his "chronicle of Holland, Zeeland and Frisia, starting from Adam's times until the birth of our Lord Jesus. Continuing until the year 1517. With the true origin, how Holland was formerly occupied and inhabited by the Trojans".⁸⁴ Later historians like the chronicler Johannes Reygersberg and Hugo Grotius tried to apply the Batavian myth to the Dutch Republic as a whole.⁸⁵

In Frisia, patriotism developed parallel to that in Holland. The place of Frisia and the Frisians in relation to the surrounding regions had already been an issue during the Middle Ages.⁸⁶ Frisian humanists at the court of Cardinal Granvelle in Brussels, such as Joachim Hopper (1523–1576),⁸⁷

⁸⁰ Borst, 1226–1228; Kendrick, 39.

⁸¹ But see Borst, 1228–1229.

⁸² In her chapter on "Aurelius and the Myth of Batavia", Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 199–288, deals extensively with Aurelius's attitude towards the Batavian myth and his dependence on Tacitus.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 199–202, 217–235.

⁸⁴ Cornelius Aurelius, *De cronijcke van Hollandt Zeelandt ende Vrieslandt beghinnende van Adams tiden tot die geboorte ons heren Jhesu Voertgaende tot den iare M.CCCCC. Ende xvii. Met den rechten oersprong hoe Hollandt eerst begrepen ende beuuoent is gheueest van den Trojanen...* (Leiden, 1517). On Aurelius's views about Holland's Trojan origin, see Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 208–210.

⁸⁵ Haitsma Mulier, 353.

⁸⁶ See Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 210, who mentions a work by one Wilhelmus Frederici (1498–99) entitled *De Frisiae situ gentisque origine*.

⁸⁷ On Hopper, who used his native Frisian in letters to his fellow countryman Viglius van Aytta (1507–1577), see F. Postma, "Viglius van Aytta en Joachim Hopper tegenover de Nederlandse opstand", *Bijdragen...betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 102 (1987), 29–43; Rolf H. Bremmer Jr., "Late Medieval and Early Modern Opinions on the Affinity between English and Frisian...", *FLH* 9 (1988), 167–191, at 174–175; A. Feitsma,

furthered Frisian national feelings. The historian Suffridus Petrus (1527–1597), who based his division of the Germanic tribes on Pliny and Tacitus,⁸⁸ tried to stir Frisian national pride by stating that the Frisians were not of Germanic origin but descended from the Greeks. He based his assumptions on his conviction that part of the Frisian vocabulary was nowhere else to be found in the Germanic lexicon, which he supported with the claim that no etymologies could be given for a large group of Frisian proper names. Petrus concluded that the Frisian language was very exotic and had inherited much from Greek and from Hebrew, and even more from Indian:

That the language of the Frisians is also quite foreign is shown by countless words preserved in it, which are not Germanic at all. For although, when they arrived in *Germania*, they learned the vernacular because of trade, they have yet retained a great number of elements; indeed so great is their number that the Frisian language can even today seem foreign to anyone who is unfamiliar with it, as it did to Crantzius. For many [words] have been derived from Hebrew, many from Greek, and a very large number, I think, from Indian.⁸⁹

In claiming that Hebrew and Greek were ancestors of Frisian, Petrus took a conventional approach, based on the common assumption that Hebrew was the original Biblical language. In doing so, he differed markedly from various seventeenth-century scholars discussed later in this study, who paid little or no attention to Hebrew as the original primordial language because their Old Germanic studies focused their attention on only a section of the paradigm of languages. This does not imply, however, that they denied the position of Hebrew as the original Biblical language, but the aim of their studies made this aspect of language comparison less relevant. By adding Indian Suffridus Petrus may have wished to emphasize the exotic nature of Frisian. His reliance on myth, rather than facts, brought him into conflict with the more level-headed historian Ubbo Emmius (1547–1625), who refuted his historical speculations by claiming

Tussen volkstaal en schrijftaal..., (Leeuwarden, 1978), 5–8.

⁸⁸ Suffridus Petrus, *De Frisiorum antiquitate et origine* (Cologne, 1590), 100–123.

⁸⁹ “Linguam quoque Frisiorum fuisse exoticam satis arguunt indefinita vocabula adhuc in ea reliqua, quae nequaquam Germanica sunt. Nam etsi cum in Germaniam venissent linguam popularem commercii ergo didicerint; multa tamen retinuerunt, quae sane tot ac tanta sunt, ut non assueto etiam hodie Frisica lingua videri possit, ut Cranzio visa est, exotica; multa enim ex Hebraeis, multa ex Graecis, & plurima, ut puto, ab Indis desumpta sunt”; *ibid.*, 123.

that Frisian was a Germanic language related to English.⁹⁰ Their dispute shows that the Frisian language, although constantly under threat, remained an important symbol of Frisian identity. In *De scriptoribus Frisiae* (1593) Petrus provided an inventory of all Frisian writers, beginning with Friso, the legendary progenitor of the Frisians.⁹¹

The search for a national identity, combined with an interest in history and culture, motivated humanist historians to include late ancient and early medieval works in their investigations, as these were much more relevant to the history of their own countries than the works of most classical authors. That this was not generally felt to be at odds with the humanist conception of the Middle Ages as a dip in civilisation was due to their attitude towards the Carolingian period. Increasingly, the interest in national and regional history also came to include the language, which became a symbol of the desired identity. The move from the contemporary vernacular to its earliest recorded stages is self-evident, since humanist historians looked at the past for authority and authenticity. Moreover, the same manuscripts that yielded historical information often showed traces of the earliest stages of the vernacular. Charlemagne, his son Louis the Pious, and his English counterpart, King Alfred the Great, had to some extent all been advocates of the use of the vernacular, to compensate for the lack of Latin knowledge among their subjects. The preservation of the Christian faith and its expansion to still unconverted regions demanded the availability of Biblical writings in the vernacular. At the Council of Tours in 813, it was decided that priests had to explain the Bible in the vernacular, and contemporaneous biographies and chronicles record that kings gave commissions for such translations. Charlemagne had the instruments of the Christian faith such as the Lord's Prayer rendered into the vernacular, and it was believed, on account of a remark by Einhart in *De vita et gestis Caroli Magni*, that he had collected a book of vernacular verse. Although Louis the Pious was commonly associated with the compilation of the Old Saxon *Heliand*, his attitude towards the vernacular seems to have been less than favourable. His son, Louis the German, presumably commissioned Otfrid von Weissenburg to compile a paraphrase of the Gospels

⁹⁰ Bremmer, "Late Medieval...Opinions", 175–176; H.D.Meijering, *Oudere Germaanse literatuur als nationaal erfdeel...* (Amsterdam, 1978), 4–6; Feitsma, *Tussen volkstaal en schrijftaal*, 6. For Suffridus Petrus's influence on Joseph Justus Scaliger, see Grafton, *Forgers and Critics*, 122–123.

⁹¹ On various aspects of Suffridus Petrus's work, see W. Bergsma, "Suffridus Petrus als landhistorieschrijver", *It Beaken* 56 (1994), 80–123.

in Old High German.⁹² As a result, whenever these specimens of vernacular writing were discovered during the Renaissance, they came to be regarded as relics of a glorious national past. One of the most illustrative examples is the Gothic Bible, which was a potent symbol of Germanic antiquity in the sixteenth century.⁹³ For this reason Caspar von Niedbruck presumably tried to acquire the codex for the royal library of King Maximilian of Bohemia, where it remained until, almost a century later, it was carried off to Sweden for similar patriotic reasons.

The close relation between expressions of national and regional identity and the early study of Old Germanic texts in the Low Countries had already manifested itself before the discovery of the Codex Argenteus. For instance, triumphal arches erected during the visit of Prince Philip (later King Philip II) to Ghent in 1548 pictured the national situation in a Germanic heroic context. Charles V was depicted as Charlemagne, surrounded by Alamanic and Frankish warriors, and Philip as Louis the Pious, the sole heir to a vast empire. The image was illustrated with Old High German quotations from Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* and Tatian's *Harmonia evangelica*.⁹⁴ Apart from being expressions of a national awareness, such "honours" to a Roman Catholic prince may have been the first stirrings of the Reformation.

4. The Reformation

Humanism and the Reformation shared much common ground. Both Erasmus and Luther tried to purify Biblical texts, Erasmus by emendation and Luther by translation.⁹⁵ With respect to theology, Erasmus's humanist method was an effective instrument which enabled early reformers like Luther (1483–1546) and Melanchthon (1497–1560) to peel the scholastic

⁹² See William C. MacDonald and Ulrich Goebel, *German Literary Patronage from Charlemagne to Maximilian I* (Amsterdam, 1973), 9–63.

⁹³ Burdach, 280–282. On events relating to the Codex Argenteus, see Cor van Bree, *Lotgevallen van de Codex Argenteus...* (Amsterdam, 1995); Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 136–139; Otto von Friesen and Anders Grape *Om Codex Argenteus* (Uppsala, 1928).

⁹⁴ Peter Ganz, "MS Junius 13 und die althochdeutsche Tatianübersetzung", *PBB* 91 (1969), 28–76, at 32–33; E. Dümmler and E. Schröder "Zum ersten Bekanntwerden Otfrids", *ZdA* 44 (1900), 316–319; Juan Christoval Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaie d'el muy alto muy poderoso principe Don Philipe* (Antwerp, 1552), 105'.

⁹⁵ Burdach, 261–264.

crust from religious texts and concentrate unhindered on the contents.⁹⁶ As humanists idealized classical Antiquity, so Reformers idealized Christian Antiquity, and although the texts differed, the method remained exactly the same. Humanism and the Reformation both fundamentally rejected intermediary links in the chain of textual transmission, and many classical humanists had written commentaries on the Bible to elucidate the original texts. Humanist editions also provided the original writings of the Church Fathers,⁹⁷ as well as occasional works by Carolingian theologians who were considered to have shared the humanists' scholarly preferences. Thus, Erasmus published an edition of Bishop Haymo's comments on the Psalter and six songs from the Old Testament, in 1533.⁹⁸

The Reformation argued most strongly for the Bible, liturgy, and church service to be available in the vernacular, and this turned out to be one of the most effective aids in the struggle to spread Protestantism. In 1529, Luther had translated the New Testament into German, which, apart from supporting the Reformation, also reinforced feelings of national pride in Germany. In his preface to his 1518 edition of the *Theologia Deutsch*, a mystical treatise from the fourteenth century, Luther declared that a book in the German language had succeeded in leading the German people to God, something which books in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew had failed to do.⁹⁹

Luther's religious sentiments were anti-Roman and decidedly pro-German, and Luther and Tacitus shared a common platform. In the eyes of the Germans, the morally positive description of the Germanic tribes that Tacitus had given increased the feeling of religious superiority towards the Roman Catholics from Italy. The dislike of written laws, which Tacitus had claimed to be characteristic of the Germanic tribes, reinforced Luther's denunciation of Canon law from Rome.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Borst, 1063, claimed: "Luthers Kritik war von Humanismus vorbereitet; sie gründete sich nicht auf historische Erwägungen, sondern allein auf den Text". See also Hamilton, "Humanists and the Bible", 112–113.

⁹⁷ Hamilton, "Humanists and the Bible", 111.

⁹⁸ D'Amico, 154.

⁹⁹ Steven E. Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent...* (New Haven and London, 1973), 20. This remark is strongly reminiscent of the reformists' aim to spread religious writings, including the Bible, in the vernacular, a parallel which Ozment did not draw.

¹⁰⁰ Kelley, 160. Borst, 1069, commented on Luther and humanism: "Der Kampf gegen Rom, die Abwehr des lateinischen Universalismus, die Abblendung der Universalgeschichte, das alles schien Luther mit den Humanisten zu verbinden; warum auch nicht der Glaube daß sich Gott in der deutschen Nation ein auserwähltes Volk berufen habe, daß in ihr die Geschichte gipfele?"

Luther also shared the humanist historians' zeal for an all-encompassing world history. To achieve this, they traced new manuscript sources, and by collation and emendation of texts attempted to arrive at the most complete versions. On a more abstract level, by collation and emendation of sources, they tried to provide a comprehensive picture of world history. The fact that this was impossible led to a susceptibility to accept convenient forgeries which could fill the gaps,¹⁰¹ and even early reformists appeared susceptible to the pseudo-Berosus. As evidence of this, it must be considered significant that Luther, the most important reformer of the early sixteenth century, accepted information given by Tacitus, embellished by the pseudo-Berosus.¹⁰² Luther, and with him the Reformation, provided a kind of validity to the myth of Tuysco and his role in the origin of the Germanic peoples, which gave it the respectability it needed. In turn, this respectability supported the use of German as a biblical language. This must have been an important stimulus for Protestant humanists to conduct further investigations into the Germanic past.

Luther and his fellow reformers knew that the translation of the Bible into the vernacular was not an original idea. Most of the newly discovered medieval vernacular texts consisted of religious tracts, which demonstrated that such translations had freely been made in the early Middle Ages. For Protestants, the discovery of vernacular Gospels in Germany and England was a crucial issue, for the awareness of their existence added much weight to the reformers' arguments, and consequently, motivation to search for vernacular texts was greatly enhanced. It seems likely that Luther possessed an Old Saxon *Heliand* codex,¹⁰³ which, together with the discovery of Otfrid von Weissenburg's ninth-century paraphrase of the

¹⁰¹ D'Amico, 178.

¹⁰² "These [details] provided precisely the rich context for the biblical history of man that the Bible itself lacks. Martin Luther, for example, urges readers of his *Supputatio annorum mundi* to realize that events now forgotten had filled the 'vacua spatia' of his chronicle. Many kings and institutions had flourished in biblical times besides those mentioned in the Bible, and most of the patriarchs—as the long life spans showed—had lived simultaneously, not successively. The Annian texts offered precisely the rich detailed backdrop in front of which Luther would have preferred to see the family dramas of ancient Israel performed. No wonder he found Annian his richest nonbiblical source..."; Grafton, "Inventions of Traditions...", 13–14. Borst, 1065, is somewhat more moderate in his opinion of Luther; he limits the influence of the pseudo-Berosus as only traceable, but has to acknowledge that Luther is not free from it.

¹⁰³ See K. Hannemann, "Lösung des Rätsels der Herkunft der *Heliand* Praefatio", in *Der Heliand*, J. Eichhoff und I. Rauch eds. (Darmstadt, 1973), 1–13; W. Krogmann, "Praefatio in Librum Antiquum Lingua Saxonica", *ibid.*, 25–35.

Gospels, may have strengthened his convictions. The importance of Otfrid and the *Heliand* during the first decades of the Reformation was overshadowed after 1554 by the discovery of the Gothic Bible. Rumour of its discovery spread as Cassander, Wauters, Von Niedbruck and other humanists mentioned the significance of the Codex Argenteus for the Protestants in their correspondence, but nothing was published about it until Matthias Flacius Illyricus's edition of Otfrid in 1571. In his preface, Flacius stated 11 reasons why he considered the publication of Otfrid important:

The final reason is that the book itself also exists, and that the history of the book, which was made and published long ago, is found, and even that it is known that, a long time ago, already the Holy Scriptures were often translated in the vernacular of the Germanic peoples. For, soon after the council of Nicea, around the year 370, according to Theodoretus and Sozomen, Ulphilas, the bishop of the Goths (who were also Germanic) translated for the first time the Holy Book into the Gothic language, and converted this people to Christianity with the help of his divine instruments and with the greatest peril.¹⁰⁴

However, even before the Reformation, Wulfila's translation of the Bible had already served as an example to defend the use of the Bible in the vernacular. It was mentioned in 1398, in a religious treatise by the *Broeders des Gemenen Levens* 'Brethren of the Common Life', a Dutch religious fraternity of laymen:

The Divine Scripture is also found in the Gothic language; book VIII of the *Historia tripartita* relates that Ulfilas, Bishop of the Goths, translated the Holy Scriptures in the Goths' own language.¹⁰⁵

In England, the recovery of vernacular religious texts was taken up during the reign of the Protestant Queen Elizabeth I by her Archbishop of

¹⁰⁴ "Postrema causa est, ut ipse etiam liber extet historiaeque facti, aut dudum evulgati huius libri habeatur, atque adeo ut cognoscatur, iam dudum antea sepius sacras literas in vulgarem Germanorum sermonem conversas fuisse. Nam primum Ulphilas episcopus Gothorum (qui itidem Germani fuerunt) mox post Nicenum Concilium, circa annum Domini 370 teste Theodoro & Somozeno, convertit sacrum codicem in gothicam linguam, eiusque divini instrumenti ope gentem eam, maximo sub periculo, ad fidem Christianam convertit"; Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Otfridi evangeliorum liber...* (Basel, 1571), *15. On this point, see Ernst Hellgart, "der alten Teutschen spraach und gottsforcht zuerlernen'...", in *Festschrift Walter Haug und Burghart Wachinger*, Johannes Janota ed. (Tübingen, 1992), 282.

¹⁰⁵ The treatise bears the title *Super modo vivendi devotorum hominum*. It reads: "Item divina scriptura habetur in lingua Gothica; dicitur enim in VIII^o libro Historie Tripartite, quod Ulfilas Gothorum episcopus, sacras scripturas in proprium Gothorum convertit ydionia"; Burdach, 255–256.

Canterbury, Matthew Parker, who had been urged by Mattias Flacius Illyricus in 1561 to collect and preserve those manuscripts that could be used to support the Reformation,¹⁰⁶ and if possible, to arrange for their publication. Parker, a theologian and classicist, was himself not a genuine Old English scholar, but he surrounded himself with men who were. His secretary John Joscelyn (1529–1603),¹⁰⁷ as well as the antiquaries Laurence Nowell (†1571/72)¹⁰⁸ and William Lambarde (1536–1601),¹⁰⁹ distinguished themselves by their attempts to learn the Old English language.¹¹⁰ Their transcripts of now lost manuscripts have ensured the preservation of various Old English texts, such as the G version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,¹¹¹ and parts of the Anglo-Saxon laws.¹¹²

Protestant Bible translations meant that, for the first time, languages which had until then been regarded as vulgar or barbarian and unfit to express the word of God became Biblical languages. As a result, the status of Old Germanic languages shifted from historically interesting, but essentially barbarian, tongues to languages capable of conveying religious ideas and sentiments, even good enough for the Bible itself. This stimulated Protestant theologians to embark on a more serious study of these languages, and to acquire a better understanding of the nature and contents of the texts. Moreover, it formed the most important stimulus for publishing Old Germanic text material in printed books.

¹⁰⁶ Adams, 14–15.

¹⁰⁷ On Joscelyn, see Janet Bately, "John Joscelyn and the Laws of the Anglo-Saxon Kings", in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts...*, M. Korhammer *et al.* eds. (Cambridge, 1993), 435–466; Angelika Lutz, "Das Studium der Angelsächsischen Chronik im 16. Jahrhundert...", *Anglia* 100 (1982), 301–356.

¹⁰⁸ On Nowell, see Carl T. Berkhout, "The Pedigree of Laurence Nowell the Antiquary", *ELN* 23 (1985), 15–26; Pamela M. Black, "Some Light on the Career of Laurence Nowell the Antiquary", *Antiquaries Journal* 62 (1982), 116–123; —, "Laurence Nowell's 'Disappearance' in Germany...", *English Historical Review* 92 (1977), 345–353; R. Flower, "Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times", *PBB* 21 (1935), 46–73.

¹⁰⁹ See below, p. 37.

¹¹⁰ See also Michael Murphy, "Mediaevalia: Methods in the Study of Old English in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Medieval Studies* 30 (1968), 345–350. That they were motivated not only by religious arguments but, like Leland, also by an interest in history, law, and chorography is shown by Lutz, "Das Studium der Angelsächsischen Chronik", 338, who observes that Laurence Nowell's interests shifted from chorography to history.

¹¹¹ Angelika, Lutz, *Die Version G der angelsächsischen Chronik...* (Munich, 1981).

¹¹² Raymond J.S. Grant, *Laurence Nowell, William Lambarde and the Laws of the Anglo-Saxons* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1996).

5. *The art of printing*

The newly discovered art of printing was a decisive factor in the spread of humanist editions of classical texts in the second half of the fifteenth century. For instance, Poggio Bracciolini discovered Quintilian's *Institutiones oratoriae* in the monastery of St. Gall in the winter of 1415–16. The first edition of this work appeared in Rome in 1470, long after its discovery, but less than three years after the first printing-press had been introduced.¹¹³ The many *editiones principes* of classical texts spread humanist scholarship on a scale hitherto unimaginable. The production of annotated editions providing wide-ranging critical commentary, as well as emended texts became standard practice,¹¹⁴ and hence provided guidelines for humanist scholarship. Books which contained only a commentary on a previously edited text were a subsequent step. Moreover, translations were published which served the needs of a non-Latin speaking audience. It was the art of printing that pushed humanism across the Alps.¹¹⁵

The first printed books incorporating specimens of Old Germanic languages were historical publications by German humanist scholars from the early sixteenth century. In 1505 Count Hermann von Neuenar (1492–1530) published Einhart's *De vita et gestis Caroli Magni*, a historical work which included the names of the months and the winds in Old High German.¹¹⁶ Johannes Trithemius and Vadianus produced the books mentioned above.¹¹⁷

The German historian Beatus Rhenanus was among the first scholars who devoted serious attention to the early Middle Ages.¹¹⁸ Rhenanus's interests were not limited to history but also included the German language,

¹¹³ See J.F. Vanderheyden, *Hervorming en neo-filologie* (Ghent, 1962).

¹¹⁴ D'Amico, 21.

¹¹⁵ On the significance of the invention of printing for humanism, see Davies.

¹¹⁶ D'Amico, 180.

¹¹⁷ See above, p. 18.

¹¹⁸ With respect to this period, he employed the term *media aetas*, which is a very early attestation of this concept; see D'Amico, 57. On this topic, see also E.G. Stanley, "The Early Middle Ages...", *The Middle Ages after the Middle Ages...*, Marie-Françoise Alamiel and Derek Brewer eds. (Cambridge, 1997), 43–77; Peter Schaeffer, "The Emergence of the Concept of 'Medieval' in Central European 'Humanism'", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 7 (1976), 1–30.

which he considered a unifying element to the nation.¹¹⁹ In his masterpiece, *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres* (1531), he also included Old High German, on which he remarked: "The German language has spread over a wide area. Still it has its proper idiom. It delights in original monosyllabic words, and it borrows some [elements] from a foreign language".¹²⁰ He was mainly interested in Franconian, not least as a result of his discovery in 1529 of an Old High German manuscript in the library at the monastery of Corvey. This manuscript, a life of Christ originating from Freising Cathedral library, lacked any indications as to its identification. Rhenanus's expertise in languages and palaeography is shown by the fact that he described the manuscript as *Evangeliorum theodiscam linguam*, noted that it was verse and observed that it was at least six hundred years old.¹²¹ Rhenanus presumably never realized that he was dealing with a copy of the Old High German paraphrase of the Gospels by Otfrid von Weissenburg.¹²² He also jotted lines from another Otfrid manuscript on the cover of one of his books, which has been preserved in the library of Selestadt. The exemplar of this text which bore Otfrid's name was one of many rather defective copies that circulated among humanist scholars in Germany, which indicates that, even before the 1530s, Old High German texts enjoyed a certain degree of popularity among German humanists. Besides Beatus Rhenanus, Sebastian Franck (1499–1542) also included Otfrid excerpts in his work.¹²³

Rhenanus disapproved of the Catholic Church's opposition to vernacular translations of religious texts, and used the fine examples of Old Frankish translators as a case in point when he stated: "Eternal is the praise of the ancient Franks, who occasioned the Holy Books to be trans-

¹¹⁹ D'Amico, 198.

¹²⁰ "Sermo Germanicus longe lateque fusus est. Habet tamen sua idiomatica. Gaudet vocibus primigeniis monosyllabis, ac nonnulla a provinciali lingua mutuatus est"; Beatus Rhenanus, *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres* ... (Basel, 1531), 112. A second enlarged edition was published posthumously in 1551.

¹²¹ D'Amico, 199. Conrad Gesner suggested to Achilles Pirmin Gassar that Otfrid's language was Low German or Dutch; see Hellgardt, "der alten Teutschen spraach", 268.

¹²² In the second edition (1551) of *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres*, the origin of the Old High German lines remained unnoticed. Only in the 1610 edition was Otfrid's name added to the passage. The assumption by D'Amico, 198, that Rhenanus probably knew from other sources that it had been written by Otfrid von Weissenburg is not substantiated, and is contradicted by Hellgardt, "der alten Teutschen spraach", 278–279: "Noch 1557 hielt Wolfgang Lazius, Beatus Rhenanus mißverstehend, den Freisinger Bischof Waldo für den Verfasser des Evangelienbuchs". The book referred to is Lazius, *De Gentium...migrationibus*.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 279.

lated into their, that is the German, language, which we have recently learned from certain theologians".¹²⁴ He referred in particular to a psalter in the possession of his friend Johannes Huttich. Rhenanus's views on Old Germanic, which for him stretched no further than Old High German, were to become characteristic of later generations of Germanic philologists in various countries.¹²⁵ In the first complete edition of an Old High German text, Otfrid's Old High German *Liber evangeliorum* of 1571, the editor Matthias Flacius Illyricus explicitly expressed his indebtedness to Rhenanus.¹²⁶ From Flacius's preface it appears that his reasons for publishing Otfrid were predominantly, though not exclusively, polemic.

Like Flacius, Matthew Parker was also inspired by polemic reasons to publish Old English texts. Although the use of the Bible in the vernacular immediately comes to mind, Parker's first Old English publication was prompted by the Protestant interpretation of the Eucharist.¹²⁷ With the help of Ælfric's Old English sermon on the sacrifice on Easter Day, Anglican theologians tried to vindicate their interpretation of the ceremony. Parker and his associates "cut, trimmed and annotated" Ælfric's sermon in such a way that it supported Protestant beliefs, thus setting up a false textual tradition that was to last until well in the nineteenth century.¹²⁸ In 1571 Parker instigated the publication of the New Testament in Old English, incidentally, the same year as Flacius's edition of Otfrid.¹²⁹ Parker's edition of Asser's life of King Alfred indicates that his interests included not only

¹²⁴ "Perpetua vero laus Francorum veterum qui sacros libros in suam, hoc est, Germanicam linguam vertendos curarint, quod nuper a theologis quibusdam scimus"; Rhenanus, 108.

¹²⁵ D'Amico, 208, comments on Rhenanus's influence on classical studies: "The advances in classical philology and history that occurred in the latter half of the sixteenth century and are to be found in the works of Carlo Sigonio, Justus Lipsius, Joseph Scaliger and the French jurists followed in a line that had been greatly strengthened by Beatus. He had been the first to turn Erasmian Humanism into classical philological and historical scholarship".

¹²⁶ Hellgart, "der alten Teutschen spraach", 278–279.

¹²⁷ [Matthew Parker] ed. *A Testimonie of Antiquitie Shewing the Auncient Fayth in the Church of England ...* (London, (1566/67), printed by John Day. It was reprinted by William L'Isle, *A Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old and New Testament* (London, 1623).

¹²⁸ Theodore H. Leinbaugh, "Ælfric's *Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae*: Anglican Polemic", in Berkhout and McC. Gatch, 51–68, at 51. Leinbaugh also gives a survey of this tradition. The abandonment of "doctrinal impartiality", which Hamilton, "Humanists and the Bible", 113, signals in the treatment of the Bible by early Protestant commentators and translators, returns in this interpretation of Ælfric's sermon.

¹²⁹ It was published in 1571, with a preface by John Foxe, a martyrologist but no scholar of Old English. The real work was presumably done by Parker and John Joscelyn; see Hetherington, *Beginnings*, 26; Adams, 31.

in the history of the English Church in relation to religious issues but also Anglo-Saxon history.

The study of Old Germanic law took root as a result of the first printed editions. In Germany, Carolingian laws were studied throughout the sixteenth century, both for antiquarian and for legal purposes. Johannes Sichard (1499–1552) published a selection of the laws in 1530, and Johannes Herold (1511–1566) published most of the corpus of Old Germanic laws in 1557. These laws, which were the result of early Medieval codification, formed important historical sources, but also served to support those who took part in legal debates. The study of Old Germanic law was inspired by the French jurists of the sixteenth century, who had argued for an objective inspection of legal texts, and had even produced a French edition. The vernacular terms, which occasionally occurred in the laws, added to their attraction. In England, William Lambarde published the first edition of part of the Anglo-Saxon laws in 1568 under the title *Archaionomia, sive de priscis Anglorum legibus*. The initial work on the Anglo-Saxon laws had been done by Laurence Nowell, whose main sponsor was the antiquarian, statesman and lawyer, Sir William Cecil (1520–1598). Cecil was a member of the Society of Antiquaries as well as of the Inns of Court, which were centres of intellectual activity, open to the study of Old English and the publication of Old English texts. More than two thirds of the 49 members of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquarians were members of the Inns of Court.¹³⁰ The significance of Lambarde's work is evident from the fact that a second enlarged edition appeared in 1644. In the seventeenth century, vernacular Old English laws were used by lawyers as an argument against the King's absolute power,¹³¹ and to supply authenticity to the system of common law.¹³²

The incunable edition of the Old Frisian laws dates from between 1480 and 1490,¹³³ and antedates the first editions of complete Old English or Old High German texts by nearly three quarters of a century. Therefore, Old Frisian holds the privilege of being by far the earliest printed Old Germanic language. However, comparison in this context is not entirely

¹³⁰ See F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution...* (London, 1962), 93; R.J. Schoeck, "Early Anglo-Saxon Studies and Legal Scholarship in the Renaissance", *Studies in the Renaissance* 5, M.A. Shaaber ed. (New York, 1958), 102–110. On Nowell's Old English transcripts, see Lutz, *Die Version G*; Roland Torkar, *Eine altenglische Übersetzung von Alcuins De Virtute et Vitiis*, Kap. 20 (Munich, 1981).

¹³¹ Schoeck, 106.

¹³² Fussner, 31–32.

¹³³ See below, p. 115, fn. 19.

valid, since this publication does not originate from the efforts of early humanists. Some of the features that made other Old Germanic languages interesting for humanist scholars did not apply to Frisian. Biblical works in the vernacular had not survived. Since the Frisians had been forced to dispense with their native legislation, which had been replaced by Roman law around the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Frisian language had been reduced to being a domestic, spoken, language, replaced in official use by Dutch.¹³⁴ Conrad Gesner explained the situation of the Frisian language in his *Mithridates* (1555):

The Frisians once used a peculiar harsh dialect varying considerably from the neighbouring ones, in which they used to draw up and settle all contracts and affairs. Nowadays, however, the West Frisians, especially in the towns, come near to the language of Brabant and Holland, on the one hand due to the commercial activities of Dutch traders, on the other hand, [due to the fact that] when the Emperor took over control here, he appointed many men from Brabant in their highest council, who also pronounce sentence in their own language, and set down all disputes and contracts for the common people.¹³⁵

A genuine antiquarian interest in Old Frisian manuscripts did not arise until well into the seventeenth century.¹³⁶ The first humanist explication of the Old Frisian laws was Sibrandus Siccama's 1617 edition of the *Lex Frisionum*, which he collated with parts of vernacular law codes.¹³⁷ Two short studies on the grammar of contemporaneous Frisian, known to have been written about the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were published by Simon Abbes Gabbema in 1681.¹³⁸ The distinction between contemporary spoken Frisian and Old Frisian was less clear than in

¹³⁴ See Oebele Vries, "*Naar ploeg en koestal vluchtte uw Taal*"... (Leeuwarden, 1993), 78–81, who identifies the Saxon ordinance of 3 July 1504 as the crucial instrument for the replacement of Frisian by Dutch as the official legal language.

¹³⁵ "Frisii quondam plane peculiari, dura & multum a vicinis distante dialecto usi sunt: qua contractus omnes & negotia transigere & describere solebant. Hodie autem occidentales Frisii in civitatibus praecipuè, ad Brabanticum et Hollandicum sermonem proximè accedunt, cum propter Hollandorum negotiatorum commercia, tum quod Cæsar ibi principatum obtinens, in summum eorum Curia Brabantos plerumque constituit: qui sua lingua et ius dicunt. & res controversas contractusque omnes plebi conscribunt"; Feitsma, *Tussen volkstaal en schrijftaal*, 55; Conrad Gesner, *Mithridates*... (Zürich, 1555), 39.

¹³⁶ Bremmer, "Late Medieval...Opinions", 176–184.

¹³⁷ See M. Oosterhout, "Sibrandus Siccama en it hanskraft Jus", in *Flecht op 'e koai*..., T. Hoekema *et al.* eds. (Groningen, 1970), 95–110. See also below, p. 179.

¹³⁸ On this treatise, see Rolf H. Bremmer Jr., "Oer datearring, funksje en auteurskip fan de earste Fryske grammatika (1684)", *Philologia Frisica* (1992), 9–32.

the case of contemporary English and German and the oldest stages of these languages.¹³⁹ Frisian was often designated by outsiders as *Frisica illa vetus*, by which contemporary Frisian rather than Old Frisian was meant.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, one should not confuse interest in contemporaneous Frisian with that in Old Frisian. Even contemporary scholars sometimes failed to make the proper distinctions. The Frisian Professor of Theology Sibrandus Lubbertus (1556–1625) mentioned the discovery of the Codex Argenteus to support his arguments in favour of the availability of the Bible in the vernacular. However, he was also interested in the language of the Codex Argenteus, and subsequently quoted the first line of the Lord's Prayer in Gothic, in the conviction it was an older form of Frisian.¹⁴¹

After the discovery of the Gothic Bible, humanists began to show an interest in its difficult language. Their first excerpts and studies were typical of the transposition of humanist ideas to the study of an Old Germanic language. In Burdach's words:

Jedesfalls, wie auch immer unter den ersten Findern und Kennern des gotischen Bibelkodex in Werden das wissenschaftliche Verdienst sich teile, der Geist der in ihren Bemühungen um diese einzigartige Urkunde des alten Christentums und der ältesten germanischen Sprache waltete, war derselbe: der humanistischen Trieb zu den echten Quellen des Nationalen Altertums und der nationale Sprache, der reformatorische oder wenigstens reformfreundliche Drang zur ursprünglichen, reinen Gestalt des Christentums und des kirchlichen Kultus.¹⁴²

In 1554, Wauters wrote to Von Niedbruck that, whereas he was more interested in history and etymology, Cassander's attention was aimed at theological questions:

However, I am much more inclined to ruminate on history and deeds of valour, from which something could be brought to light. This is the reason why some things have come up, which digress beyond the confines of religious matters, such as those concerned with the old languages of Germany and France, etymologies of place-names, and various histories of

¹³⁹ Meijering, *Oudere Germaanse literatuur*, 11.

¹⁴⁰ See Feitsma, *Tussen volkstaal en schrijftaal*; K. Fokkema, *Nei wider kimen...*, W.J. Buma *et al.* eds. (Grongingen, 1969), 51–61. Scholarly interest in Frisian before the end of the sixteenth century was rare; see Meijering, *Oudere Germaanse literatuur*, 4.

¹⁴¹ Bremmer, "Oer datearring", 17–18; Feitsma, *Tussen volkstaal en schrijftaal*, 51; Sibrandus Lubbertus, *De principiis Christianorum dogmatum...* (Franeker, 1591), 27.

¹⁴² Burdach, 286.

peoples. But Cassander, whatever time he has left from the care for his greatly afflicted health (which is certainly not much), this he spends more on examining controversial religious issues; and besides the Holy Scriptures, and besides the writings of the Church Fathers, he also adduces writers from later times in his defence, especially those who wrote about the rites of the Church, which are found here and there in libraries, so far unpublished, and of which we have some in our possession.¹⁴³

However, Cassander, who knew Old High German and was familiar with Willeram's Old High German paraphrase of the *Song of Songs*, was also interested in the language. In a letter to Duke William of Cleves he wrote in 1555:

And I am also somewhat incited by the fact that you are not at all far removed from our Flanders. For you possess in that region this very pleasant dale, *Vindalia*, the common Flemings call it *Vuinendale*, which I hold to be derived from "loving" or "friend". For, in the old language of the Germans or the Franks *Vuine* means "beloved", just as appears from the German translation of Solomon's Song of Songs, made about five hundred years ago by the scholastic monk Willeram of Bamberg.¹⁴⁴

The fact that Gothic was mainly studied by philologists from the Low Countries in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century may indicate that it was treated as a replacement for the apparent absence of early Medieval Dutch. In 1569, Johannes Goropius Becanus (1518–1572) published the first sample of the Gothic language in the Netherlands.¹⁴⁵ The first publication of Gothic fragments in Gothic characters was also a

¹⁴³ "Verum me natura potius ad historiarum et rerum gestarum considerationem, unde aliquid lucis potuit adferri rapuit; quo factum est, ut obiter quoque nonnulla incurrerent, quae extra sacrarum rerum saepia vagantur; ut de veteribus Germaniae ac Galliae linguis et locorum etymologiis variisque gentium historiis. Cassander vero, quicquid illi ab afflictissimae valetudinis curatione relinquitur temporis (quod sane perquam exiguum est) magis id inspectioni controversarum in religione quaestionum impendit et post literas sacras postque veterum patrum scripta posterioris etiam aetatis scriptores praesertim qui de ritibus ecclesiasticis passim adhuc in bibliothecis non editi reperiuntur et aliqui apud nos sunt, subsidio sibi advocat"; Schulte, 62.

¹⁴⁴ "Monuit me, et hoc nonnihilo, quod a nostra Flandria non omnino sis alienus. Posides enim illic Vindaliae saltum amoenissimum, vulgus Flandrorum Vuinendale appellat, quem ego a diligendo seu dilectione dictum puto. Prisca enim Germanorum seu Francorum lingua Vuine dilectum seu dilectam significat, ut ex Germanica conversione Canticorum Salomonis, Vuillerami Scholastici Babinbergensis facta ante annos circiter quingentos apparet"; Schulte, 62–63. The ⟨Vu⟩ has to be read here as ⟨W⟩, and the place under discussion is *Wijnendale* in Flanders.

¹⁴⁵ See Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 24.

Dutch undertaking, carried out by the Leiden professor Bonaventura Vulcanius in *De literis et linguis Getarum sive Gothorum* (Leiden, 1597). Besides Gothic, Vulcanius also included three runic alphabets.¹⁴⁶ In 1602 the Dutchman Janus Gruterus (1560–1627), who had studied at Leiden but spent most of his life outside the Netherlands, published the Lord's Prayer and some passages from the New Testament in Gothic characters.¹⁴⁷ The Frisian theologist Sibrandus Lubbertus copied the first lines of the Lord's Prayer from a transcript in the possession of Marnix of St. Aldegonde (1538–1598), which, in turn, was used by the German scholar Marquard Freher.¹⁴⁸ These publications reflect the increasing interest in the Gothic language, mainly in the Netherlands.¹⁴⁹ The discovery of Crimean Gothic in 1562 by the Flemish humanist Oghier Ghislain Busbecq (1522–1592) was received with equal enthusiasm, and added to the recognition of the value of the Gothic language by humanist philologists in the sixteenth century and later.¹⁵⁰

6. The Leiden philological tradition

In the second half of the sixteenth century, a generation of scholars educated in the humanist tradition emerged which would provide the founding-fathers of philological scholarship in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. In 1575, only seven years after the beginning of the war with Spain, Prince William of Orange founded a university at Leiden, which was to become the centre of philological scholarship in the

¹⁴⁶ In 1600, the Swede Nicolaus Gran wrote to Vulcanius after reading his work. In the letter Gran included a poem with runes which he claimed to have learned from old men, and which could be seen in old burial places. On the text of this letter, see P.C. Molhuysen, "Een Runendicht", *TNTL* 27 (1888), 32–37.

¹⁴⁷ Janus Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis...* (Frankfurt, 1602), 146–148.

¹⁴⁸ Marquard Freher, *Orationis Dominicae, et Symboli Apostolici Alamannica versio vetustissima* (Heidelberg, 1609), A3^v. On Frisian interest in Gothic, see Bremmer, "Oer datearring", 17–18; Feitsma, *Tussen volkstaal en schrijftaal*, 7.

¹⁴⁹ Gothic was also published outside the Netherlands. The *Lord's Prayer* was printed by Hieronymus Megiser, *Specimen quinquaginta...linguarum...* (Frankfurt, 1603), and a few Gothic words in —, *Thesaurus polyglottus vel dictionarium multilinguae...*, (Frankfurt, 1603); see R.G. van de Velde, "Mercatorals Germanist", *Handelingen der Koninklijke Zuid-nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* 18 (1964), 287–307.

¹⁵⁰ See Macdonald Stearns Jr., *Crimean Gothic...* (Saratoga, 1978); Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 57. On Busbecq, see Z.R.W.M. von Martels, *Augerius Gisleinius Busbequius...* (Groningen, 1989).

Netherlands in the ensuing period. The two most influential scholars who stood at the foundation of the Leiden philological tradition were the Fleming Justus Lipsius and the Frenchman Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609).

Lipsius, who originated from Brabant in the Southern Netherlands, received his education at Louvain, at the renowned Collegium Trium Linguarum, which had been founded with the help and support of Erasmus.¹⁵¹ In 1578, after a career in Louvain and Jena, Lipsius was persuaded to come to Leiden, where he taught history. Lipsius often worked on topics related to government and war, illuminating contemporary practice by means of classical texts. However, he was also interested in language, interpreting Tacitus with the help of the Erasmian method.¹⁵² His works, and especially his Tacitus edition, gained wide acclaim among contemporaries.

After 1591, when Lipsius left Leiden for Louvain, his successor as *Decus academiae* was Joseph Justus Scaliger,¹⁵³ one of the most influential humanist scholars of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He was born in France as the eldest son of the Italian humanist scholar Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558). After his father's death, the young Scaliger went to Paris, where he met the French humanist Guilielmus Postel (Postellus) (1510–1581). At the height of religious controversies in France, Postel had come to live in the same house as Joseph Scaliger, who became his pupil. Scaliger's interest in chronology and comparative linguistics can be traced back to Postel, who taught Scaliger Hebrew and perhaps other oriental languages as well. Postel knew 15 languages and has been considered one of the founding fathers of comparative language studies. Scaliger occupied himself with a wide variety of subjects, including Latin, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, geography, geometry, theology, history, and comparative language studies. He developed textual criticism to the extent that he was the first scholar to consider the possibility of reconstructing an older copy of existing texts purely by interpretation of

¹⁵¹ See C. Matheeußen, "Het humanisme in de volkstaal in het 16e-eeuwse Brabant", *Humanisme in Brabant* (Leuven, 1985), 13–60, at 44–50, where he stresses the influence of Erasmus during his second Louvain period (1517 to 1521). The *Collegium Trium Linguarum* was founded in 1517, with the help of a bequest by Hieronymus Busleyden (1470–1517), a wealthy cleric of noble descent.

¹⁵² Grafton and Jardine, 197–199.

¹⁵³ On Scaliger, see Rolf H. Bremmer Jr., "J.J. Scaliger", *Lexicon grammaticorum...*, Harro Stammerjohan ed. (Tübingen, 1996), 828–829; Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A History of Classical Scholarship...* (Oxford, 1983, 1993).

the existing manuscripts.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, he broadened the scope of humanism by transcending the formal distinction between Biblical, classical, barbaric, and Greek, stating in his *Thesaurus temporum* (Leiden, 1606) that the description of world history required all aspects of that history to be considered in their proper perspective and cohesion.¹⁵⁵ In this process the distinction between the study of language and the study of what was written in the language also tended to fade away. In relation to Melancthon's distinction between theology and grammar, Scaliger wrote "I wish I were a good grammarian, for it is sufficient for anyone who wants to understand all authors thoroughly to be a good grammarian".¹⁵⁶

Scaliger functioned as a model for his fellow professors and students, and the spirit of his work was continued by his pupils, of whom the most important was Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), Scaliger's favourite student, whom Isaac Casaubon called *parvus Scaliger*. Like his master, Heinsius was noted for his erudition and versatility, and for nearly 50 years he worked and taught at Leiden as professor of Latin, Greek, and History, but he was also known for his knowledge of oriental languages, literary criticism and law. Other students of Scaliger, who have been ranked among the most influential Dutch scholars in diverse fields, include the jurist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), the poet Pieter Cornelisz Hooft (1581–1647), and the Arabist Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624). By the end of the sixteenth century, partly as a result of the influence of Scaliger, Lipsius, and their contemporaries, the scope of humanism had broadened to the extent that it comprised a wide field of subjects, not only the history of the classical world but also theology, law, general history, politics, medicine, poetry, and last but not least, the study of language.

7. *The study of language*

Humanism formed the heart of sixteenth-century language studies in the Netherlands, as it was based on the influential ideas and methods of

¹⁵⁴ Waszink, "Classical Philology", 165.

¹⁵⁵ Clemens M. Bruehl, "Joseph Justus Scaliger: Ein Beitrag zur geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Altertumswissenschaft", *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 12 (1960), 213.

¹⁵⁶ "Utinam essem bonus Grammaticus: sufficit enim ei qui auctores omnes probe vult intelligere esse bonum Grammaticum"; Bruehl, 50.

Erasmus, Lorenzo Valla, Juan Luis Vives and Rudolf Agricola.¹⁵⁷ However, this did not lead to a uniform approach to all language study, as might have been expected in view of Scaliger's ideas on the all-encompassing study of philology. It is necessary, therefore, to make a distinction in advance between philology on the one hand, and the study of language on the other. In the seventeenth century, philology, known at the time as *historia, antiquitates et eloquentia*,¹⁵⁸ meant the study of the humanities in general, whereas language, which was only part of philology, was restricted to the study of Latin and Greek.

In his treatment of the results of humanism in relation to the study of language in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Verburg proposed a three-fold division:

We think to distinguish three branches of Humanism. Two are scientific and one is general-cultural. Re-emerging classical philology and—still rudimentary—comparative linguistics make up the scientific shoots, whereas a general civilizing movement aspiring after literacy and eloquence forms the non-scientific branch.¹⁵⁹

It will become clear that the three branches of humanism as described by Verburg are closely related.

7.1. Classical philology

An important current in linguistic scholarship continued to remain focused on Latin, and to a lesser extent on Greek. The functional approach to Latin by early humanists, who considered speaking the language and imitating the classics the most appropriate basis of study, changed to a wider philological approach in the sixteenth century. Latin became an object of research rather than a symbol of revived antiquity, and scholars wished to collect, investigate and arrange language data.¹⁶⁰ In addition,

¹⁵⁷ See L. Peeters, "Linguistics and the Trivium...", *Leuvense Bijdragen* 71 (1982), 10. Lorenzo Valla, who belongs to an earlier generation of humanists, has been added on account of his importance for the study of Latin and textual criticism, and because of his influence on the other three. See above, p. 11.

¹⁵⁸ Waszink, "Classical Philology", 161.

¹⁵⁹ "We menen drieërlei uitloper van het Humanisme te kunnen onderscheiden. Twee wetenschappelijke en een algemeen culturele. Een herrijzende *klassieke philologie* en een—nog rudimentaire—*comparatieve linguïstiek* vormen de wetenschappelijke loten, een *burgerlijk beschavingsstreven* naar geletterdheid en welbespraaktheid de niet-wetenschappelijke uitloper"; P.A. Verburg, *Taal en functionaliteit...* (Amsterdam, 1951), 161.

¹⁶⁰ Verburg, 162.

literature and literary criticism received more attention, largely owing to the works of Daniel Heinsius and Gerard Johannes Vossius (1577–1649), who paid attention to literary interpretation of texts and to the history of literature and literary problems.¹⁶¹ In the seventeenth century, classical philology again tended to be more restricted to Latin and Greek, disentangling itself from the broad philological scholarship of the earlier period, which had also turned other languages into objects of study.¹⁶²

The study of Latin and Greek vocabulary formed a major part of philological studies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Italian Augustinian monk Ambrogio de Calepino (1435–1511), who had published his first comprehensive *Dictionarium* of Latin in 1502, was followed by the French humanist printer Robert Estienne, who printed his *Dictionarium seu Latinae linguae thesaurus* in Paris in 1531.¹⁶³ Both dictionaries proved of great influence on the development of lexicography.¹⁶⁴ Apart from lexicography, etymology also received attention from the humanists, including etymological observations in annotated editions of classical texts. Gerard Johannes Vossius worked on the etymology of Latin during his entire life. His *magnum opus* in this field, the *Etymologicum linguae Latinae*, was published posthumously in 1662 by his son Isaac.¹⁶⁵ Occasionally, the study of Latin etymology, particularly etymologies of late antique and early medieval loanwords, turned the attention of etymologists to Old Germanic languages.¹⁶⁶ In the seventeenth century, this increasingly incited scholars to apply the principles of classical etymology to vernacular languages. As I will show in chapters V and VI, this process formed the beginning of a long tradition of Germanic scholarship on a comparative basis, and produced the first rudimentary attempts to discover an etymological method.

¹⁶¹ Waszink, "Classical Philology", 162.

¹⁶² Verburg, 162.

¹⁶³ The name *Dictionarium* was given to the book on account of the many *dictiones* that Calepino had included. See F. Claes sj., *De bronnen van drie woordenboeken uit de drukkerij van Plantijn* (Brussel, 1970), 25.

¹⁶⁴ On the development of lexicography in the Netherlands, see F. Claes sj., "Latijnse woordenboeken en het ontstaan van de lexicografie in de volkstalen", *Hermeneus* 39 (1968), 228–238; —, "Ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse lexicografie tot 1600", *TNTL* 86 (1970), 102–126; —, "De studie van de eigen Nederlandse taal", *Antwerpen in de zestiende eeuw* (Antwerp, 1975), 301–319.

¹⁶⁵ On Vossius, see below, pp. 218–225.

¹⁶⁶ See below, pp. 221–222.

7.2. Comparative language studies

For the beginnings of comparative linguistics we have to reach back to the works of Juan Luis Vives, who had observed that the study of language was exclusively based on Latin and denied the generally accepted doctrine that Latin grammar was universally applicable to whichever language one chose.¹⁶⁷ Vives recognized pluralism within linguistics and was the first to advocate the description of the vernacular languages.¹⁶⁸ Three years before Vives died, Guillaume Postel (1538)¹⁶⁹ published an introduction to twelve mostly Oriental and Slavonic languages.¹⁷⁰ Vives's ideas were adopted by his pupil Georgius Bibliander, also known as Georg Buchmann (1504–1564), who compared Turkish, Persian and Hungarian, and tried to relate them to Hebrew. Moreover, Bibliander also devised theories about language change and argued in favour of a further development of the vernacular.¹⁷¹ Both Postel and Bibliander have been presented as the founder of comparative linguistics.

Comparison of languages was often closely linked to the search for the original, or, as it is sometimes called, *Adamic* language. This concept originated in the Christian tradition: in *Genesis* 2: 18–21 it is told how Adam, after divine instruction, named all animals and plants in accordance with their natural characteristics. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the tower of Babel and the diaspora of languages still dominated views on the diversity of languages. To decrease the discrepancy between Biblical authority and the correspondences observed among various languages, the changes at Babel were often reduced to confusion, resulting in a spread of dialects rather than new languages.

Both with respect to his methods and his ideas, Johannes Goropius Becanus can be considered a pioneer of comparative language studies. In his *Origines Antwerpianae* (1569) and *Opera omnia* (1580) Becanus strove to identify Dutch as the most ancient and perfect remnant of the original language.¹⁷² To support his claim for priority of Dutch, even over Hebrew, Becanus asserted that Biblical names displayed a greater mystical

¹⁶⁷ Peeters, "Linguistics and the Trivium", 2, 9.

¹⁶⁸ Verburg, 160–161, 166.

¹⁶⁹ See above, p. 42.

¹⁷⁰ Verburg, 166.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 166–168; Georgius Bibliander, *De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius* (Basel, 1548).

¹⁷² See below, p. 192.

significance when he took them as if they were of Low German origin.¹⁷³ The second essential argument in Becanus's refutation of Hebrew as the primordial language is the fact that its words are mostly polysyllabic, while Becanus considered monosyllabicity a strong indication of the antiquity of a language, echoing a tradition dating back to Plato's *Kratylos*, which is based on a natural congruence between form and meaning.¹⁷⁴ From a Christian point of view the purity and divine nature of the Adamic language also had brevity as a precondition. Becanus failed to recognize these qualities in Hebrew and named the original language "Scythian".¹⁷⁵ For a long time the term Scythian continued to be used for an original but extinct tongue which had formed the basis for the contemporary languages. Even though Becanus's etymological speculations provoked a great deal of negative criticism,¹⁷⁶ the value of his work lies in the stimulus he provided to scholars who aimed to raise the standard of Dutch in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁷

In his treatise *Diatriba de Europaeorum linguis*, Joseph Justus Scaliger introduced the idea of dividing languages into *matrices*.¹⁷⁸ Scaliger divided the European languages according to four major and seven minor *matrices*, while at the same time denying the existence of a single original language. He had come to these conclusions on the basis of what he claimed to be objective criteria; his classification of the four major matrices was based upon words for "God": Latin *Deus*, Greek *Θεός*, Dutch *God* and Slavonic *Boge*. He could see no resemblance between

¹⁷³ Don C. Allen, "Some Theories of the Growth and Origin of Language in Milton's Age", *Philological Quarterly* 28 (1949), 13.

¹⁷⁴ See Marijke J. van der Wal, "Early Language Typology: Attitudes Towards Languages in the 16th and 17th Centuries", *History and Rationality...*, K.D. Dutz & K.-Å. Forsgren eds. (Münster, 1995), 95-105; —, *De moedertaal centraal...* (The Hague, 1995), 43-52.

¹⁷⁵ See G.J. Metcalf, "The Indo-European Hypothesis in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in *Studies in the History of Linguistics...*, D. Hymes ed. (London, 1974), 241-244.

¹⁷⁶ Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*, 45.

¹⁷⁷ Becanus's influence extended well into the seventeenth century. See also D. Brink, "Lambert ten Kate as Indo-Europeanist", in *Dutch Linguistics at Berkeley...*, J. van Oosten and J.P. Snapper eds. (Berkeley, 1985), 82-84, and Van der Wal, "Early Language Typology", 95-99, who describe Becanus's influence on Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel and Simon Stevin, and on the emerging trivium tradition; see below, pp. 196-197.

¹⁷⁸ Published posthumously in Scaliger's *Opuscula antehac non edita* (Leiden, 1610), 119-122. The term *matrix* as it was used by Scaliger and others after him to denote a group of related languages and/or dialects and their common ancestor is based on the meaning of this word in classical Latin, and not related to modern scientific concepts.

these words, and considered it inconceivable that such an important word should have been changed in the course of time. Scaliger is showing himself to be an exception here, because he disregarded medieval convictions with regard to the three sacred languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.¹⁷⁹

In *De lingua Belgica* (Leiden, 1612), the Dutch philologist Abrahamus Mylius, or Abraham van der Mijle (1563–1637), adopted many of Becanus's viewpoints,¹⁸⁰ voicing ideas on the origin and nature of language change, pertaining to Dutch in particular.¹⁸¹ In imitation of Scaliger, Mylius divided languages into a system of families, or *matrices*, but whereas Scaliger maintained that his *matrices* were independent, Mylius considered his to be related and deriving from a common origin.¹⁸² He distinguished three additional equal *matrices*, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic, besides the inferior *lingua Illyrica*, the Slavonic languages. Of the four *matrices* he postulated, Teutonic was the only one that had remained uncorrupted.¹⁸³

Mylius claimed that some languages changed more than others, on the basis of which he postulated that Dutch had been the speech of the Old Teutonic peoples.¹⁸⁴ In his paradigm of languages, he considered it possible that the original language could coexist along with its derivations, which accounted for the continuous existence of Dutch since antiquity, simultaneous with the development of other Germanic languages. The

¹⁷⁹ However, in another treatise, entitled *Diatriba de varia literarum aliquot pronuntiatione*, Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 131, remarked “for what is *o* among the Greeks has been changed to *v* (factum est) among the Latins, as *θεός*, Deus”. Quoted after Metcalf, “The Indo-European Hypothesis”, 238.

¹⁸⁰ On Mylius, see George J. Metcalf, “Abrahamus Mylius on Historical Linguistics”, *Publications of the Modern Language Society of America* 68 (1953), 535–554.

¹⁸¹ See below, p. 192.

¹⁸² Metcalf, “Abrahamus Mylius”, 545, rejects the possibility that Mylius was influenced by Scaliger: “Mylius’s views thus differed from the well-known verdict of Joseph Scaliger, who insisted...that there was no relationship at all among the major matrices, quae per omnia inter se discrepant. Scaliger, dealing only with Europe, did not include Hebrew, but did include the Slavic group, as well as seven languages which were *minores*. There is no evidence that Mylius was acquainted with Scaliger’s work, published only two years before his own”.

¹⁸³ Among Mylius’s long list of speakers of Teutonic in earlier times, Metcalf, “Abrahamus Mylius”, 553, included not only the Germanic tribes but also legendary peoples: *Amazones, Belgae, Cimbri, Cimmerici, Chorasmenes, Dacae, Galatae, Galli, Germani, Getae, Goti, Langobardi, Massagetae, Melanchlaeni, Phryges, Sacae, Sarmatae, Saxones, Scytae, Teutones, Thraces, Trojani*, and *Vandali*.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 544.

fundamental question he addressed remained the origin of human speech, in which he reserved the best place for his native Dutch language. Moreover, Mylius managed to hide his most rigid assumptions under a veil of religious conformism by stipulating in spite of his argumentation that Hebrew was the original language.

Adrianus Schrieckius (1560–1621), from Ypres, supported Mylius and Becanus in their arguments in favour of the antiquity of the Dutch language, and also related Dutch to Hebrew and Scythian.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, Schrieckius was the first to publish his ideas in Dutch and thus made them available to a non-Latinate audience.

Attempts at language comparison were not exclusively a Dutch affair; although the subject enjoyed a remarkable popularity in the Low Countries. Internationally, there was fierce competition as to which language was the most ancient. Francis Junius the elder argued for the antiquity of Hebrew in his *Oratio de linguae Hebraeae antiquitate* (Naples, 1579).¹⁸⁶ In Germany Beatus Rhenanus had emphasized the antiquity of German,¹⁸⁷ and Conrad Gesner had assembled information on various languages which he published in his *Mithridates*.¹⁸⁸ The Bohemian scholar Sigismund Gelenius (1497–1554) compiled a lexicon of four languages, in which he tried to show the connection between Greek, Latin, German, and Slavonic.¹⁸⁹ Although very little attention was paid to the comparison of languages in England,¹⁹⁰ the antiquary and mathematician Edward Brerewood (c.1556–1613) added four languages to Scaliger's list, one of which was Frisian, and developed interesting theories on language-change. He

¹⁸⁵ Metcalf, "The Indo-European Hypothesis", 245–246; Adrianus Schrieckius, *Originum rerumque Celticarum et Belgicarum libri XIII...* (Ypres, 1614), does not present any specimens of Old Germanic languages. Of particular attraction is his account of the Saxon migration to England (437–439), in which he postulated that the Saxons were actually Flemings.

¹⁸⁶ For information about opinions on the nature and origin of language between 1480 and 1580, see Marie-Luce Demonet, *Les voix du signe... (1480–1580)* (Paris, 1992). Demonet, 355, indicates that Junius the elder commented on Gothic, which he considered to be an Oriental language related to Hebrew. I do not know whether his interest in language comparison had any influence on his son, Francis Junius the younger.

¹⁸⁷ Rhenanus, 112.

¹⁸⁸ On Gesner's interest in Germanic languages, see George J. Metcalf, "Konrad Gesner's View on the Germanic Languages", *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht, deutsche Sprache und Literatur* 55 (1963), 149–156; von Raumer, 37–45; E. Poppe, *Multiplex sane linguarum ac dialectorum varietas...* (Münster, 1986), discusses his Celtic sources.

¹⁸⁹ Borst, 1082–1083; Sigismund Gelenius, *Lexicon symphonum...* (Basel, 1537).

¹⁹⁰ Hetherington, *Beginnings*, 54.

also specified the influence of substrata and superstrata and the inevitable drift of a language itself.¹⁹¹

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the comparison of languages took root in the Low Countries, and with it came the attention to Germanic languages. The humanist scholar and physician Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575) published a *Nomenclator omnium rerum* (1567) in which he compared Latin headwords with their Greek, Dutch, German, French, Italian, Spanish and English equivalents.¹⁹² Old Germanic languages were included in the work of the Antwerp lexicographer Cornelis Kiliaan (1528/29–1607). Kiliaan, who published three successive dictionaries in the last quarter of the sixteenth century,¹⁹³ increasingly put emphasis on etymology, which resulted in the *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae* (1599), the first etymological dictionary of Dutch. Kiliaan's work, which included not only many regional and archaic variants of Dutch but also Frisian, Old English, Old High German, and even Gothic, formed the culmination of the first hey-day of comparative Germanic scholarship in the Low Countries.¹⁹⁴ The great Scaliger looked at Gothic and Old English, and his colleague Bonaventura Vulcanius (1597) compared Gothic, Frisian, Old English, runes, Old High German, Persian, Crimean Gothic and Dutch.

Along the lines of classical humanism, others began searching for manuscripts. In August 1591 Justus Lipsius wrote to his friend, the Leiden scholar Janus Dousa (1545–1609), that he had seen an ancient manuscript in Liège, with interlinear vernacular glosses:

I have also seen an old Latin psalter here, with explanations in Saxon between the lines, in which there are many secrets of our ancient language. If I can, I will get hold of it, and either arrange for it to be copied, or certainly make some excerpts for myself.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ J.A. Rea, "Linguistic Speculations of Edward Brerewood (1566–1613)", *Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honour of Archibald H. Hill*, M.A. Jazayery et al. eds. (Lisse, 1976), 257–261; Edward Brerewood, *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Language and Religion Through the Chief Parts of the World* (London, 1614).

¹⁹² Claes, "Ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse lexicografie", 106–107.

¹⁹³ For bibliographical information on Kiliaan and his works, see L. van den Branden et al., *Bio-bibliografie van Cornelis Kiliaan* (Nieuwkoop, 1978).

¹⁹⁴ On Kiliaan's influence on later scholars, see Kees Dekker "'Vide Kilian' ...", *Anglia* 114 (1996), 514–543.

¹⁹⁵ "Vidimus etiam psalterium vetus Latinum, et interjectam lineis Saxonice interpretationem, in qua multa arcana priscae nostrae linguae. Nanciscar, si potero, & aut describi jussero, aut certe mihi quaedam excerptam"; Justus Lipsius to Janus Dousa (02–08–1591), Leiden, University Library, MS Lipsius 3 (4), 21; see Aloïs Gerlo, and

The manuscript consisted of a psalter with additional hymns and creeds, containing what are nowadays regarded as Old Middle and Low Franconian glosses.¹⁹⁶ At the time, it belonged to one Arnold Wachtendonk, a Canon from Liège, whence its name *Wachtendonk Psalter Glosses*, but the codex has never been seen since then, and is now considered lost. Enthusiastic about his find, Lipsius sent extracts to his Leiden friends, Janus Dousa and Jan van Hout (1542–1609), to whom he recommended its remarkably ancient language:

I am sending you and our Dousa (I also want him to see it) a sample and foretaste, Psalm 18, which I have faithfully copied word for word. I know you will be charmed by the great antiquity of my language, and that you have seen nothing similar or equal to it. There are many new things in this book to be noted. I will undertake to get it all, and then we will determine what seems useful to the community.¹⁹⁷

Although Lipsius never got round to publishing the *Wachtendonk Psalter Glosses*, he left a fragmentary transcript,¹⁹⁸ as well as a list of 670 Old Franconian words with Latin glosses in a letter to the Antwerp town secretary Hendricus Schottius, dating from 1598. In the same year, the Leiden professor Paullus Merula published his edition of Abbot Willeram's Old High German paraphrase of the *Song of Songs*, with an extensive philological commentary.¹⁹⁹ It was a revolutionary work in that, for the first time, blocks of philological commentary, in which languages were compared, served to elucidate a complete edition of an Old Germanic text. Hitherto, the situation had been the reverse, in that smaller passages of Old Germanic texts had been adduced as examples to works dealing with the comparison of languages.

Hendrik P.L. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse 1564–1606* (Antwerp, 1968), 121. I am much indebted to Chris Heesakkers for bringing this and two other passages from Lipsius's correspondence to my attention.

¹⁹⁶ See Arend Quak, *Studien zu den altmittel- und altniederfränkischen Psalmen und Glossen* (Amsterdam, 1973).

¹⁹⁷ "Specimen et gustum tibi et Douzae nostro (volo et ille videat) mittimus psalmum XVIII quem verbatim et fideliter ego descripsi. Delectaberis scio illa antiquitate meae linguae cui par aut simile nihil a te visum. Multa sunt in eo opere nova et notanda: ego effecero ut totum habeam et tum statuemus quod videbitur ex publico usu"; Justus Lipsius to Jan van Hout, 03–09–1591, in Leiden, University Library, MS Lipsius 3 (11), 8; Gerlo and Vervliet, 123.

¹⁹⁸ Leiden, University Library, MS Lipsius 53.

¹⁹⁹ Paullus Merula, *Willeram Abbatis in canticum canticorum paraphrasis gemina...* (Leiden, 1598).

Two major ideas evolving from the humanist interest in the comparison of languages were of major importance to the study of Old Germanic languages in the subsequent period. Firstly, the idea of distributing languages according to *matrices*, or groups of related languages, gradually structured the search for related members of a group both synchronically and diachronically. It encouraged scholars to convert common idiosyncrasies, however unstructured at first, into objective criteria applicable to the various members of a group, and thus ultimately, in the nineteenth century, it led to the paradigm of Indo-European languages. Secondly, the idea of the Scythian tradition, presupposing Scythian as a the ancestor of most European languages, sometimes even replacing Hebrew as the original mother tongue, was of equal significance. Metcalf outlines its relation to the comparative method in the nineteenth century and to modern paradigms.²⁰⁰ The supposed Scythian language, which Becanus associated with his native Dutch in the sixteenth century, can be compared to the nineteenth-century concept of Indo-Germanic, in that both ultimately represent the unknown origin of the Indo-European languages.

7.3. Literacy and eloquence

Contemporary society's aspiration to literacy and eloquence, which Verburg qualified as non-scientific, also took its origins from the ideas of the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, whose attitude in favour of vernacular languages contrasted with the opinions of many of his contemporaries.²⁰¹

In the Netherlands, this positive attitude occasioned attempts at standardization and elevation of the vernacular. Dirk Volkertsz. Coornhert (1522–1590), Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel (1549–1612) and Simon Stevin (1548–1620) all argued in favour of a revaluation and wider use of Dutch.²⁰² Although their views were not identical in every detail, their

²⁰⁰ Metcalf, "The Indo-European Hypothesis".

²⁰¹ Verburg, 166–168.

²⁰² For extensive information on the process of the standardization of Dutch, see Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*; L. van den Branden, *Het streven naar verheerlijking, zuivering en opbouw van het Nederlands in de zestiende eeuw* (Ghent, 1956). On Coornhert and Spiegel's work and opinions on Dutch, see Dibbets in Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel (1584), *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche letterkunst* (Leiden, 1584), repr. with comments (Assen, 1985). Stevin, whose ideas were largely based on Plato's *Kratylos*, was the main exponent of this movement; see Peeters, "Linguistics and the Trivium", 13–19. For his ideas, see Simon Stevin, *Dialectike ofte bewysconst...* (Leiden, 1585); —, "Uytspraeck van de weerdigheyt der Duytsche tael", *De beginselen der weeghconst* (Leiden, 1586).

arguments stressed the importance of vocabulary and rhetoric and emphasized the familiar idea that the *primaeval* past incorporated the pure ideal language, which had become contaminated during the Middle Ages. According to Stevin, this Ciceronean stage of the vernacular, which he named *wysentyt*, 'age of the wise',²⁰³ had elapsed before the production of any written documents. Any extant older stages of the vernacular were of no particular interest to Stevin. Instead, he argued for the study of the trivium to improve the effectiveness of the Dutch language.²⁰⁴ Stevin's argument that as a result of its great antiquity Dutch incorporated the elements for its improvement was based on Becanus²⁰⁵ and Spiegel. In their analysis of languages they regarded monosyllabic words as the basic units of speech and meaning, whereas combinations of syllables could serve to express more complex ideas.²⁰⁶ Moreover, foreign elements had to be purged if the vernacular was to be raised to a level equalling Latin, enabling it to convey the most sophisticated thoughts.²⁰⁷

Attempts to reestablish the vernacular resulted in an increase of vernacular literature which imitated the classics in form and content, and moreover in a desire for purification and standardization of the language.²⁰⁸ The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries also saw an increase in the number of dictionaries, grammars, and spelling treatises published.²⁰⁹ The mainstream of Dutch dictionaries²¹⁰ was published in

²⁰³ Peeters, "Linguistics and the Trivium", 13, 22–24.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 20. On the trivium tradition (grammar, dialectics and rhetoric), see Harm Klifman, *Studies op het gebied van de Vroegnieuw-nederlandse triviumtraditie...* (Dordrecht, 1983); —, "Dutch Language Study and the Trivium: Motives and Elaborations", *HL* 15 (1988), 63–83.

²⁰⁵ See above, p. 52–53.

²⁰⁶ On causes and consequences of the concept of monosyllabicity, see Van der Wal, "Early Language Typology", 99–105, who demonstrates that Stevin considered it possible to distinguish between genuine Dutch words and loanwords on account of brevity and/or monosyllabicity.

²⁰⁷ Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*, 36–37; Peeters, "Linguistics and the Trivium", 21.

²⁰⁸ Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*, 38.

²⁰⁹ Both in England and in France movements arose with remarkably similar aims. On analogous trends in the study of the vernacular in different countries, see also Van den Branden, *Het streven naar verheerlijking*, 210–293. N. Osselton, *The Dumb Linguists...* (Leiden, 1973), describes the earliest English dictionaries, while B. Quemada, *Les dictionnaires du français moderne 1539–1863...* (Paris, 1967), lists French dictionaries.

²¹⁰ Dictionaries of Dutch had been compiled since the Middle Ages. Early printed examples include the *Vocabularius ex quo* published in Zwolle in 1479, and the *Theutonista* or *Duytschlender* published in Cologne in 1477, the first dictionary to include a Dutch–Latin section; see F. Claes s.j., "Fragmenten van twee Middelnederlandse woordenboeken",

Antwerp, where the dictionaries of Antonius Schorus and Jan Berckelaer were among the first, soon to be superseded by the works of Cornelis Kiliaan at the Plantin presses.²¹¹ The Antwerp lawyer Jan van der Werve wrote his *Tresoor der Duytsscher talen* in 1553,²¹² which aimed at freeing the language from foreign elements. Spiegel's *Twe-spraak vande Nederduitsche letterkunst* (1584) was the first grammar of Dutch ever published.²¹³ Christiaan van Heule's *Nederduytse grammatica ofte spraak-konst* (1625) reaffirmed views expressed by Spiegel and Stevin. Van Heule's comments on the relatively small importance of older Germanic dialects for the study of Dutch complement Stevin's emphasis on modern Dutch. At the end of his grammar Van Heule added a passage entitled "of some diversity in speech among the Dutch".²¹⁴ To illustrate the diversity of the Dutch language in the past, Van Heule presented *Mary's Song* in Old High German from Vulcanius,²¹⁵ a passage of Willeram's Old High German paraphrase of the *Song of Songs* from Merula's edition,²¹⁶ Psalm 18 from the Old Low Franconian *Wachtendonk Psalter Glosses* from Mylius's *De lingua Belgica*,²¹⁷ and the *Ten Commandments* in Old Frisian, derived from Festus Hommius (1602). In conclusion, he stated:

In these oldest writings one can see several observations about the origin of our words, although not the complete state of the language of those days, but in the past four hundred years until today the language has been more purified, shortened and improved, daily.²¹⁸

Leuvense Bijdragen 71 (1982), 393–426.

²¹¹ For a overview of the development of Dutch lexicography, see Claes, "Ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse lexicografie".

²¹² On Van der Werve, see Claes, "De studie van de eigen Nederlandse taal", 311–312.

²¹³ The *Twe-spraak* was not the first Dutch grammar written. Leiden University Library preserves eight leaves containing an attempt to write a Dutch grammar by J. Rademacher (1538–1617). The leaves were identified and edited K. Bostoen, *Kaars en Bril: De oudste Nederlandse grammatica* (Middelburg, 1985).

²¹⁴ "Van eenige verscheydenheyt der sprake onder de Nederlanders".

²¹⁵ Vulcanius, *De literis*, 55–56.

²¹⁶ Merula, 2. See also below, pp. 128–130.

²¹⁷ Mylius, 152–55; see below, p. 180.

²¹⁸ "In deze outste schriften/ kan men verscheyde opmerkingen van den gront onzer woorden zien/ doch dat niet volkomelic den stant van de Sprake dier tijden maer in de laetst-voorgaende vierhondert jaren/ is de Tale tot deze onze tijden toe/ dagelix meer en meer gezuuyvert/ besnoeyt ende verbeteret"; W.J.H. Caron ed., *Christiaan van Heule: De Nederduytse grammatica...* (Groningen, 1953), 115; Van Heule disapproved of the longer endings in Old High German and Frisian and repeated Stevin's concept of brevity and monosyllabicity as characteristic of the quality of a language.

His statement that the language had been improved and purified over the previous four hundred years runs counter to the then prevailing concept of language deterioration and textual transmission during the later Middle Ages. Van Heule must have considered any primordial ideal state of the language to have occurred prior to recorded language,²¹⁹ since he dissociated this concept of the ideal state of the language from his specimens of Old Germanic dialects.

8. *Concluding remarks*

The first scholars who showed an interest in ancient Germanic texts display a remarkably similar intellectual profile. They were humanists with an excellent command of classical languages—some of them confirmed followers of Erasmus—who applied their knowledge to a wide range of scholarship. Most of them were theologians, lawyers, historians, or a combination thereof, and many were involved in the Reformation to some extent. Following earlier Italian humanists, they often travelled widely in search of antiquities, and published chorographies²²⁰ or geographical descriptions of their own country and people. An interest in regional and national identity formed further motivation for searching antiquities and documents, with the aim of writing a complete history of a region or a nation. The historical and chorographic interests of the humanists necessitated research into medieval manuscripts, which in turn led to an increasingly open-minded outlook on the early Middle Ages.

Interest in manuscripts containing Old Germanic languages did not arise in the first place out of concern for these languages. It was much more a historical interest reflected by a search for antiquities. The Tacitus craze, which swept Europe from 1470 onwards, reinforced the hunger for historical manuscripts, but it did not direct the attention of the historians towards the vernacular. Humanist historians compiled histories of their

²¹⁹ But see Caron, XXIII, for Van Heule's reactions to Spiegel and Becanus.

²²⁰ R. Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood...* (Chicago and London, 1992), 33, explains chorographies as "repositories of proper names...ancient place names, names of places too small to be mapped, names of particular properties, buildings and institutions, names of families and of individual people. As the genre develops, however, the weight shifts from one end of the list to the other. Where the earlier chorographers—Lambarde, Lhuyd and Camden—concentrated on place-names and made etymology their principal tool, the later ones prefer genealogy and the names of people".

countries through the study of its antiquities. The Italians became models for scholarship. Flavio Biondo's (1392–1463) *Italia illustrata* (Venice, 1503) was imitated in Germany, both in purpose and in title, by Conrad Celtis's attempt at writing his *Germania illustrata*.²²¹ In Holland Hadrianus Junius (1588) and Janus Dousa (1601) tried to illustrate the history and character of the province by referring back to ancient times. The Englishman John Leland had a similar purpose in mind, although he never had the chance to publish his work. William Camden's *Britannia* belonged to the same genre, as did works by Suffridus Petrus and Ubbo Emmius in Frisia, and by Olaus Magnus and Johannes Buraeus in Sweden. Humanist historians in general aimed for comprehensiveness, and vernacular languages were part of history. Therefore, most historians included samples of early vernacular text. However, as history was their main aim, language was subordinate, and they were satisfied with short passages, personal names, place-names, or etymological speculations.

The Reformation, increasing pride in regional and national identity, and the importance of indigenous law increased the significance and relevance of the contents of Old Germanic texts. The resulting need for a better understanding of these texts enhanced the motivation of scholars for serious study. However, at this stage, language still mostly served a secondary purpose. Few scholars managed to learn Old Germanic languages. Their efforts only appear from manuscript studies, since they published neither dictionaries nor grammars. In the sixteenth century, the main aim of scholars working on Old Germanic languages was the publication of texts that were relevant to contemporary issues. Latin translations were often the only means for outsiders to gain access to this material. The glossaries that were sometimes provided were little more than symbolic. The humanist method, which played such an important role in other areas of scholarship, was not formally applied to Old Germanic languages for most of the sixteenth century. Annotated text editions, which were so prevalent in humanist scholarship, are virtually absent in editions of Old Germanic texts before 1598.

In the Netherlands, during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, a scholarly climate arose which allowed the study of Old Germanic languages, if only marginally, to become part of language studies in general. Traces of this had already been visible in the previous decades in the

²²¹ Celtis's plan to write a *Germania illustrata* never materialised; he died in February 1508. His pupil Johann Turmair (Aventinus) (1477–1534) fulfilled his plans; see von Raumer, 20.

works of Becanus and the Cologne humanists. However, at the University of Leiden the process was accelerated, mainly owing to the broad philological outlook of professors who combined scholarly traditions from various parts of Europe, but were united in their basic humanist approach. The search for originality and purity, based on ancient and uncontaminated exemplars of texts, remained central to their activities. The application of such texts to the contemporaneous situation extended their activities to a type of interdisciplinary humanism, which enabled them to embrace a large area of scholarship. It was mainly as a result of their efforts that Old Germanic languages became part of language studies, exemplified for the first time by publications of Vulcanius (1597), Merula (1598) and Kiliaan (1599). Moreover, an attitude favourable towards the vernacular, and studies related to it arose in the Netherlands as well as in other countries in Europe. It is with this situation in mind that we have to view the achievements of seventeenth-century Dutch scholars in the field of Old Germanic languages.

CHAPTER TWO

JAN VAN VLIET (1622–1666): VICISSITUDES OF A PHILOLOGIST

Jan van Vliet's life and work has attracted regular attention of scholars and biographers. As his divergent scholarly activities produced different reasons for interest in his career, students of various disciplines have paid attention to him. This chapter will present a comprehensive, though condensed, biography. Although I have taken all previous publications on Van Vliet into consideration, the content of this chapter has, as far as possible, been derived from original source material, including Van Vliet's correspondence, references to him in the correspondence of others, and documents in libraries and archives. I will only briefly consider information about Germanic studies, which will be dealt with at length in later chapters. However, the communication between Van Vliet and Francis Junius will be described in some detail because it forms part of his scholarly contacts.

1. *Youth and parentage (1622–1637)*

Jan van Vliet originated from an upper middle class family, on which there is little information. His father was Fabiaan van Vliet (1582–1637), a native of Antwerp, of unknown origin.¹ At the time of his marriage, Fabiaan, who was a lawyer by profession, lived in The Hague in a place called *de Nes*.² His mother was Susanna van Valckenburgh (1583–1643), the daughter of Jan van Valckenburgh and Elisabeth Michiels, likewise from Antwerp. Both families were among the Protestant refugees who had fled north in fear of religious persecution, as result of the surrender of Antwerp to the Duke of Parma in 1584. In their thousands they flocked to the liberated towns of the new Dutch republic, where they enjoyed religious and political freedom. Susanna Valckenburgh and her parents lived in the Warmoesstraat in Amsterdam.³ In 1605 Susanna's sister Elisabeth

¹ *NNBW*, III, 1321.

² J.G. Frederiks, "Jacob Cats en zijne omgeving", *Oud Holland*... 7 (1889), 180.

³ Frederiks, 174.

Valckenburgh married the young Jacob Cats (1577–1660), which was to prove to be a significant factor in Jan van Vliet's life, for Cats was to become chairman of the chamber of deputies of the province of Holland, one of the most important governing bodies in the Republic, from 1636 to 1651. Van Vliet was therefore closely related to one of the most prominent public figures in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Five years later, in 1610, Fabiaan van Vliet married Susanna Valckenburgh; their marriage took place on 24 October in the New Church in Amsterdam and was solemnized by the well-known Antwerp minister and cartographer Petrus Plancius (1552–1622), evidence enough of their Calvinist persuasion. It is not known where the couple settled immediately after their marriage, but possibly as a result of Fabiaan's relation to Cats, who was from Zeeland, the Van Vliets moved to Middelburg.

Not long after his marriage, Fabiaan van Vliet and Jacob Cats joined the prosperous Van Valckenburgh family in an investment in a land draining enterprise at Hatfield Chase in Yorkshire.⁴ The project was carried out by the Dutch engineer and entrepreneur Cornelius Vermuyden (1590–1656), who collected the funds for his venture by selling part of the land to rich Dutch families. Vermuyden had found substantial participants in the wealthy Van Valckenburgh family, who, like many other rich Dutchmen, invested their money abroad. The scheme, which had initially looked promising for the investors, turned out to be a financial failure, on account of the riotous opposition of the fenland dwellers and a miscalculation by Vermuyden which necessitated cutting an additional expensive canal. Although Cats sold his share shortly afterwards, it appears that some of the other participants, including Fabiaan van Vliet, clung to their possessions, hoping to turn them into a profitable investment in the long run. Fabiaan's share in the Hatfield Chase project provided his family with lasting ties with England, which was to play a significant role in the life of Jan van Vliet.

Fabiaan van Vliet and Susanna van Valckenburgh had six children, four daughters: Susanna (1616), Abigail (1617), Catharina (1619) and Elisabeth, and two sons: Johannes (1622) and Jacob (1624).⁵ In December

⁴ On the draining at Hatfield Chase, see L.E. Harris, *Vermuyden and the Fens...* (London, 1953); J. Korthals Altes, *Polderland in Engeland* (The Hague, 1924).

⁵ The dates of baptism of Fabiaan van Vliet's children were, except for Elisabeth, listed by Frederiks, 181, who derived the information from the Middelburg archives. As these were destroyed during the Second World War, it has been impossible to make further checks. For Elisabeth, see Anon., *De Navorscher* 31 (1881), 336–338.

1619 Van Vliet's name appeared on the roll of deacons of the church in Middelburg, where his brother-in-law Cats was an alderman.⁶ The same register recorded on 9 December 1623 that Fabiaan van Vliet had left, and we hear no more from him until 22 October 1627, when he was nominated "member of the council and provincial court of Brabant and the Land of Overmaze". By this time, he lived in The Hague, on the Lange Vijverberg, near the Toernooiveld. In 1631, his youngest son, Jacob, died at the age of seven. Fabiaan van Vliet wrote the sad news to Jacob Cats, who was in England at the time to keep an eye on the draining of Hatfield Chase together with Van Vliet's brothers-in-law.⁷ The boy was buried in the Kloosterkerk in The Hague. Six years later, in 1637, Fabiaan van Vliet also died. Just like his youngest son, he too was buried in the Kloosterkerk in The Hague, presumably in the same grave.⁸

The year of Jan van Vliet's birth has been subject to controversy in the past. In his epitaph on Van Vliet, the Scotsman George Lauder (?1600–after 1684)⁹ mentioned his age as *anno aetatis 44*. However, the classicist and secretary of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences, J.C.G. Boot, who wrote a substantial article on Van Vliet in 1873, assumed on the basis of the entries from the Leiden *Album studiosorum* that Jan van Vliet had been born in 1620. Boot argued that he preferred information straight from the horse's mouth to the Scotsman's erroneous statement.¹⁰ Since then, all who have written about Jan van Vliet have assumed 1620 to be the right date. However, according to data collected by Frederiks, Van Vliet was baptized in Middelburg, on 20 April 1622,¹¹ something

⁶ F. Nagtglas, *De algemeene kerkeraad te Middelburg, 1574–1860* (Middelburg, 1860), 151.

⁷ Frederiks, 182–183.

⁸ The Hague, GA. 64, 11; GA. 121, 156. Various sources, including *NNBW*, claim that Fabiaan van Vliet died in October 1634. However, the The Hague archives give 1637, which is supported by Jan van Vliet's letter to Gerard Vossius Jr., 00–00–1637.

⁹ George Lauder, a Scots poet, spent many years on the continent on account of his royalist sympathies. Most of these years he lived at Breda, where he had various poems printed; see *DNB*, xxxii, 195. After Van Vliet's death in 1666, Lauder composed an epitaph on him, entitled *Tumulus viri incomparabilis Jani Vlietii syndici Bredani* (Breda, 1666). The text of epitaph was published by C.R.Hermans, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis...van Noord Brabant* ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1845), I, 292, and published with a translation by J.F. Corstens, *Bredaniana* (Breda, 1898).

¹⁰ J.C.G. Boot, "Johan van Vliet", *VMKAW* 4 (Amsterdam, 1874), 281–282. *Album studiosorum*, W. Du Rieu ed. (The Hague, 1875), 189, 207.

¹¹ Frederiks, 181. Under the influence of Boot's article, Frederiks, 183, changed the year to 1620, attributing the mistake to his informant in Zeeland. I can see no reason to distrust either Lauder or Frederiks's informant. The reason for Van Vliet's consistent mis-

which Boot did not know. As the Dutch Reformed Church in the seventeenth century required baptism to take place as soon as possible after birth, it is virtually impossible that his parents should have delayed such an important matter for two years. However, the most conclusive evidence is simply a matter of calculation. In a letter to Nicholas Heinsius, Jan van Vliet mentioned explicitly that it was his birthday.¹² His sister Catharina was baptized on 26 July 1619. This makes it extremely unlikely that he was born in the beginning of April 1620, for there is simply not enough time in between the two dates to complete an ordinary pregnancy. It is on the basis of this evidence that I have come to the conclusion that Jan van Vliet cannot have been born in 1620.

I assume, then, that Jan van Vliet was born in Middelburg on 11 April, in the year 1622, and he must have spent his first years there, until his father found employment in The Hague. Nothing is known about his formative years until 1637, but it can be taken for granted that he went to a grammar school, in Dutch significantly named a *Latin school*, which pupils entered at the age of seven or eight. The curriculum of these schools consisted almost entirely of Latin and Greek, and provided for little other education. What else the pupils picked up usually consisted of what they read during their studies of the classical authors. As will become clear, Jan van Vliet was definitely gifted with a language aptitude, which must have made him feel very much at home in the seventeenth-century educational system. Secondary education provided him with an excellent knowledge of Latin and Greek, and must have aroused his considerable enthusiasm for the study of classical philology.

2. *University and grand tour (1637–1643)*

Jan van Vliet's zeal for classical philology was expressed in his desire to study Latin and Greek at university. Much against his mother's wishes—she wanted him to take up law studies immediately¹³—he became a student of the liberal arts at the University of Leiden on 30 September 1637.¹⁴ Eager to begin life as a student in Leiden, Van Vliet took up res-

representation of his age at Leiden is unclear.

¹² Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 11–04–1642.

¹³ See below, p. 64.

¹⁴ *Album studiosorum*, 289.

idence with a clergyman in the same town.¹⁵ However, about that time his father fell ill and, although at first he seemed to be slowly recovering,¹⁶ Fabiaan van Vliet died less than a month after his son's matriculation. Apparently, Jan van Vliet moved back home to live with his mother, for between April 1638 and October 1640 all his letters were sent from The Hague. Meanwhile, he had been brought into contact with the German scholar Johannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611–1671), who introduced him in August 1638 to Nicholas Heinsius (1620–1681), a fellow Leiden student and the son of the famous professor Daniel Heinsius.¹⁷

At Leiden, Van Vliet was taught by a range of distinguished professors. Daniel Heinsius, who taught history and Greek, and was the university librarian, seems to have been Van Vliet's most influential teacher at university, and the two remained on friendly terms afterwards. The other chief professor of philology was the illustrious Frenchman Claudius Salmasius (Claude Saumaise) (1588–1653), who was also a major influence on Van Vliet.¹⁸ However, as Salmasius was on leave in France from 1635 until the spring of 1641 to work on his *Militia Romana*, it is unlikely that Van Vliet received lessons from him. Apart from Salmasius and Heinsius, three other professors of philology played an active part in Van Vliet's academic training: Jeremias Holzinus (1583–1641), who taught Greek; Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn (1602–1653), who taught eloquence; and Anthonius Thysius Jr. (1603–1665), who taught poetry, and who was the husband of Van Vliet's aunt Catharina.¹⁹ At his mother's instigation, Jan van Vliet decided to follow in his father's footsteps and embarked on the study of law in 1639. Within two years Van Vliet had finished his law studies in Leiden. Among his fellow students were many of his later friends and acquaintances who were to play a role in his scholarly activities, both in the field of Latin and in his Germanic studies, including

¹⁵ Vliet to Gerard Vossius Jr., 24–09–1637. Van Vliet resided with Reverend Du Pree, at the corner of the Vrouwensteegh on the Rhine. It was not unusual for ministers and professors to have students as boarders, which formed an additional source of income.

¹⁶ Van Vliet to Gerard Vossius Jr., 24–09–1637.

¹⁷ J.F. Gronovius to Nicholas Heinsius, in Burmannus, *Sylloges epistolarum*, III, 57. On Gronovius, see S.E.W. Bugter, *J.F. Gronovius en de Annales van Tacitus* (Boxmeer, 1980); *NNBW*, I, 989. On Heinsius, see *NNBW*, II, 557. For bibliographical information, see M. de Schepper and Chris L. Heesakkers, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1988).

¹⁸ See below, pp. 228–230.

¹⁹ See *Album scholasticum academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, C.A. Siegenbeek van Heukelom-Lamme ed. (Leiden, 1941), 21–22, 72, 153–54. On Anthonius Thysius Jr., see Frederiks, 181; *NNBW*, v, 924–925, which does not mention his marriage.

two sons of the famous Gerard Vossius. He corresponded with Gerard Vossius Jr. (1619–1640) on classical poetry until the latter's untimely death, while Isaac Vossius (1618–1689) remained a life-long friend and provider of books and manuscripts. Another close friend was the poet Caspar van Kinschot (1622–1649), who left him part of his library.

Sometime near the end of 1640 or the beginning of 1641 Van Vliet concluded his studies and, as befitted a fashionable young gentleman, subsequently embarked on his grand tour. In March 1641, he was in the North of England, after a journey from Norwich to Newcastle, where he witnessed the results of the first Bishops' War, a prelude to the impending civil war. In a letter to Nicholas Heinsius, he made derogatory comments about the Scots covenanters who had occupied the town after the defeat of King Charles I, thereby betraying his royalist sympathies.²⁰ Although he probably visited the family's possessions in Hatfield Chase in Yorkshire, he makes no mention of it.²¹ In his letter he proudly reproduced a Latin inscription copied from a marble at Carleton, and mentioned that he found more Latin inscriptions on Hadrian's Wall. Van Vliet shows an interest in historical sites and foreign customs which is characteristic of contemporary young men who embarked on a grand tour. For how long he remained in England is unclear, but it is likely that he attended the wedding of Prince William of Orange (the future Stadtholder William II) and Mary Stuart (the eldest daughter of King Charles I), which took place in May 1641.²²

At the end of June 1641, Van Vliet was in Paris, anxiously searching to find the right manuscript material for his plans to edit an anthology of Latin bucolic verse. Gronovius, who had been to Paris in 1639–40, had

²⁰ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 20–03–1641. See below, pp. 86–89.

²¹ On pp. 83–84 of the *Prolegomena* to his Grätius edition of 1645 (see below, p. 69), Van Vliet alluded to the fact that, while in England in 1641, he had been hunting with members of the local gentry. During his country exploits he had read the works of Grätius and Nemesianus, which had provided him with the inspiration for undertaking an edition of these texts. Nothing about this is found in this letter, which may indicate that, since he came from East Anglia, he was only beginning his sojourn in England, and that his participating in the hunt may have come later.

²² The wedding was attended by a large party of Dutch guests. In a report of the event translated by Francis Junius, we read: "that all y^e high seates on y^e right hand were reserved for young gallants and gentlemen, strangers all, and y^e most of them of y^e attendance and retinue of the Bridegroom"; Amsterdam, University Library, M 93; I owe this passage to Sophie van Romburgh.

informed Van Vliet that he had seen a Grattius²³ manuscript in a Paris library. To lend a hand, Gronovius had introduced him to Ismael Bouilleau (1605–1694), who searched on behalf of Van Vliet in the Royal Library and in the library of the Louvain professor Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646), but apparently unsuccessfully. Van Vliet also turned to the French scholar Claude Sarrau (1590/1600–1651) for help.²⁴ He must have made quite an impression on Sarrau, for that same day the Frenchman wrote to his friend, the Dutch theologian Andreas Rivetus (1572–1651), to ask him for information about this remarkable young man. Little more than a week later Rivetus replied that Van Vliet was an intelligent youth from good parentage:

This young man de Vlit of whom you write to me is of a good family. His father was Councillor at the Council of Brabant here, a good man, and of means. The boy is their only son; he has only sisters. His mother wanted him to throw himself on the study of law immediately. He loves the humanities and has been desirous to cultivate these for a long time. I understand that in order to escape the importunities of his mother he has gone to England with the consent of his guardians, and subsequently has gone to France. He is related to many people of quality. His mother and the wife of Mr. Cats, Pensionary of Holland, were sisters.²⁵

Presumably, lack of success in Paris incited Van Vliet to try his luck elsewhere. In August 1642 he was in Angers. His trip had taken him from Paris, presumably to Orleans, and thence along the Loire via Blois, Saumur and Tours to Angers, a journey which took him along the most

²³ Modern editions use the name *Grattius*. Ovid spelled the name as *Gratius*, which nowadays is considered less correct, but since Van Vliet stuck to Ovid's spelling, I will retain it here. See J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff eds., *Minor Latin Poets* (Cambridge and London, 1935), 144.

²⁴ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 26–04–1644. See below, p. 64. On Bouilleau (Belliaudeus), see H. J. M. Nellen, *Ismael Bouilliau (1605–1694): nieuwsjager en correspondent* (Nijmegen, 1980); on Erycius Puteanus (Erik vande Putte), see *BNB*, xviii, 329–344; on Sarrau (Claudius Sarrauius), see H. Bots and Pierre Leroy, *Correspondence intégrale d'André Rivet et de Claude Sarrau (1641–1650)* (Amsterdam, 1978), I, vii–ix.

²⁵ “Ce jeune homme de Vlit duquel vous m'écrivez, est de bonne famille. Son pere estoit Conseiller au Conseille de Brabant ici, homme bien et de biens. Ce garçon est seul de son sexe ayant des soeurs, Ca mere vouloit qu'il se jettast a l'estude de droit promptement. il alme les lettres humaines et les veult cultiver plus long temps. J'entens que pour s'échapper des importunitéz de sa mere, il 'en alla en Engleterre par consentement de ses curateurs, et depuis a passé en France. Il appartient a beaucoup de gens de qualité. Sa mere et la femme de Mr. Cats pensionnaire d'Hollande estoient seurs”; Rivetus to Sarrau, 07–07–1642; Bots and Leroy, II, 178, 186.

picturesque stretch of the river, reflecting the magnificence of the French nobility in an endless display of Renaissance castles. In Angers, he embarked on the study of French. He had found lodgings with a certain Doctor Poisson, whose house, in the Rue des Carmelits, was crowded with international guests. Van Vliet enjoyed this mixed company, and observed that different nationalities and religions communicated in French, although he admitted to his friend Rochus Hoffer that "some preferred Latin".²⁶ In December of the same year he was still in Angers, where he had become acquainted with the French historian Claude Menard (1580–1652), presumably also through Gronovius, who had worked with the same Menard two years before.²⁷ His researches in libraries in Angers and surrounding towns proved to no avail, for in December 1642 he wrote to his Hoffer: "At La Bаметte there was nothing worthwhile, nor at Tours. Since I left Paris, I have found nothing to my liking".²⁸ Early in 1643 Van Vliet went back to Paris, where he remained until his mother's sudden death forced him to return to The Hague without the desired material. His correspondence reveals very little about his stay in France, which lasted almost two years. It is possible that he finished his law studies in Angers or Paris, which would explain why there is no doctoral dissertation in Leiden.²⁹ Van Vliet's trip to Angers suggests that he intended to travel further. Later he explained to Heinsius that had it not been for his mother's sudden death, he would have visited Rome.³⁰

Van Vliet must have arrived back at The Hague before May 1643, for in that month he made a short tour of Friesland and the eastern Dutch provinces, during which he kept a diary, running from 6 to 13 May. In it, he described the journey from Leiden to Amsterdam and Hoorn, and from there through Friesland and via the eastern part of the Netherlands as far as Arnhem.³¹ Van Vliet's description of his journey to Friesland bears

²⁶ Van Vliet to Rochus Hoffer, 12–08–1642. On Rochus Hoffer, who contributed a Latin poem to Van Vliet's *Venatio novantiqua*, see *BWN*, IX, 900.

²⁷ Bugter, 92.

²⁸ "A la Bаметte il n'y a rien que vaille: non plus qu'a Tours. Depuis que je suis parti de Paris je n'ay rien trouvé a mon gré"; Van Vliet to Rochus Hoffer, 13–12–1642.

²⁹ On the issue of Dutch students graduating at foreign universities, see W.Th.M. Frijhoff, *La société néerlandaise et ses gradués, 1575–1814* (Amsterdam, 1981), who states that the records of the University of Angers, which was an important university for students from the Netherlands, have not been preserved.

³⁰ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 12–01–1647.

³¹ London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 783, 261–270, edited by J.H. Brouwer and A. Campbell, "The Early Frisian Studies of Jan van Vliet", *Modern Language Review* 34 (1939), 145–176, who determined the year in which the trip took place, something Van

comparison with his comments on his itinerary through part of England. He observed customs, dress, and quality of housing, adding historical details, but also demographical and economical data. His observations, like those made by the chorographers of the sixteenth century,³² reveal an early interest in the situation and history of Friesland and the eastern Dutch provinces. However, the diary is a remarkable document in more than one way, for Van Vliet drew up his little journal in no fewer than six languages: Latin, French, English, Italian, Dutch, and Frisian—each day he used a different language—all of which he had managed to learn by the age of twenty-one. Moreover, it offers the earliest evidence of his interest in Germanic languages and particularly in the comparison of these languages.³³

3. Marriage and early career (1643–1647)

On 27 July, 1643, Van Vliet took the oath as a lawyer before the Court of Holland, which was the start of his professional career.³⁴ As a result, his presence in The Hague must have been increasingly required. The addresses in his correspondence show that, in June of that year, he was living in the Spuistraat, next-door to “Councillor Hessels”,³⁵ the residence of Jonkheer Matthijs van Hesselt Dinter (1583–1650). Nothing is known about Van Vliet’s acquaintance with this family before 1643, when he lived for some time in the same house, as boarder or a friend. However, since both families originated from Antwerp, and both Matthijs and Fabiaan van Vliet had been members of the Council of Brabant during the same period, we may assume previous acquaintance between the two families. Matthijs, who had been a member of the Council of Brabant since 1619, had married Philipote de Megant (†1668) in 1607, and they had at least four children: Frederick, Andries, Catharina, and Clara.

Between his return from France early in 1643 and the following March, Jan van Vliet courted Clara van Hesselt Dinter, and 13 March

Vliet did not mention in his journal.

³² Gerald Strauss, “Topographical–Historical Method in Sixteenth-Century German Scholarship”, *Studies in the Renaissance* 5 (1958), 87–101, relates the tradition to Strabo and other ancient cosmographers.

³³ See below, pp. 140–141.

³⁴ Frederiks, 183.

³⁵ Gronovius to Van Vliet, 23–06–1643.

1644 saw the publication of the banns of their forthcoming marriage, which took place on 30 March 1644 in the Great Church in The Hague.³⁶ At first, the couple moved in with Clara's parents but eventually, towards the end of 1645, they acquired a place of their own.³⁷ The marriage was fruitful, for in January 1645 the couple was blessed with a daughter, whom they named Susanna,³⁸ after Van Vliet's mother. A second girl, named Maria, was born in February 1646.³⁹ Apart from the birth of his daughters, the first three years of his marriage were comparatively uneventful. This domestic tranquillity enabled Van Vliet to produce his first book, a critical anthology of Latin verse.

The earliest evidence of Van Vliet's interest in bucolic verse by the classical poets Gratus, Nemesianus, and Oppianus dates from June 1639, when he exchanged information with Gerard Vossius Jr. and his brother Dionysius (1612–1642), who was particularly interested in Oppianus.⁴⁰ This exchange of information took place two years before his trip to England, which Boot claimed to be the onset of his Gratus studies.⁴¹ The information from these letters reduces Van Vliet's account of his country exploits in England, supposedly the motivation for his interest in bucolic verse, to no more than a literary device.

After his return from France, Van Vliet persisted in his attempts to get hold of a Gratus manuscript, in order to produce a genuinely innovative critical edition. Despite the assistance of Claude Sarrau to acquire the manuscripts he needed, he still had not succeeded in anything by May 1644. Sarrau may not have been so keen to stick out his neck for Van Vliet, for it had taken him a long time to retrieve some other manuscripts that Van Vliet had borrowed on an earlier occasion; only after repeated warnings had Van Vliet returned the books and offered a paltry apology for his behaviour.⁴² Meanwhile, Lucas Holstenius published an edition of bucolic verse by Arrianus and Xenophon, based on manuscripts which Salmasius had procured for him at the Palatine Library.⁴³ In desperation,

³⁶ The Hague, GA. 743, 24^r.

³⁷ Gronovius to Van Vliet, 08–12–1644.

³⁸ The Hague, GA. 2, 62^v.

³⁹ The Hague, GA. 21, 90^v.

⁴⁰ Van Vliet to Gerard Vossius Jr., 30–06–1639.

⁴¹ Boot, "Johan van Vliet", 285–286.

⁴² Bots and Leroy, II, 214.

⁴³ Lucas Holstenius, *Arrianus, de venatione* (Paris, 1644). On Lucas Holstenius (1596–1661), see F.J.M. Blom, "Lucas Holstenius (1596–1661) and England", in *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History and Bibliography...*, G.A.M. Janssens

Van Vliet asked Gronovius for his annotated Gratius edition, for he deemed it useless to have an imperfect work printed and be exposed to the sharp criticism of his peers.⁴⁴

Unwilling to give up, Van Vliet was determined to leave no stone unturned. He went to Brabant in June and July of 1644, first to Antwerp where he met the scholar and imperial historiographer Jean Gaspart Gevartius (1593–1666), and from there to Brussels and Louvain, where he visited the library of the Collegium Buslidianum.⁴⁵ In October 1644, he wrote two letters to Claudius Salmasius, submitting his plans to edit Gratius, and imploring Salmasius to help him with his observations. Although he flattered Salmasius, calling him “wiser than Scaliger”, there is no evidence that the illustrious Frenchman ever responded to his plea.⁴⁶ Finally, at the beginning of November 1644, Sarrau managed to borrow the manuscript from François Pithou and immediately passed it on to Jan van Vliet.⁴⁷ Within a year, Van Vliet completed his edition of Gratius, and in August 1645 he reported to Heinsius that he had finished his “little book”.⁴⁸ By the end of September he presented Isaac Vossius with a copy, acknowledging his indebtedness to Isaac’s deceased brother Gerard Jr.⁴⁹ Through the services of Nicholas Heinsius, many of his friends, including Sarrau, Menard, Puteanus, and Mersenne (1588–1648) were also favoured with copies.⁵⁰

The book, which bore the title *Venatio novantiqua celsissimo Arausio-nis Principi dictata*, was published in 12° by Elsevier in Amsterdam. It is an anthology of Latin verse concerning the hunt, and features various fragments of minor Latin poets, followed by a substantial commentary. The principal part is the *Cynegeticon* by Gratius (3–18),⁵¹ a fragment of 541 hexameters of a larger unpreserved work named the *Cynegetica*, which deals with the chase and the training of dogs for the purpose of

and F.G.A.M.Aarts eds. (Amsterdam, 1984), 25–51.

⁴⁴ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 26–04–1644.

⁴⁵ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 03–08–1644. On the Collegium Buslidianum or Collegium Trilingue, see above, p. 42.

⁴⁶ Van Vliet to Salmasius, 19–10–1644.

⁴⁷ Bots and Leroy, 214.

⁴⁸ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 28–08–1645.

⁴⁹ Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 22–09–1645.

⁵⁰ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 20–11–1645. Marin Mersenne was a French minorite friar, mathematician and theologian, whom Van Vliet met while in France. Mersenne was also a close friend of Descartes and of Christiaan Huygens.

⁵¹ Duff and Duff, 143–205. I have added page numbers from the *Venatio novantiqua* in the text between brackets; references to the Loeb edition are in the notes.

hunting. A lengthy exposition on different types of dogs forms the main part of the poem. This is followed by the *Halieuticon fragmentum* (18–21), which both Van Vliet and the previous editor of the poems, the German Caspar von Barth (1587–1658), had attributed to Gratius, but which was in fact by Ovid.⁵² Van Vliet also included the *Cynegeticon* by Nemesianus (21–34),⁵³ another incomplete tract on the chase, and two fragments of a poem on the trapping of birds *Fragmenta duo ex libro Nemesiani de aucupio* (34–35).⁵⁴ The following part (36–46) is *M. Aurelii Nemesiani bucolicon*, four eclogues of bucolic verse (36–46),⁵⁵ which Van Vliet rightly attributed to Nemesianus. Previously, these had often been combined with similar eclogues by Calpurnius Siculus, which form the final part of the texts (47–70).⁵⁶ The rest of Van Vliet's book consists of an introduction to the commentary (71–73); an apology headed *Prolegomena in quibus de venationis origine et processu* (73–89); his philological comments on Gratius, headed *Iani Vlitii ad Gratii cynegeticon commentarius* (91–312); his philological comments on Nemesianus, headed *Iani Vlitii ad...Nemesiani cynegeticon* (312–426); his comments to the other sections, headed *Variae lectiones* (427–491); an *Index eorum, quae ad venationem tantum pertinent*, an *Index auctorum*, and a list of *errata*. The notes chiefly consist of variant readings derived from other editions and manuscripts, and philological comments. On p. 180, Van Vliet mentioned two Germanic words, *leithund* and *spurihunt*, which he derived from the ancient Alamanic and Bavarian laws.⁵⁷

Although Van Vliet's disparaging criticism of the German scholar Caspar von Barth, the previous editor of Gratius, had provoked angry reactions,⁵⁸ his own book generally met with a very favourable reception. Not only was it praised by contemporaries, but it has been regarded favourably up to the present day. Van Vliet's commentary was used in anthologies,⁵⁹

⁵² Van Vliet added: "Fragmentum, quod Gratii potius, quam Ovidii esse, & codex ille unicus, & stilus coarguunt"; Van Vliet, *Venatio novantiqua*, 18. [The unique style and manuscript clearly show that this fragment is by Gratius rather than by Ovid.]

⁵³ Duff and Duff, 484–512.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 512–515.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 456–484.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 208–285.

⁵⁷ He described his sources as *De lege antiqua Alemannorum*, and *De lege Boiarum*.

⁵⁸ Boot, "Johan van Vliet", 289.

⁵⁹ Johannes Arnoldus Langerak, et al. *Poetae Latini rei venaticae scriptores...* (Leiden and The Hague, 1728); the *British Library Catalogue of Printed Books*, vol. 249, 971, added the erroneous comment to this title: "The whole collected and edited by Jan van Vliet"; Petrus Burmannus ed., *M. Aurelii Olympii Nemesiani eclogae IV, et T. Calpurnius*

in the eighteenth century. Even in the nineteenth century, the edition found favour with classicists,⁶⁰ and in the present century it was again qualified as “an excellent book through mastery of the matter and sagacious improvements”.⁶¹ It is beyond doubt that the book gives evidence of Van Vliet’s erudition, wide reading, and keen eye for philological problems at the early age of twenty-three. It brought him lasting fame.

Van Vliet’s reputation as a competent philologist often motivated others to use his material. In Paris he had collated Hyginus’s *Astronomica* with three manuscripts from the Royal Library and one from the library of Pithou, providing the work with some three hundred emendations. This study ended up with Nicholas Heinsius, who first offered it to the Swedish scholar Johannes Scheffer (1621–1679) in 1654, and finally put it at the disposition of Thomas Muncker (1640–1681) in 1678, who used it for his edition.⁶² After his return to The Hague, Van Vliet occasionally performed services to his friends, evidence of which can be found in the correspondence. Much of the earlier correspondence between Van Vliet, Gronovius, and Heinsius discussed classical authors, and this made it attractive for eighteenth-century scholars to collect these letters.

Van Vliet had written a substantial Latin poem to dedicate his *Venatio novantiqua* to Prince William II of Orange (1626–1650), whose favours he hoped to win. This was not a one-off event, but part of a more sustained scheme to seek patronage from the House of Orange. In October 1645, he sent an author’s copy as a gift to the Prince’s secretary, Constantine Huygens (1596–1687), with the request that Huygens act as mediator between himself and Prince William.⁶³ The Prince eventually accepted the dedication but failed to pay Van Vliet the promised hundred guilders,

Siculus eclogae vii... (Mitau, 1774); —, *Gratii Falisci cynegeticon...* (Mitau, 1775).

⁶⁰ Adry; Boot, “Johan van Vliet”; Corstens.

⁶¹ *PRA*, vii, 1846.

⁶² Van Vliet to Gronovius, 01–06–1643; Nicholas Heinsius to Thomas Muncker, in Burmannus, *Sylloges epistolarum*, v, 398. Why Muncker did not receive Van Vliet’s collations until 1678 remains obscure. He must have consulted them before the publication of his Hyginus edition in 1674.

⁶³ Van Vliet to Constantine Huygens, 26–10–1645. Huygens was a statesman, poet, and secretary of the stadtholders Frederick Henry, William II and William III; see *NNBW*, i, 1186–1190. See also A.G.H. Bachrach and R.G. Collmer, *Lodewijk Huygens. The English Journal* (Leiden, 1982), 13, who claim about Van Vliet: “The young scholar was known to Sir Constantine through their mutual connection with the Orange College at Breda”, but, as this letter indicates, Van Vliet’s acquaintance with Constantine Huygens dates from before the founding of the College.

causing him to complain to Nicholas Heinsius about the Prince's tight purse strings.⁶⁴

In his letter to Constantine Huygens, Van Vliet also applied for the position of secretary to the ambassadors who were to represent the States of Holland at the forthcoming peace negotiations, in Münster in Westphalia.⁶⁵ He tried to further his cause by claiming that he was acquainted with many of the ambassadors, who were familiar with his capacities. Huygens, who was at the siege of Hulst in Zeeland at the time, sent a reply in which he promised him to do his best, adding a hexastichon in praise of Van Vliet's book.⁶⁶ Subsequently, Van Vliet, his intentions by then obvious, visited the siege of Hulst in the beginning of November. He described to Heinsius the scene of misery and destruction, in which he expressed particular concern for the loss of old manuscripts as a result of the military activities: "I am very concerned, seeing the great a store of manuscripts that have been scattered and wasted by our troops in the Flemish campaign."⁶⁷ He must have known about the wholesale destruction in Germany resulting from the Thirty-Years' War. Back in The Hague, he petitioned Huygens again, but his request was not granted.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, Van Vliet kept on lobbying, for, in October 1647, Hendrik Bruno wrote to Huygens:

Janus Vlitius has been here for the same reasons. I heard from Miss Zuerius that the secretary of the Ambassadors has to know many languages. So he does, namely French, English and Latin. Greek as well but this is not necessary. He also writes German, Spanish and Italian, but he does not speak these languages. Mr. Dedel recommends him very much.⁶⁹

In spite of his abilities and supporters, Van Vliet never made it to the negotiating tables at Münster.

⁶⁴ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 30-01-1646.

⁶⁵ It was not his first request of this nature, for he had already called upon the help of Hendrik Bruno (1621-1650), the secretary of Constantine Huygens and tutor of his children (see *NNBW*, iv, 336), and Johannes Dedel (1589-1665), councillor of the Court of Holland, and its president in 1653. Dedel was related to both Constantine Huygens and Jan van Vliet.

⁶⁶ For an edition of Huygens's letter and poem, see J.A. Worp, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens* (The Hague, 1911-1917), iv, 245; —, *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens naar zijn handschriften uitgegeven* (Groningen, 1892-1899), iv, 59; Boot, "Johan van Vliet", 319-320.

⁶⁷ "Cordi mihi est intelligere, quanta copia MSS. librorum ab exercitu nostro prostrata et perdita esset in expeditione Flandrica"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 20-11-1645.

⁶⁸ Van Vliet to Constantine Huygens, 18-11-1645.

⁶⁹ Worp, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, iv, 236.

The forthcoming negotiations at Münster were not the only reason for Van Vliet to lobby the House of Orange. At the beginning of June 1646, Van Vliet went to Breda with his entire family in order to be present at the inauguration of the Orange College, or *Collegium Auriacum*, in Breda on 16 September of that year.⁷⁰ The underlying motive for his visit in 1646 was the fact that he wished to obtain a professorship at the newly established Orange College, which provided semi-academic training for young men intended to become ministers, civil servants or officers in the army. To further his cause, Van Vliet composed two Latin poems for the occasion, an epigram: *Epigramma in inaugurationem illustris athenei & collegii Bredae a celsissimo Arausionum Principe* and a longer poem presenting an allegorical version of the events: *Quinquatrum Bredanarum descriptio sive inaugurationem Atheni Arausiaci a celsissimo principe Frederico Hendrico Bredae solemniter instaurati, celsissima principe Amelia de Solms rite, pie, feliciter initiante, poema*.⁷¹ Neither the epigram nor the longer poem exist as independent publications. Both were published the following year in *Inauguratio illustris scholae...Bredae*,⁷² which included the orations of the various professors, the rules and statutes of the school, and a number of poems celebrating its inauguration. Since the founder of the school was Frederick Henry, Stadtholder, Prince of Orange, and Baron of Breda, whose son, the future William II, Van Vliet was on good terms with, his hopes were high, and he kept close track of the events. Notwithstanding his efforts and flattery, he was not awarded the professorship he wanted. In his correspondence he made some bitter remarks concerning those who had been more fortunate. He wrote to Gronovius in August 1646 that the support of influential people was required to obtain a place at the school, and he expressed his dissatisfaction with the professors who had already been appointed.⁷³ Van

⁷⁰ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 29-06-1646. Schools such as the Orange College constituted attempts by the state to strengthen the ranks of the Calvinists, and were modelled on the *Collegium Mauritianum*, founded by Maurits van Hessen in Kassel in 1599; see F.A. Brekelmans, et al., *Geschiedenis van Breda, II* ... (Schiedam, 1977), 220-222.

⁷¹ For a summary description of the poem, see Boot, "Johan van Vliet", 295-297.

⁷² *Inauguratio illustris scholae...* (Breda, 1647), 219, 225-264. On this book, see G. van Alphen, "De Illustere School te Breda en haar boekerij", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 64 (1951), 272-314, who disclaims suggestions that Van Vliet had been the editor of the book. He even suggests that the part containing Van Vliet's poems, pp. 225-287, was added after the beginning of the book had already been printed. This would imply that the book did not appear until the end of 1647.

⁷³ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 23-08-1646.

Vliet had undoubtedly hoped that his close ties with Breda would help him. His cousin Anna Cats, the daughter of Jacob Cats, had married Cornelis Aerssen van Wernhout, who had become *Drost* 'high bailiff' of Breda after the liberation of the town in 1637. Moreover, the Hesselt van Dinter family also originated from Brabant and possessed lands in the neighbourhood of Breda. Although the success of the Orange College was short-lived—in 1653 Renesius was the sole remaining professor and it closed down in 1669⁷⁴—his failure to obtain a position in Breda must have been a great disappointment.

In addition to classical philology, modern languages, law, and politics, Van Vliet was also interested in theology. After the completion of the *Venatio novantiqua* in 1645, he became engaged in a dispute with Adriaan van der Walle on the use of incense during religious services, and worked on ideas about idolatry and the Antichrist.⁷⁵ With the help of the Scriptures and the works of Church Fathers Van Vliet exposed Roman Catholic practices as idolatry, and made the Pope the prime object of his attack.⁷⁶ His studies show that he was neither untouched by religious controversy, Calvinism, and Counter-Reformation, nor indeed void of all religion.⁷⁷

4. *Gathering storms and migration (1647–1650)*

Towards the beginning of 1647, clouds were gathering over Jan van Vliet's domestic situation. In February 1647 Clara's parents had evicted him from his house, presumably because they were sick and tired of their son-in-law's licentious behaviour.⁷⁸ Van Vliet put the blame for his misery on his mother-in-law and his wife's brothers. At the end of July 1647 he was living in a country-house in Den Emer, two miles from Breda. Only his eldest daughter was with him; his wife was still in The Hague. He professed to be enjoying the quiet country-life, which gave him the opportunity to put his affairs back in order.⁷⁹ At some stage during the second half of 1647, his wife and second daughter must have rejoined him, for in November of that year his second daughter, Maria, died and

⁷⁴ Brekelmans *et al.*, 222.

⁷⁵ Boot, "Johan van Vliet", 290. Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 30–01–1646.

⁷⁶ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 25–01–1646.

⁷⁷ As suggested by Brekelmans *et al.*, 142.

⁷⁸ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 28–02–1647.

⁷⁹ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 30–07–1647.

was buried at Breda.⁸⁰ In March 1648 he voiced intentions to move to the town itself.⁸¹

By the end of 1648 Van Vliet was living within the town of Breda, in the Halsstraat, and life had apparently resumed its normal course.⁸² On 2 September 1649 he submitted his credentials to the magistrate in Breda and was sworn in as a lawyer.⁸³ In November 1650 a third daughter, Fabia Catharina, was born.⁸⁴ In spite of his personal troubles and domestic problems, Van Vliet had continued to produce Latin verse, part of which is included in his scholarly correspondence. In 1646 he composed an epithalamium on the occasion of the Elector of Brandenburg's marriage to Princess Louise Henriette of Orange and was awarded a gold chain in return. In 1648 he published *Sylvarum Bredanarum prima et altera* (Breda, 1648). An introductory poem from his hand composed in 1649 was included in the edition of Caspar van Kinschot's poetry (published 1685), while another poem was prefaced to a book entitled *Nomenclator biblicus Hebraeo-Latinus* (Breda, 1650), by Antonius Hulsius (1615–1685), professor of Hebrew and minister of the Walloon Church in Breda.

When his friend Caspar van Kinschot died in December 1649, Van Vliet temporarily went back to The Hague to be present at the execution of the testament. This is a sure sign that his respectability had been restored to some extent.⁸⁵ His presence in The Hague was presumably prolonged by the fact that his father-in-law, Matthijs van Hesselt Dinter, died on 30 June. The discord between Van Vliet on the one hand and his mother-in-law and Clara's brothers on the other flared up again, this time over the inheritance, as there was no proper will. Furthermore, the family had tried to sell 36 hectares of land from the inheritance without the consent of all the heirs. As Van Vliet had been prevented from further interference in the family affairs he lodged an official complaint against his mother-in-law and her son with the Council of Brabant, demanding a proper inventory of the entire inheritance. However, the matter was closed in a settlement in August 1651.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Breda, GA. III. 8. 45, 29°.

⁸¹ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 19–03–1648.

⁸² Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 22–06–1649.

⁸³ Breda, GA. H. 117, 19.

⁸⁴ Breda, GA. Coll. DTB. 26, 222.

⁸⁵ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 25–01–1650.

⁸⁶ 's-Hertogenbosch, RA. R.v.B. 952.

In the course of 1651 it must have become clear to Jan van Vliet that his situation had altered drastically in comparison to the previous decade. There was little chance of him ever obtaining a post as a professor at the rapidly declining Orange College in Breda, and his aspirations towards a similar position in Antwerp had also come to nothing.⁸⁷ Once a cosmopolitan *bon vivant*, Van Vliet had ended up as a provincial lawyer. The sudden death of his protector, the young Stadtholder William II of Orange in 1650, only promised to make matters worse. He sometimes felt as if he had lost touch with the world of letters, because his domestic troubles and subsequent departure from The Hague had separated him from the muses.

However, I do not send [my letters] to show you my little progress, nor to compare with you, but in order that it may at least be clear to you that I have not moved so completely to the barbarians that I would not come back to Latium from time to time, as if by the right to return; and so that you certainly should not consider your benevolent expectations of me and my studies absolutely cut off and lost.⁸⁸

The nature of his correspondence with Heinsius and Gronovius, as well as the length of the letters and their frequency, also underwent changes after the beginning of 1650. Previously, Van Vliet and his friends had mainly exchanged long letters devoted almost entirely to the study of classical philology. However, after 1650, the contents of the correspondence shifted to a more varied range of subjects, in which both national and international politics played an increasingly important role. Considerable attention was paid to the troubles in 1650 between William II and his opponents in the States-General, and the Prince's subsequent attempts to settle these matters by force.⁸⁹ Although Van Vliet never deviated from his support for the House of Orange, he deplored the discord within the state. In the second half of 1651, he suddenly appeared interested in legal history and, voicing his intention to write on this subject,⁹⁰ he started making inquiries about incunable editions of legal texts and about the lives of famous jurists. This change of interest does not imply that he re-

⁸⁷ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 24-01-1651.

⁸⁸ "Mitto autem, non quidem ut profectus meos tibi probem tam exiguos, neque ut tecum contendam, sed ut saltem tibi appareat non ita totum me in barbaricum migrasse, ut non subinde ac quasi postliminio me in Latium recipiam; atque adeo ne spem illam, quam tam benigne olim de me concepisti prorsus decollatam, conclamatumque de studiis meis existimes"; Van Vliet to Gronovius, 25-01-1650.

⁸⁹ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 31-07-1650; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 31-07-1650.

⁹⁰ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 10-07-1651; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 11-06-1651.

frained from producing Latin verse, for this was never the case. He continued to compose poetry and stepped up his work on Grätius towards 1653, but the attention to classical authors was never to occupy the same place as in the previous decade.

5. England, sorrow and recovery (1651–1654)

The civil war in England did not leave Jan van Vliet unaffected. He anxiously kept track of the English situation, not least because he still had an interest in his father's share of land in the Hatfield Chase project. In the dispute between King and Parliament, he ardently supported the house of Stuart and strongly condemned the King's execution, denouncing it as public regicide.⁹¹ It had been King Charles I himself who had sanctioned the draining of Hatfield Chase, against the wishes of many of the local inhabitants of the fens, who consequently sided with the Parliamentarians in an attempt to regain their rights. Van Vliet had, therefore, little to gain by a Parliamentary victory, and his sympathies were clearly with the new King Charles II.

In 1651, Van Vliet visited England again, this time as secretary to a group of ambassadors, despatched by the States-General of the United Netherlands to negotiate the notorious Navigation Act which Oliver Cromwell's government was eager to enforce and which posed a serious threat of war with England.⁹² The embassy was led by Van Vliet's maternal uncle, Jacob Cats, who had probably selected him on account of his excellent command of the English language. Van Vliet had been improving his English since 1641, and was keen to show it off. In a journal of the crossing by the Reverend George de Meij, who knew no English whatsoever, Van Vliet is described as a member of Cats's entourage:

His excellency Cats showed himself, then, as he did throughout the journey, in a very discreet and familiar way with all, both the noblemen and the others who were at the table, also including, besides steward van Dalen and the Secretary Van Vliet, an Englishman named Doct. Janson, who was at

⁹¹ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 25–01–1650.

⁹² Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 05–12–1651; Van Vliet to Gronovius, 05–12–1651.

first always together with the Secretary Van Vlied. The two seemed full of imaginary scholarship, which they showed in their discussions.¹³²

In addition, Van Vliet was to act as governor and chaperone to Lodewijck Huygens (1631–1699), one of the 28 young noblemen in the train of Ambassador Cats. In the Calvinist tradition, his father, Constantine Huygens, had instructed Lodewijck to keep a day-by-day journal of his experiences and increase in knowledge. Lodewijck's journal not only documents his acquaintance with Van Vliet, who was to teach him English, but also gives an account of his activities.¹³³ The results of Van Vliet's labours are also to be seen in the weekly despatches, by which the ambassadors reported to the States-General. These despatches include a number of translations from English into Dutch.¹³⁴

During their stay in England, the ambassadors made full use of Van Vliet and he complained that he could find but little time to spend on other purposes. He had intended to use the opportunity to call on celebrated scholars such as John Selden (1584–1654), Patrick Young (1584–1652), John Milton (1608–1674), Meric Casaubon (1599–1671), and James Ussher (1581–1656), but the members of the embassy were very restricted in their movements, and, in the adverse political climate, access to scholars in England was hard, if not impossible to gain.¹³⁵ Together with his friends, the clergymen Samuel Johnson and Petrus Molinaeus (1601–1684),¹³⁶ Van Vliet still managed to make social calls, including visits to scholars, old friends, and people of royalist persuasion. Lode-

¹³² "Syn Exell. Cats toonde hem soe doenmaals, als de gehele reys door, gansch discreet ende familiair met een yder, soo van de edellieden als van de anderen, die daar aan tafel saten, onder welke, nevens den hofmeester Van Dalen en den Secretaris van Vlied, nog een Engelsman, die genaemt was Doct. Janson, die ook met den Heer Secretaris van Vlied in het eerste altyds by een was. Deze beide schenen vol van ingebeeelde wetenschap, diese deden blyken in hare discoursen, ..."; G.D.J. Schotel, *Geschied-, letter- en oudheidkundige uitspanningen* (Utrecht, 1840), 206. Samuel Johnson was English preacher at Breda from 1646 until 1655, and, before that, chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia at the Hague; see Bachrach and Collmer, 157–158.

¹³³ Bachrach and Collmer, 4–5. In a letter to Constantine Huygens written in English, Van Vliet praised Lodewijck for his diligence and merits and lauded his progress in English; see Van Vliet to Constantine Huygens, 26–01–1652.

¹³⁴ The Hague, RA. Archieven van de Staten Generaal 1.01.15.

¹³⁵ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 12–01–1652; Van Vliet to Gronovius, 28–03–1652.

¹³⁶ In November 1652, Van Vliet presented him with a copy of the *Venatio novantiqua*, with a dedication on the fly-leaf, now in Princeton University Library. Van Vliet received a poem from Molinaeus in exchange, which is now in London, British Library, MS. Burney 406.

wijck Huygens described their encounter with the philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679):

Dr. Johnson had also dined with the Ambassadors, and afterwards he rode with Secretary Van Vliet and me to the renowned philosopher Hobbius who, upon having been exiled from France for the strange notions in the book which he entitled *Leviathan*, has come back to live here again... He entertained us kindly and at once began to speak about my brother Christiaen's *De Quadratura Parabolis et Hyperbolis*, etc. which Mr. Brereton had given him a few days earlier. ... He had heard Père Mersenne speak of him for some years already, etc... He was in this matter, as in many others, of a contrary opinion to Mr Descartes... He spoke nothing but English. Whenever we wanted to interrupt him in Latin, he begged us to speak English again as he had lost the habit of speaking Latin.¹³⁷

When Van Vliet finally obtained permission to go to Yorkshire to manage his private affairs at Hatfield Chase, he used the opportunity to observe life and conditions in England during the Civil War. In April 1652, he visited Northampton, Cambridge, Lincoln, and Nottingham. His lamentation over the scenes of misery and destruction he encountered reveals his sympathies for the Stuart cause.¹³⁸ His humanist heart went out to the destruction of books, as it had done five years earlier during the Flemish campaign, and he described the University Library at Cambridge as being nearly deserted.

Van Vliet's antiquarian interests caused him to purchase items for his collection, which were presumably cheap in a poverty-stricken England.¹³⁹ He bought Roman coins in Littleborough, a small village near Lincoln, where villagers, calling these coins "pigs' money", dug them out of their fields to sell to strangers. In search of old books, Van Vliet toured the shops of Little Britain, a street in London which harboured many book-sellers. When his books got wet on the journey home, he claimed two guilders for damages.¹⁴⁰

After the mission failed, and war with England broke out, he returned to The Hague and remained there for a while to finish the journals.¹⁴¹ At home all seemed to be going well, and, during his absence, Clara had

¹³⁷ Bachrach and Collmer, 74–75, give a summary.

¹³⁸ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 08–05–1652; Bachrach and Collmer, 19.

¹³⁹ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 08–05–1652.

¹⁴⁰ Bachrach and Collmer, 79, 303.

¹⁴¹ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 08–11–1652.

given birth to a fourth child, a daughter whom they named Jacoba.¹⁴² However, in November 1652, fortune turned against him for a second time, when his eldest daughter Susanna died of smallpox.¹⁴³ Van Vliet was devastated and he elaborately expressed his grief over the death of his very talented daughter in his correspondence, praising her virtues and versatility: "The greatest loss was that I lost my eldest daughter in such a terrible way. I had high hopes of her talents; at the age of seven she was already very good at drawing and French; I myself had been her only teacher."¹⁴⁴ Soon after this tragic event, Van Vliet returned to Breda with his wife and two remaining children, but their ordeal was far from over. Before the month had ended both Fabia Catharina and Jacoba died from the same disease, the youngest child dying last. They were buried together in Breda.¹⁴⁵ Van Vliet, who was bedridden himself, suffering from a pain in his joints, lamented his own fate and that of his wife in various poems addressed to his friends.¹⁴⁶

In May 1653 the printer Elsevier asked Van Vliet for permission to reissue his edition of Gratius under a different title, for they felt that they could not sell it again under the title *Venatio novantiqua*. Van Vliet consented, on the condition that he would be allowed to provide the book with a *Cura secunda*, a second reading containing new observations which he had collected after the publication of the first edition.¹⁴⁷ The book was published in the same year under the title *Autores rei venaticae antiqui cum commentariis Jani Vlietii*. The main part of the book consists of the original pages printed in 1645,¹⁴⁸ so that it would be a misrepresentation to consider it a new edition. Instead, it was a concerted effort by Van Vliet and Elsevier to sell the copies they had in store as a reprint of the same book under a different title and with some additions. The only new parts of the book were the titlepage, introductory poems (ff. 1–12), and

¹⁴² Breda, GA. Coll. DTB 26, 257.

¹⁴³ The Hague, GA. no. 74, 9^v, 25^v.

¹⁴⁴ "Maximum detrimentum fuit quod summae spei atque indolis filiolum natum maximam, quae jam pingendi artem linguamque Gallicam septennis callebat egregie tam imma[niter] amiserim; me solo magistro usam."; Van Vliet to Gronovius, 04–04–1653.

¹⁴⁵ Breda. GA. III–8–50, 36^v.

¹⁴⁶ A Latin epigram found in two slightly varying versions in letters to Heinsius and Gronovius, and an Italian madrigal, reflect his sorrow; see Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 05–02–1653; Van Vliet to Gronovius, 04–04–1653.

¹⁴⁷ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 27–05–1653.

¹⁴⁸ An error in the pagination at page 21, which is followed by another page 21, is exactly the same in the two editions. Moreover, there is a difference between the watermarks in the original part and those in the *Curae secundae*.

the *Jani Vlitii J.C. ad rei venaticae curae-secundae*, which were added after the errata with a new pagination (1–48). Both editions were remarkably successful; I have been able to trace more than 100 copies of the two issues. Similarly, Van Vliet's *Silvarum Bredanarum prima et altera* (Breda, 1648) was reissued under the title *Xenia Bredana occasione laetissimi principum introitus comitibus eorum oblata* (Breda, 1653).

In his new edition of *Venatio novantiqua*, the dedication to Prince William II, who was no longer alive, was replaced by an ode to Queen Christina of Sweden, on whom he now focused in his quest for royal patronage. Queen Christina's munificence to scholars was well known to Van Vliet, since his friends Isaac Vossius and Nicholas Heinsius were both royal favourites. In the seventeenth century, close relations between Sweden and the Netherlands had given rise to intensive academic contacts. The accession of Queen Christina in 1644 improved academic relations between the Netherlands and Sweden even more, and in 1649 Isaac Vossius entered the service of the Queen as librarian and instructor of Greek.¹⁴⁹ There were no limits to Christina's expenditure where it concerned her royal library, and both Isaac Vossius and Nicholas Heinsius, who had arrived in Stockholm in October 1649, were repeatedly commissioned to undertake long journeys to buy books and manuscripts for her. Van Vliet kept close track of the events, and regarded the fortunes of his friends not without envy. Through Heinsius, he kept sending her poems which he referred to as *exercitationes antiquariae*, perhaps in the hope that she might invite him to join her court.¹⁵⁰

In September 1651, Van Vliet voiced his intention to honour Christina even more.¹⁵¹ Possibly, he had already planned the re-issue of the *Venatio novantiqua* with the dedication to Christina, but his plans may have been delayed by his mission to England and the subsequent deaths of his children. Van Vliet used his friends as intermediaries when he presented Christina with a copy of the *Autores rei venaticae*. In 1653 he sent his dedicatory ode to Isaac Vossius for submission to Christina. The ode was quickly followed by the book itself, and Van Vliet urged Heinsius to bring it to Christina's attention.¹⁵² In return, he received a gold chain with

¹⁴⁹ See F.S. de Vrieze, "Academic Relations between Sweden and Holland", in *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century*, Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G.M. Posthumus Meyjes eds. (Leiden, 1975), 345–365.

¹⁵⁰ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 13–02–1651.

¹⁵¹ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 18–09–1651.

¹⁵² Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 01–12–1653.

a medal, from which he made plaster prints to distribute among his friends.¹⁵³ However, his expectations of further financial reward never materialized. In February of the following year, rumours of Christina's inclinations to Roman Catholicism and her impending abdication began to spread. Not one to give up easily, Van Vliet still had the dedicatory ode printed at the Plantin press in Antwerp under the title: *Jani Vlitii ode gratulatoria Christinae augustae* (Antwerp, 1654). As she was there at the time, he intended to offer her the ode personally, but Christina had moved on to Brussels before the poem had been printed, and Van Vliet was called back to Breda.¹⁵⁴ He entrusted it to Isaac Vossius who, reportedly, gave it to the Queen, but once again there was no reaction. By the end of 1654 Van Vliet's dream of a Swedish career had ended for good.

Van Vliet's veneration for the House of Orange finally brought results when he was created *schepen* 'alderman' of Breda in October 1650.¹⁵⁵ His nomination was the result of his close ties with the House of Orange, who held the sovereignty over the town and Baronial lands of Breda, and hence possessed the privilege of granting or selling positions in local government. The position of alderman automatically gave him a place in the *schepenbank*, the municipal court which ruled in most of the criminal and civil cases in the region. His professional position changed from lawyer to magistrate and, at the same time, he climbed a number of steps on the social ladder. However, Van Vliet wanted more. Two and a half years later, in February 1653, he confessed to Heinsius that he aspired to the position of town clerk of Breda. Van Vliet disclosed that he had not done well because he had met with opposition,¹⁵⁶ which may have had something to do with the two years of legal strife between Amalia van Solms, the widow of Frederick Henry, and Mary Stuart, the widow of William II, both of whom claimed a right to the Barony, after the death of Prince William II in 1650. At the beginning of 1653, Mary Stuart was finally awarded the position, which was welcomed by Van Vliet.¹⁵⁷ Apparently, he was well acquainted with her, for he accompanied her on various journeys,¹⁵⁸ and this came to stand him in good stead. The illness of Adriaan Havermans, town clerk of Breda since 1637, offered an im-

¹⁵³ Boot, "Johan van Vliet", 298–299.

¹⁵⁴ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 24–11–1654.

¹⁵⁵ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 31–10–1650.

¹⁵⁶ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 05–02–1653.

¹⁵⁷ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 08–11–1652.

¹⁵⁸ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 27–05–1653.

pending vacancy which yielded a generous stipend. By the end of May 1653, when Havermans was dying, Van Vliet received the nomination in exchange for an annual payment to the House of Orange of one hundred guilders, to be paid in one sum when the young Prince William reached majority.¹⁵⁹ Van Vliet was very satisfied with the position, for he conjectured that it would leave him enough time to carry on as a lawyer, as well as to compose poetry.¹⁶⁰ He expressed his veneration for Mary Stuart in *Parnassus Bredanus* (1653), a series of poems in praise of her, in no fewer than seven languages: Latin, Dutch, English, Italian, French, Spanish, and Greek. One of the poems, *The Muses Welcom to theyr Highness the Royal Princes Mary*, was also published separately, with an engraving.

His nomination as town clerk heralded a second period of relative prosperity for Van Vliet. Along with the positions of baron, governor, burgomasters, and aldermen, that of town clerk ranked among the most prestigious in the town. This was publicly demonstrated each year, when, according to an ancient custom, cloth for the tabards was distributed among the town dignitaries. The above officials received ten ells, whereas all other dignitaries received less.¹⁶¹ The town clerk had a legal function in the tribunal as a permanent member of the municipal court, whose presence was continually required, besides being a member of the *hoofd- en leen bank*, a court of appeal which functioned at a lower level than the Council of Brabant. Moreover, the town clerk supervised the recording of contracts, writs, and charters involving the town.¹⁶² Van Vliet also represented the town on diplomatic missions in The Hague and undertook trips into the country.¹⁶³ He inspected the construction of dams in the river Dintel at Stampersgat and drew up two maps of the mouth of the river Dintel, dated 2 June 1655.¹⁶⁴ In September 1661, he accompanied a deputation of Breda and Teteringen, who had to establish the dividing line between Teteringen and Oosterhout.¹⁶⁵ Evidence of his work as town clerk is his *Ordonnantie tot weyringe van de pest*, a set of rules and regulations to be adhered to in case of an epidemic of the plague, printed in Breda in 1655.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁹ Breda, GA. Hi. 508.

¹⁶⁰ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 27-05-1653.

¹⁶¹ Brekelmans *et al.*, 118.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 88, 142.

¹⁶⁴ 's-Hertogenbosch, RA. C.v.V. 236.

¹⁶⁵ 's-Hertogenbosch, RA. C.v.V. 164.

¹⁶⁶ A copy with marginal annotations in Van Vliet's hand is Breda, GA. BBL 86.

At the beginning of 1654, Jan van Vliet and Clara had another child, this time a son, whom they named Jacobus Fabianus.¹⁶⁷ Meanwhile, Van Vliet had moved to a much bigger house in the former Jesuit monastery, commonly known as the House Ocrum, which he shared with his cousins Cornelis van Aerssen and Anna Cats.¹⁶⁸ The fact that he moved to Ocrum is more of an indication of his rising social position than anything else.

6. *Historian and philologist (1654–1659)*

Like his predecessor, Adriaan Havermans, Van Vliet developed an interest in local history. Apart from the papers left by his predecessor, and local chronicles and history books,¹⁶⁹ he based his studies mainly on the town's medieval charters and legal records, which still bear the traces of his work. He provided the two earliest statute books of Breda with title pages, and added numerous annotations and collations with old charters. In another collection, he even attempted to make an index.¹⁷⁰ His knowledge of the contents of the Middle Dutch charters and statutes is evident from the annotations.¹⁷¹ Presumably, he ordered the statute books to be copied for further study.¹⁷² His drawing of the old town seal, which he copied

¹⁶⁷ Breda, GA. Coll. DTB 26, 281.

¹⁶⁸ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 22–06–1655. Based on information derived by Boot, “Johan van Vliet”, 293, from a letter by Van Vliet to the Jesuits Godefrid Henschen and Johannes Bolland from 3 November 1654. Boot claimed to have seen the letter in Brussels, but my investigations in the Royal Library in Brussels, which holds the *Bollandiana* collection, have been without result.

¹⁶⁹ Hermans, *Bijdragen*, I, 309.

¹⁷⁰ To a fourteenth-century statute book, Van Vliet added the title: “Oude Keuren der Stad Breda genaemt het Houde Boeckxke geschreven ende begonnen te stellen omtrent immers nae den jaere 1373 als te sien is in folio 13...Jan van Vliet 1653”; see Breda, GA. Hi. 02. [Old charters of the town of Breda, named the little wooden book, written and begun somewhat after the year 1373, as fol. 13 shows, Jan van Vliet.] The *out-keurboek*, a 16th-century copy of an older statute book, is now lost. Van Vliet refers to it in ‘*t Recht van successie*’, 1, as the *Parquement-boeck*. For the index, see Breda, GA. Hi. 20.

¹⁷¹ Breda, GA. Hi. 02, ii: *Poorten verbeuren* ‘forfeiture of citizenship’; xiii: *van dijcken en scouwen* ‘on dykes and overseeing’; xxv: *Van de Visscherije te verhuiren* ‘on renting out the fishery rights’; etc. GA. Hi. 03, 48’: *Privilege van Hertogh Jan* ‘Duke Jan’s privilege’; 89’: *De eygene handt van Grave Hendrick de Nassau, siet fol. 34* ‘for Count Hendrick van Nassau’s own hand, see f. 34’. F. 535^v contains more information about the various hands in the charters.

¹⁷² ‘s-Hertogenbosch, RA. C.v.V. 236 contains a copy of the Breda charters with marginal notes in Van Vliet’s hand, followed by abstracts of legal cases with his signature.

from a now lost exemplar, is the only example of this seal, and of considerable historical value, locally.¹⁷³

It is likely that Van Vliet's publication of the annals of Breda was delayed by his involvement in a dispute over the rightful status and size of the county of Strijen, which lay to the northwest of Breda. He believed, on the basis of his study of old charters and other historical material, that he had discovered that the baronial lands of Breda included the adjacent county of Strijen. Van Vliet claimed that Breda and Strijen, previously one county, had been separated in the year 1039 by a certain Count Raginer, and that the last count of Strijen, who died shortly after 1129, had only female issue.¹⁷⁴ He was therefore convinced that the current Baron of Breda could rightfully claim sovereignty over the rest of the old county, and, much to the satisfaction of Amalia van Solms, he saw it as his duty to vindicate the rights of the House of Orange in this matter.¹⁷⁵ To back up his arguments, Van Vliet intended to publish a comprehensive description of Breda, which was to be divided into three works: a book on the local statutes, a history, and a chorography. Because he experienced opposition from other Breda dignitaries, he turned for support to David Le Leu de Wilhem (1588–1658), a former advisor of Prince Frederick Henry, whom he asked for the return of old documents pertaining to Breda, which had been taken to The Hague after the liberation of the town in 1637.¹⁷⁶ He proudly boasted the help of the Antwerp scholar Caspar Gevartius, royal and imperial councillor and historiographer, who provided him with rare manuscript material, which, according to Van Vliet, proved his point. However, opposition to his plans in Holland prevented him from publishing anything on this issue until 1663.¹⁷⁷

During the same period Van Vliet became more and more interested in the Dutch language. His researches in the Breda archives turned his attention to Middle Dutch, and left him no time to compose Latin verse¹⁷⁸. In 1655 he wrote to Nicholas Heinsius: “meanwhile I am totally committed to the compilation of a history of Breda. I will do everything in the vernacular”.¹⁷⁹ In his correspondence, recurring references to his use of

¹⁷³ See below, Appendix 3.

¹⁷⁴ Van Vliet, *Bredaesche almanac*, 15, 16.

¹⁷⁵ Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 31–10–1663.

¹⁷⁶ Van Vliet to Le Leu de Wilhem, 01–01–1657.

¹⁷⁷ Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 06–06–1663.

¹⁷⁸ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 24–11–1654.

¹⁷⁹ “Ego interim in annalibus Bredanis concinnandis totus sum. Vernacula omnia agam”; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 31–01–1655.

the vernacular are found from 1652 onwards, and he occasionally composed Dutch verse.¹⁸⁰ In 1655 he considered the time right to write part of a letter to Nicholas Heinsius in Dutch:

I will here make a start with what I have long since been intending, and what I have put into effect with some friends, namely to practise more and better my mother tongue, and thus facilitate correspondence for the better. I trust that this will not be unpleasant to you, since you find yourself in similar circumstances, of which we have seen several times, with interest and not without amazement, the apparent proof in the weekly reports to the High and Mighty [States-General].¹⁸¹

Although he claimed to have written letters in Dutch to other friends before this one, none of these has been preserved.

Van Vliet evidently hoped for a positive reaction from Heinsius, who also used Dutch in his weekly reports, now that he was the Dutch ambassador in Sweden. However, the experiment evoked an indignant response; Heinsius considered the letter no less than a grave insult, and although his reply to Van Vliet has not been preserved, it can be inferred from the latter's reactions, or rather retaliations, that Heinsius was deeply offended and disappointed with what he considered Van Vliet's denunciation of the arts.¹⁸² As no correspondence between Gronovius and Van Vliet from the period 1653 to 1658 survives, Gronovius's opinion on this matter remains obscure. In October 1658, Van Vliet complained to Gronovius about Heinsius's continued accusations about Van Vliet's aversion to the study of the humanities, and added that the annals of Breda, which were nearly ready for the press, were regarded unsympathetically by his friend.¹⁸³ The situation gives evidence of a deep-seated attitude of deprecation to the vernacular language reigning among some seventeenth-century Latinists in the Netherlands, of whom Nicholas Heinsius was one of the most prominent examples. The incident brought about the end of a long period

¹⁸⁰ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 28-03-1652; 27-05-1653; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 24-11-1654. See below, p. 193.

¹⁸¹ "Ick sal bij desen een aanvang maken van 'tgeene ick reeds langhe gedreyght, en oock bij eenige vrienden in trayn gebracht hebbe, te weten om eenmael mijn moederlijcke tael wat beter en meer te oefenen, ende de correspondentien daer door te bath faciliteren. Ick vertrouwe dat uwe Ed: sulx niet onaengenaem sal wesen, dewyl Uwe Ed: selver sich in gelycke betrachtginge vindt, waervan wy de blyckelyke proefstukken in weeckelyke missieven aen haer Ho: Mo: met curieusheid en niet sonder verwonderen ettelijcke maelen gesien hebben"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 20-04-1655.

¹⁸² Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 30-08-1656.

¹⁸³ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 06-10-1658.

of close friendship between Van Vliet and Heinsius, and the frequency of their correspondence decreased drastically after 1655. Heinsius, who could never come to terms with Van Vliet's change of interest, first to Dutch, and subsequently to Old Germanic languages, continued to bear him a grudge, and felt betrayed by his friend.¹⁸⁴

Despite his apparent preoccupation with the history of Breda and the Dutch language, Van Vliet continued to write Latin verse. He composed an ode to Caspar Gevartius, which he sent to Gronovius in 1658 with the request to review the poem critically.¹⁸⁵ During the same period he wrote his ode *Ad amicos Hagienses et Leidenses*,¹⁸⁶ and shortly after that, the ode *Caeciliam Bredanam*.¹⁸⁷ However, in spite of all his efforts, the relationship with Heinsius improved only marginally. Instead, Van Vliet's correspondence shows that he developed new friendships or renewed old ones with David Le Leu de Wilhem, Christiaan Huygens, Lodewijck Huygens, and Isaac Vossius.

7. Breda and royalism

Between 1655 and 1659, there was little change in Van Vliet's domestic situation, but in April 1659 another daughter was born, named Marie, after Van Vliet's protector Mary Stuart.¹⁸⁸ This occasion should be seen in the light of Van Vliet's close ties with the House of Stuart, as a result of his royalist sympathies and his services to Mary Stuart. When King Charles II visited Breda in the spring of 1660, just before his restoration, Van Vliet paid his respects to the King on several occasions, which must have enhanced his hopes for royal patronage. Van Vliet's seventh child, a boy born in August 1660, was therefore named Carolus Secundus, after

¹⁸⁴ For examples of Nicholas Heinsius's opinion on Van Vliet's Germanic studies, see letters from Heinsius to Graevius in Burmannus, *Sylloges epistolarum*, II, 43; and from Heinsius to Gronovius, *ibid.*, III, 478, 492.

¹⁸⁵ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 07–12–[1659].

¹⁸⁶ For a published version of this poem, see L. Santenius, *Deliciae poeticae fasciculi VIII* (Leiden, 1796), 181–186.

¹⁸⁷ This ode is referred to in a letter to Gronovius (10–01–1659), which is accompanied by a poem headed: "Jani Vliitii J.C. Johannem Fredericum Gronovium, Cum in alma Batavorum Academia Graecarum literarum et historiarum professionem rite ac feliciter auspicaretur, Elegia".

¹⁸⁸ Mary Stuart was represented at the baptism by one of her ladies in waiting; see Breda, GA. Coll. DTB 27, 37.

King Charles II.¹⁸⁹ Presumably, this youngest child did not survive, for on 5 October 1660 one of Van Vliet's children was buried in Breda,¹⁹⁰ and, although no name is given in the register, it is very likely that this last baby died in the cradle.

During the period leading up to King Charles's restoration, Van Vliet frequently associated with English royalist refugees, which involved exchanges of books and ideas. His friends included the above mentioned Samuel Johnson, the clergyman Thomas Browne (?1604–1673),¹⁹¹ and the Reverend George Morley (1597–1684),¹⁹² later Bishop of Winchester, with whom Van Vliet became engaged in a scholarly dispute. He had sought Morley's advice on his conclusion that St. Augustine and his predecessors had been opposed to the invocation of Saints. Morley's reply came in the form of a short letter rejecting Van Vliet's ideas, but, when the latter persevered in his conviction, Morley wrote a treatise of rebuttal in epistolary form. The two letters were first published in Latin in 1683,¹⁹³ and later translated into English and published in 1707. The treatise shows that Morley thought highly of Van Vliet's scholarship, calling him "the most learned Janus Vlitius", and also relates that during their walks they discussed the origins of the English nation and Church.¹⁹⁴

At the end of 1660, Van Vliet left for England to be present at the coronation of Charles II. He had composed a Latin poem for the occasion, *Carolus redux per musas Bredanas panegyri repraesentatus...*, undoubtedly expecting a token of royal favour in exchange. Meanwhile, he had started to add the title *schilcknaep* or *armiger* to his name, which suggests some degree of knightly honour. From October 1660 to July 1661, there is an interruption in the notes of the municipal court, indicating Van Vliet's absence.¹⁹⁵ Wumkes suggested that Van Vliet was again part of a deputation despatched by the States-General to be present at the coronation: "He occupied the same position with the special embassy that the States-General sent to England when Charles II returned to the throne. In two letters in the Eekhoff collection, he gives an elaborate description of the coronation feasts in London, and shows himself a man, who in spite

¹⁸⁹ Breda, GA. Coll. DTB 27, 60.

¹⁹⁰ Breda, GA. Hi. 346, 58.

¹⁹¹ On Browne, see *DNB*, II, 64.

¹⁹² On Morley, see *DNB*, xxxix, 971–975.

¹⁹³ This treatise was no. eight of George Morley's *Several Treatises* (London, 1683).

¹⁹⁴ George Morley, *Two Letters to the Most Learned Janus Vlitius...* (London, 1707),

5–11.

¹⁹⁵ Brekelmans *et al.*, 324.

of all music and triumphal arches and drinking bouts does not forget his duties.”¹⁹⁶ However, the register of diplomats of the United Netherlands does not mention him.¹⁹⁷ Possibly, Van Vliet went to London on behalf of the Breda Council. As a reward for its hospitality to the King and his retinue in the Spring of 1660, Charles had promised the town prerogatives in the field of trade, and in order to remind the King of his promises the town council sent a petition to London asking for the agreement to come into effect.¹⁹⁸ Naturally, Van Vliet, who was familiar with the House of Stuart as well as the English language, was the right man for the job. The postponement of the coronation to 23 April 1661 considerably extended this visit, which was a failure in every respect. His poem did not meet with a favourable reception from the King, while his business and prolonged spells of ill health detained him from paying his respects to scholars like Petrus Molinaeus and William Dugdale, and he failed to obtain compensation for financial losses suffered in Hatfield Chase during the interregnum.¹⁹⁹ Meanwhile, his opponents in Breda were annoyed at his lengthy absence and wished to appoint a replacement to do his work, something Van Vliet strongly objected to. He returned to Breda in July 1661.

After his return from England Van Vliet not only re-embarked on the study of the Old Germanic languages, but he also attempted to edit a dual-language edition of Aesop's fables from a manuscript supplied to him by Isaac Vossius. The theologian and philologist Hendricus Bornius (1617–1675) had asked him to produce a short annotated edition, but, in June 1662, as soon as Van Vliet learned from Nicholas Heinsius that Johannes Scheffer had published a similar book in Uppsala, he announced that he would refrain from printing.²⁰⁰ The edition remained in manuscript.²⁰¹ In

¹⁹⁶ Transl. from G. A. Wumkes, *Bodders yn de Fryske striid* (Bolsward, 1926), 286–292. As my researches in the Provincial Library of Friesland (with the help of the curator), the Leeuwarden town archives and the Fries Letterkundig Museum, have yielded no results, I assume that the letters spoken of by Wumkes are lost.

¹⁹⁷ There was a special embassy which left The Hague in November 1660 and stayed in England until 1662, but Van Vliet's name is not attached to this mission; see O. Schutte, *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegenwoordigers residerende in het buitenland 1584–1810* (The Hague, 1976), 98–100.

¹⁹⁸ Brekelmans *et al.*, 72–73.

¹⁹⁹ Nicholas Heinsius to Van Vliet, 10–04–1662; Van Vliet to the Breda council, 18–06–1661.

²⁰⁰ Nicholas Heinsius to Van Vliet, 10–04–1662; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 29–05–1662.

May 1663, Van Vliet returned some books he had borrowed from Isaac Vossius for the edition.²⁰²

In 1663, Van Vliet published *'t Recht van successie volgens de costumen der stad ende lande van Breda* (Dordrecht, 1663). In it, he presented an edition with commentary of the Breda statutes relating to the laws of succession. The legal commentary interspersed with philological observations bears evidence of Van Vliet's leanings towards a philological approach to the study of law.²⁰³ He regarded this small book as a precursor to his *magnum opus*, and claimed to have written it:

together with the rest of my works concerning the antiquities and situations of this town and region, which I have already written and prepared for the press,..., and divided into three books, of which the first deals with the laws, the second with history and the third with the description of town and region.²⁰⁴

As soon as his work was printed in Dordrecht, the council issued an order which compelled Van Vliet to have the book inspected for approval before he could proceed to publication. He was outraged, and believed this to be the work of the sub-bailiff Bernagius, a member of a leading Breda family whom he suspected of rivalry. To thwart his opponents, he sent a copy to Constantine Huygens, applying for support from this influential statesman.²⁰⁵ Eventually, despite all opposition, he managed to see the book through the press.

Van Vliet's next publication was the immediate result of his rivalry with Breda's town secretary. In 1663 he lodged a complaint with the *Raad van State* 'State Council' against the secretary, concerning the latter's interference with the duties of the town clerk. The entire complaint was published under the title *Vertoogh ende bewijs des griffiers-ampt der stad en lande van Breda, tot onderscheid van de secretarije aldaer* (Breda,

²⁰¹ London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 783, 10–41. It includes eighteen passages in Greek and Latin on the left and right hand columns of the pages, respectively, followed by five fables in Latin with commentary. The work was provided with a glossary, quire marks and rubrications, and consequently seems to have been ready for the press.

²⁰² Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 22–05–1663.

²⁰³ See below, pp. 203–204.

²⁰⁴ "... Alsmede mijn verdere Wercken die ick van de Oudtheden ende gelegentheden deser Stad en Lande al–bereyds beschreven, en meest tot den druck veerdigh gemaect hebbe,..., ende in drie Boecken verdeelt, van de welcke het I. de Rechten, het II. de Geschiedenissen, het III. de beschrijvinge der Stad en Lande behelsende is"; Van Vliet, *'t Recht van successie*, *3.

²⁰⁵ Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 06–06–1663.

1663). The State Council of the United Netherlands granted the request and its reply, dated 22 November 1663, was printed along with the rest of the work. It is evident, therefore, that this otherwise undated work was either printed in December 1663 or at the beginning of 1664. *'t Verdoogh ende bewijs* was soon followed by another book on Breda, the anonymous *Bredaesche almanac, en chronijck* (Dordrecht, 1664). This slim volume consists of an almanack in the form of a medieval calendar, followed by a chronicle of Breda, and a page of Frisian proverbs.²⁰⁶ The chronicle may have been meant as another precursor for his more substantial work on the history of Breda, announced in *'t Recht van successie*, but there are no references to this. It played a role in the dispute over the name and status of Strijen, since it stipulated explicitly the way that Breda and Strijen had been separated in the Middle Ages. The copy at present in the municipal archive in Breda contains engravings of the seals of the town, the arms of the Lords of Strijen and Breda, and a map of the county of Strijen.²⁰⁷

8. *Germanic philology and Francis Junius (1659–1665)*

During the final years of his life, Van Vliet was predominantly occupied with his Germanic studies. Although he had started with Dutch in the previous decade, he now attempted to study Old High German, Old English, Old Frisian, Gothic, 'Runic' and Icelandic.²⁰⁸ The first datable indication of his interest in the study of Old Germanic history and languages is his ode *Ad amicos Hagienses et Leidenses*, written in 1658, which described Breda as the town on the river "Aa, three times widened by mixing with the Mark, preserving the monuments of the old Danes",²⁰⁹ an idea which evolved from his investigations into local history. His library, which had grown to considerable proportions by that time, contained many books on Old Germanic languages and history, and Van Vliet was ever on the move to find new additions, for which he spared no expense. His international circle of friends served as agents to purchase books

²⁰⁶ See below, pp. 349–350.

²⁰⁷ Breda, GA. Ka-I-D-25. For further information on the contents of the *Bredaesche almanac*, see below, pp. 149–151.

²⁰⁸ On the confusion between 'Runic' and 'Icelandic', see below, pp. 236–238. I have used the terms as they occur in the works of Van Vliet and Junius.

²⁰⁹ "Prisca Danorum monumenta servans // Ada, permixto, ter adaucte Marca"; Van Vliet to Lodewijk/Christiaan Huygens, 29–09–1658.

throughout Europe. He approached Heinsius to look for an Icelandic Bible in Sweden.²¹⁰ He asked Christiaan Huygens in Paris to search for Ménage's *Origines*, a book on English proverbs, and a dictionary of the Breton language.²¹¹ And via Isaac Vossius, he attempted to buy one of Ole Worm's works and a manuscript of the Salic laws.²¹² Besides printed books, he also bought manuscripts; he acquired a Middle Dutch book of hours and prayers in 1656, the *Ormulum* manuscript in 1659,²¹³ and a copy of the incunable edition of Old Frisian laws in 1660.²¹⁴ Van Vliet's Old Germanic studies, which I will describe in the following chapters, were greatly enhanced by his contact with Francis Junius.

In the first half of 1659, Isaac Vossius, who was aware of his friend's interest in the vernacular and in Germanic languages, presented Van Vliet with a copy of the *Observationes in Willeram* by Francis Junius (1655). Although Isaac Vossius was interested in classical, rather than Old Germanic languages, he was less narrow-minded than Heinsius on this issue. His substantial library, containing Old English, Old High German, and Middle Dutch manuscripts and even the Gothic Codex Argenteus, as well as the fact that he was closely related to Francis Junius, caused Vossius to play a role in the world of Old Germanic scholarship. In July, Van Vliet wrote to Vossius to thank him for this most interesting present:

I do not know whether I have been grateful enough for your uncle's commentary on the *Willeram*; I wonder whether you have brought me more pleasure or more desire with it. He certainly touches upon many things in passing, and asserts a great deal that I wish he would teach me more about. Subsequently, he promises more than he produces, although he has accomplished a great deal. I would like to have Tatian, and his comments to it, the Gothic and Saxon Gospels, Junius's etymological dictionary of the Dutch language, the Lives of Anno and Kero, and other glossaries, and many other such things, which I hitherto had hardly heard about.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 29–05–1662.

²¹¹ Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 05–10–1661; 25–01–1662.

²¹² Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 21–08–1663.

²¹³ See below, pp. 112–114.

²¹⁴ See below, pp. 117–121.

²¹⁵ "Nescio an satis amplas gratias tibi habuerim pro Avunculi tui in Willeramum notis, quibus nescio num plus deliciarum an desiderii mihi attulisti. Adeo multa enim obiter tangit et allegat, quae plenius ab eo discere cupiam. Tum etiam plura promittit, quam praestat, tametsi sane praestitit plurimum. Tatianum volo, ejusque in illum annotata, Evangelia Gothica et Saxonica, Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae Junianum, Annonis Vitam, Keronis, et alia Glossaria, et multa id genus alia hactenus mihi fere inaudita"; Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 26–07–1659.

Apart from the fact that Van Vliet's letter reveals the state of his own Germanic studies in July 1659, it also shows that he was eager to learn more. This must have been his reason for reading the *Observationes* in the first place. He therefore added a request to Vossius to arrange a meeting with Francis Junius, for he felt that they shared a common interest.

If he has already returned from England, which I hope, please impart to him on my behalf my deep gratitude and greetings, and, should Minerva receive a swine, tell him that I should very much like to discuss some matters with him,...²¹⁶

The earliest communication between Francis Junius and Van Vliet has been a matter of debate. It was originally thought to have taken place in 1651, on the basis of Van Vliet stating his intention to visit a certain *Junius* in England.²¹⁷ However, this Junius was not Francis Junius, but Patrick Young, also named Patricius Junius, the keeper of the Royal Library; Francis Junius was not in England at that time.²¹⁸ Although Junius and Van Vliet had not communicated regularly before 1659, they had met as early as 1641. In a letter to Gerard Vossius, Van Vliet greeted Vossius on behalf of his relative, Francis Junius, whom he had met in Antwerp during a visit to the Earl of Arundel. Van Vliet also stated that he had been on good terms with Junius during his return from England in 1641:

... I present errands. This little package here, entrusted to me by your relative Blittersvicius in Brussels; very many greetings to you, your wife and your children from your kinsman Francis Junius, whom I happened to be on familiar terms with when I went to pay my respects again to the Earl of Arundel in Antwerp, and during my return from England, long ago.²¹⁹

Although it is clear from this letter that Van Vliet and Junius had already met in 1641, and again in Antwerp in 1644, there is no evidence that any communication on a regular basis, let alone on the study of Old Germanic languages, took place before 1659.

²¹⁶ "Si is jam ex Anglia rediit, quod spero, meo nomine et plurimas grates et Salutem ei dicas, rogo: et si suam Minerva admittit, me quaedam percipere cum eo communicare,..."; Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 26-07-1659.

²¹⁷ R.G. van de Velde, "Vlitiana Frisica...", *Us Wurk* 14 (1965), 19; Bachrach and Collmer, 17-19; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 05-12-1651.

²¹⁸ Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 60.

²¹⁹ "... mandata exhibeo. Fasciculum isthunc à cognato Blittersvicio Bruxellae mihi commissum, ab affine tuo Fr. Junio, quem Antverpiae, dum Arondellium Comitem resalutatam ibam, & jamdudum in domuitione nostra ex Anglia familiarem habere contigit, salutem plurimam tibi, tuae, tuisque"; Van Vliet to Gerard Vossius, 12-08-1644.

At the time of their meeting in 1659, Francis Junius²²⁰ had already been involved in the study of Old Germanic languages for about fifteen years. In the previous period he had worked on a catalogue of references to art and works of art from classical literature.²²¹ These studies had caused him to publish a monograph on ideas from Antiquity concerning arts, which he published in 1637 under the title *De pictura veterum*.²²² A great deal about the onset of Junius's Germanic studies remains to be elucidated. The suggestion that Arundel's library formed the inspiration for his work on Germanic philology²²³ seems to me unsubstantiated, since neither the Old High German nor the Old English glosses in the Arundel manuscripts (now British Library, MSS Arundel 293, 514,²²⁴ and 60, 155 respective-

²²⁰ Francis Junius, who was the son of the French Calvinist theologian Franciscus Junius/François du Jon (1545–1602) and his third wife Johanna L'Hermite, was born in Heidelberg in 1590. In 1592, his father obtained a professorship of Hebrew in Leiden, and the family moved to the Netherlands. After his parents' death in 1602, he was educated in the household of Gerard Johannes Vossius in Dordrecht. After his theological studies in Leiden and Middelburg, he embarked on a career as a minister in the village of Hillegersberg near Rotterdam, which was cut short by the factional rivalry between rival groups of Protestants in the Dutch Reformed Church in 1618. As a result, Junius renounced and travelled to France, and thence England, where he found employment in the household of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, as tutor to his youngest son, and, later on, as librarian. A comprehensive account of Junius's life has never been the subject of a monograph. A contemporary treatise on Junius's life is Graevius's *Vita Francisci Junii*, prefaced to the 1694 edition of Junius's *De pictura veterum libri tres*, (Rotterdam, 1694), and Junius's *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, Edward Lye ed. (Oxford, 1743). See also Anthony Wood, *Atheneae Oxonienses* (second edition, Oxford, 1721), II, 602–604; J.W. de Crane, *Voorlezing over Franciscus Junius...* (Workum, 1836); *BWN*, IX, 253–258; *NNBW*, IX, 843; *DNB*, xxx, 227–228; C.S.M. Rademaker ss.cc., *Life and Work of Gerardus Johannes Vossius (1577–1649)* (Assen, 1981), passim; Hetherington, *Beginnings*, 222–236; Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 46–49; Keith Aldrich *et al.*, *Franciscus (Du Jon) Junius. The Literature of Classical Art...* (Berkley, Los Angeles and London, 1991), xxvi–xlv; Colette Nativel, *Franciscus Junius: De pictura veterum...* (Genève, 1996), 25–80. For a multidisciplinary treatment of Junius, see Rolf H. Bremmer Jr. ed., *Franciscus F.F. Junius and His Circle* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1998); a comprehensive critical edition of Junius's correspondence will be published by Sophie van Romburgh.

²²¹ Aldrich *et al.*, xxxvii–xxxix.

²²² See Nativel for a commented edition and translation of Book I of *De pictura*. In the following year (1638) an English translation of *De pictura* appeared, which has been published in a modern edition by Aldrich *et al.* In 1641, a Dutch translation was published in Middelburg.

²²³ This was suggested by Aldrich *et al.*, xxxi–xxxii; *Biographisch woordenboek van protestantse godgeleerden in Nederland*, J.P. de Bie and J. Loosjes eds. (The Hague, 1919–1947), 617.

²²⁴ R. Priebsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England* (Erlangen, 1892), 48, 58, who gives a survey of the Arundel manuscripts containing German and Dutch.

ly)²²⁵ occur among Junius's transcripts. Breuker quotes a document from the end of 1653, in which Junius requested an increased salary in order to be able to have matrices and punches cast for "Anglo-Saxonike, Runike and Gothike letters" because he had "by eight or tenn yeeres studie made some Observations", from which he concludes that the beginning of Junius's Germanic studies have to be dated about 1645.²²⁶ This is supported by the fact that the first entries in Junius's Old English-Latin lexicon (MSS Junius 2 and 3) are from Spelman's Old English Psalter (1640) and Abraham Wheelock's Old English translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (1644). Whatever Junius's reasons were, it is clear that interest in both Dutch and Old English played a role. In a long quotation from his *Etymologicum Teutonicum*, a lost work to which he repeatedly referred in the *Observationes* (1655), Old English and Frisian are the only Germanic languages besides Dutch.²²⁷

One of the reasons why Van Vliet referred to Junius as "Minerva", was the variety of Germanic languages Junius managed to include in his etymologies. In addition to Dutch and Old English, Junius studied Frisian; during a trip to Friesland between 1646 and 1648, he stayed for some time with the Frisian poet Gysbert Japiks, who must have directed his attention to Frisian.²²⁸ Old High German came into his studies soon after, since his commentary on the Leiden *Willeram* had been completed for three or four years when it was finally published in 1655, which implies that it must be a product of the late 1640s and early 1650s.²²⁹ At the beginning of 1649, Junius also turned his attention to Scandinavian language, when he asked Isaac Vossius for a copy of Ole Worm's *RUNIR, seu Danica litteratura*. He candidly acknowledged in his introduction to

²²⁵ MS Arundel 60 contains a continuous Old English gloss to the psalms, and "the six days of the world", and MS Arundel 155 a continuous gloss to prayers; see N.R. Ker, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), 166-167, no. 134; 167-171, no. 135. In his copy of John Spelman's (1640) edition of the Old English Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 33), which Junius collated with the so-called Junius Psalter (MS Junius 27), there is no reference to MS Arundel 60, which raises the question whether he knew of its existence. For the sake of brevity I will henceforth refer to the Junius manuscripts as 'MS Junius'.

²²⁶ See Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 50-53, whose quotation I copied.

²²⁷ Junius, *Observationes*, 294-296; Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 52-53; Dekker, "'Vide Kilian'", 528-529.

²²⁸ B. J. Timmer, "Junius's Stay in Friesland", *Neophilologus* 41 (1957), 141-144; Ph. H. Breuker, *It wurk fan Gysbert Japix...* (Leeuwarden, 1989), 244-247; —, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 49-50.

²²⁹ Junius, *Observationes*, [π5].

the *Gothicum glossarium* that he knew nothing about the “Cimbric antiquities” before he had seen Ole Worm’s works.²³⁰ Two years later, in 1651, he appeared interested in Gothic and made inquiries about the nature of this language to James Ussher, the Archbishop of Armagh.²³¹ In April 1654, the source of his future fame as a pioneer of Germanic philology, the Codex Argenteus, was entrusted to his care. It was presented to Junius by his nephew, Isaac Vossius, who had obtained it from the library of the recently abdicated Queen Christina of Sweden, as part of financial compensation to Vossius to make up for the extensive debts he had made on Christina’s behalf.²³² It was to last ten years before Junius’s edition of the Codex Argenteus was finally printed, although this does not mean that all of his time was spent on the study of Gothic.²³³

In the years leading up to his meeting Van Vliet, Junius, who was an extremely hard-working man, embarked on so many different projects that only a selection can be presented here. He transcribed a great number of Old English texts and fragments from manuscripts in various English libraries, later using the vocabulary for his enormous Old English–Latin

²³⁰ Breuker, “Junius’s Germanic Studies”, 54. “Cimbricarum antiquitatum nihil quicquam vidi, praeter ea quae publici juris fecit Olaus Wormius”; Franciscus Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*... (Dordrecht, 1665), ***4v. On Junius’s Norse studies, see also J.A.W. Bennett, *The History of Old English and Old Norse Studies in England*... (Oxford, 1938), 214–221; —, “The Beginnings of Runic Studies”, 271–272; B.J. Timmer, “Northern Research in the Netherlands”, *Saga-Book*... 14 (1955/56), 215.

²³¹ In reply to Junius’s inquiry, Ussher briefed him on several aspects of Gothic in a letter, which was later prefaced to the edition of the Gospels; see Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, 14–17. In spite of Ussher’s information, it seems that for a while he equated Gothic with Icelandic. In his annotations to William Somner’s glossary *Ad verba vetera Germanica* (see below, p. 180), Junius wrote: *Goth. SKALK* [in runes], *ut videre est in Cantico Simeonis a Bon. Vulcanio edito* (p. 53), apparently convinced that Gothic should be written in runes. In his observation, Junius referred to Vulcanius, *De literis*, 41, where this word was written in Gothic uncials. In his *Observationes*, 259–265, he listed a series of Icelandic words from Ole Worm’s *Lexicon Runicum* (see below, p. 182) under the heading *Monosyllaba Gothica*, because he noticed that a few of them also occurred in the Codex Argenteus. Voorwinden, xvi, fn. 27, points out that in Junius’s annotated copy of the *Observationes* from the library of Isaac Vossius (now Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 579 G 14) Junius erased *Gothica* and replaced it by *Cimbrica*.

²³² On the vicissitudes of the Codex Argenteus, see Van Bree, *passim*; Van de Velde, *studie...Gotisch*, 136–139; Von Friesen and Grape. See F.F. Blok, “Contributions to the History of Isaac Vossius’s Library”, *VMKA* 83 (Amsterdam and London, 1974), 15–33, on Isaac Vossius’s library.

²³³ His perusal of the manuscript has been evaluated by Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 140–144, 151–208, who discusses Junius’s treatment of the Gothic language in detail.

lexicon (MSS Junius 2 and 3).²³⁴ Moreover, he compiled much of the *Etymologicon Anglicanum* (MSS Junius 4 and 5) before 1660, as well as the Old High German glossaries A–P (MSS Junius 116a–e). He prepared an edition of Tatian's *Harmonia evangelica* (MS Junius 13), to which he wrote the commentary, presumably after 1655, and which he collated with parts of the Gothic and Old English Gospels. During the first half of the 1660s, most of Junius's time was probably spent on the edition of the Gothic–Anglo-Saxon Gospels and the *Gothicum glossarium*, to which I will return in relation to his contacts with Van Vliet.²³⁵

In his letter to Vossius, Van Vliet suggested that he wished to show Junius his *Ormulum* manuscript, which he had compared with Otfrid's Old High German *Evangelienbuch*. He must have shown it to Junius on his first visit, during one of his frequent trips to The Hague.²³⁶ Van Vliet's first recorded appointment with Junius was at the beginning of September, little more than a month after Van Vliet's request to Vossius. On this occasion, Junius lent him his copy of the incunable edition of the Old Frisian laws (MS Junius 109). The date of the event is recorded in an inscription. In February of the following year, Junius lent Van Vliet another

²³⁴ See Kees Dekker, "‘That Most Elaborate One of Francis Junius’ ...", *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Timothy Graham ed. (Kalamazoo, 1999). Work on the Old English–Latin dictionary continued after 1660. References to Stephen Skinner's *Etymologicon linguae Anglicanae* (London, 1668), indicate that Junius was still adding information at that time; see Bennett, *History of Old English and Old Norse Studies*, 368–369.

²³⁵ After 1665, he renewed work on Old Frisian and started a new edition of the works of Chaucer, based on that of Thomas Spaght, of which the initial preparations can be seen in his own copy (MS Junius 9); see Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 63; Johan Kerling, *Chaucer in Early English Dictionaries...* (Leiden, 1979), 16–17; Mark Liddell, "Junius's Edition of Chaucer", *The Athenaeum* (12 June, 1897). His activities resulted in a totally new glossary of Chaucer's vocabulary (MS Junius 6). He also prepared a second edition of *De pictura veterum*; see Aldrich *et al.*, xliii. In 1675 Junius returned to England and lived in London and Oxford, to work at the Cottonian and Bodleian libraries. In November 1677, at the age of 87, Junius died in Windsor at the house of his nephew Isaac Vossius, and was buried in Windsor Royal Chapel. He bequeathed his medieval manuscripts, transcripts, glossaries, and a number of mostly annotated books to the Bodleian Library, along with his punches and matrices, with the intention that many of his works would be published after his death. The transcripts and glossaries formed an inspiration and a source of material for Oxford Saxonists of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; see Richard L. Harris, *A Chorus of Grammars...* (Toronto 1992), 6–8; Hetherington, *Beginnings*, 229–232.

²³⁶ These trips were undertaken on behalf of the town council, for whom Van Vliet often negotiated. See Breda, GA. 1–1a–226; 1–1a–227; 1–1a–228; 1–1a–229 for letters by Van Vliet written from The Hague, and other papers relating to these missions.

Frisian manuscript, the *Codex Aysma* (MS Junius 78). Although Van Vliet had wished to consult Junius about Old English and Old High German, and had been eager to exchange information about the contents of the *Observationes*, he was instead provided with Old Frisian texts. Junius considered Van Vliet a good candidate for preparing an edition of the Frisian laws, as he was busy editing the *Codex Argenteus*. This appears from one of his letters to William Dugdale, in which he mentioned both Van Vliet and Simon Abbes Gabbema as possible editors:

In the severall ordales & some other poincts you goe in hand with, the Old Frisian lawes can give much opening: and if mijn heer de Vliet, or monsr. Gabbema (historian to the States of Freesland, who hath mett with some better and compleater Manuscript coppies) publishe them, I shall presently send you a translated & printed coppie, with anie other helpes I shall bee able to light on.²³⁷

Van Vliet's earlier interest in Frisian,²³⁸ the fact that Van Vliet was a lawyer, and his work on the statutes of Breda, for which he consulted Siccama's edition of the *Lex Frisionum*, had given Junius the impression that Van Vliet was the right man for the job.

In their earliest contacts, Junius also introduced Van Vliet to Gothic. Van Vliet's enthusiasm appears from the proceedings of the municipal council of Breda, in which he wrote a few words in Gothic uncials on 26 January 1660,²³⁹ indicating that even during his work, his mind occasionally wandered away to his study of Gothic. To acquire some knowledge of the language, Junius issued Van Vliet with a Gothic-Greek glossary from which he could study the words.²⁴⁰

Van Vliet's Gothic studies are also apparent in his copy of William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, which he presumably bought during his stay in England in 1661. This book also gives evidence of Junius's further support, in the form of hand-written notes and left-overs from his own works. Notes pasted in Van Vliet's copy of Somner's *Dictionarium* stem from the compilation of the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*. As a result of his friendship with Francis Junius, Van Vliet increasingly gained access to Junius's library, from which he borrowed books and manuscripts on various occasions.

²³⁷ Quoted after Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 61, fn. 46.

²³⁸ See above, pp. 65–66.

²³⁹ Breda, GA. I, 1a, 31, 17^r.

²⁴⁰ See below, pp. 114–115.

Apart from a small undated note,²⁴¹ no correspondence between Van Vliet and Junius has survived, although there must surely have been letters. Apparently, there were very few contacts between Junius and Van Vliet during the latter's stay in England in 1661, for Van Vliet complained to Christiaan Huygens on 5 October 1661 that it had been a year since he had heard anything from Junius,²⁴² a remark which has to be taken with a pinch of salt, in view of a letter to Heinsius eight months before, in which he stated that Junius had informed him about Isaac Vossius's plans to go to England.²⁴³ In November 1661, Van Vliet was on a mission in The Hague for the town council of Breda, during which time he will probably have visited Junius.²⁴⁴ There is no direct evidence of contact between Van Vliet and Junius in 1662, but, from the contents of his letters to Nicholas Heinsius, it appears that Van Vliet was deeply involved in the study of Germanic languages, and repeatedly referred to his contacts with Junius.²⁴⁵

Some time in the course of 1662, Junius moved to lodgings in Dordrecht to work together with the English theologian Thomas Marshall (1621–1685),²⁴⁶ who was minister to the Merchant Adventurers. Marshall cooperated with Junius on the edition of the Gothic–Anglo-Saxon Gospels. Moreover, as the work was to be printed in Dordrecht, Junius presumably wanted to be close enough to the presses to read the proofs. For Van Vliet, this considerably facilitated his visiting Junius, and there is ample evidence that there were close and frequent contacts in 1663. On 7 March of that year, he sent a Latin poem to Isaac Vossius signed: *Ex diaeta Juniana*,²⁴⁷ and in the same month—presumably during the same visit—he copied excerpts from Tatian's *Diatessaron* (MS Junius 13), including the Sermon on the Mount.²⁴⁸ On 22 May another letter to Vossius was also written from Dordrecht.²⁴⁹

²⁴¹ See below, p. 141.

²⁴² Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 05–10–1661.

²⁴³ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 14–12–1660.

²⁴⁴ See letters by Van Vliet to the Breda council, dated 11–11–1661, 15–11–1661.

²⁴⁵ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 27–01–1662, 29–05–1662.

²⁴⁶ Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 49, fn. 11. On Thomas Marshall, see Vivian Green, *The Commonwealth of Lincoln College* (Oxford, 1979), 275–280; *DNB*, xxxvi, 247–248.

²⁴⁷ Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, III E 10, 219.

²⁴⁸ See below, pp. 132–133.

²⁴⁹ Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 22–05–1663.

As a result of his friendship with Junius, Van Vliet came into contact with Thomas Marshall, who possessed an impressive library, including various Middle Dutch manuscripts.²⁵⁰ On 14 May 1663, Van Vliet made excerpts in Dordrecht from the *Cologne Chronicle* owned by Marshall.²⁵¹

For Van Vliet, the main attraction in Dordrecht was the publication and the printing of the Gothic–Anglo-Saxon Gospels. References to this in his letters reveal interesting data about the time-span of the printing process. On 6 June 1663, he wrote to Christiaan Huygens: “Junius’s Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels are seething under the press. The lexicons will follow. I am also arranging Franconian”.²⁵² Exactly what Van Vliet meant by this last remark is unclear: was he assisting Junius with Old High German, or alluding to his own Germanic studies, or both? In August he wrote to Isaac Vossius that he intended to visit Junius again to inspect the prints,²⁵³ and at the end of October he wrote to Christiaan Huygens that the printing of the Gospels was almost complete.²⁵⁴ Nearly a year later, the *Gothicum glossarium* was also finished, but Thomas Marshall, who was engaged in the compilation of his *Observationes*, was still in the process of completing his contribution:

The Gothic Gospel with Junius’s glossary as well as my little work are finished. However, the collation of the Gothic version with various translations by the very learned Thomas Marshall, which are also nearing completion, will be added, and, goodness me, these collations are learned.²⁵⁵

On 1 March of the following year, the *Glossarium* had still not been published, much to Van Vliet’s aggravation, and he wrote to Isaac Vossius: “I would rather he had preserved his notes, which are very accurate indeed, for a book of his own, and that he had set about in his elaborate style, which he has in abundance”.²⁵⁶ It is not exactly known when the

²⁵⁰ On Marshall’s Dutch manuscripts, see J. A. A. M. Biemans, *Middel nederlandse bijbelhandschriften* (Leiden, 1984), nos. 42, 71, 195, 199; Madan *et al.*, II, 992–1008, 1205–1211.

²⁵¹ See below, pp. 144–145.

²⁵² “Junii Evangelia Gothica et Anglo Saxonica sub praelo fervent. Lexica sequuntur. Ego quoque Francica concinno”; Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 06–06–1663.

²⁵³ Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 21–08–1663.

²⁵⁴ Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 31–10–1663.

²⁵⁵ “Gothica Evangelia cum Glossario Junii meaque opella absoluta sunt. Sed accedent, quae jam quoque finem spectant, Doctiss. V. Thomae Mareschalli, collationes variarum interpretationum cum Gothica; erudissimae aedepol”; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 10–09–1664.

²⁵⁶ “Maluissem hic notas suas, accuratissima[s sane,] peculiari libro se[r]vasset, et liberiori ita stilo quo luxuriat, evagatus fuisset”; Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 01–03–1665.

Gospels and the *Gothicum glossarium* were finally put on sale, but there had been unforeseen delays. Many of the sections of a glossary in MS Junius 116a are folded in discarded title-pages of the *Gothicum glossarium*, dated 1664, apparently the intended year of publication.

It seems that Van Vliet was closely involved in the publication of the Gospels and the *Gothicum glossarium*, not only as an interested and attentive spectator, but also, to some extent, actively. That he had access to the *Gothicum glossarium* before it was actually published appears from his references to it in his studies. More importantly, it seems that Van Vliet delivered comments on the *Gothicum glossarium* before its final publication, for, in the *addenda*, Junius remarked:

This useful citation from Otfrid was suggested to me by the very noble gentleman Jan van Vliet, with whom I have been closely acquainted through a long and very dear friendship, and who is, in particular, an exceptional provider of the antiquities and of all other fine arts of the fatherland.²⁵⁷

Whether this alludes to Van Vliet's claiming to have arranged Franconian words is not clear. Nor does it substantiate any claims made in older biographical notes that Van Vliet had been of greater assistance to Junius in the compilation of the *Gothicum glossarium*,²⁵⁸ although he must have made occasional suggestions. More importantly, as a result of close observation, Van Vliet was fully aware of the development and progress in Junius's work between the years of his two major publications: 1655 and 1665, and many of Junius's ideas, some of which are explained in the introduction *Ad lectorem* to the *Gothicum glossarium*, played a role in Van Vliet's studies as well as in the compilation of his introduction to *'t Vader ons*.²⁵⁹

Van Vliet's last book, *'t Vader ons in XX oude Duytse en noordse taalen, met d'uytleggingen &c.* (Dordrecht, 1664) is his only publication which deals exclusively with the Old Germanic languages.²⁶⁰ Apart from medieval vernacular versions of the Lord's Prayer and ecclesiastical hymns, it contains an introduction which is Van Vliet's only theoretical exposition on his Old Germanic studies.²⁶¹ The book was published

²⁵⁷ "Hunc Otfridi locum opportune suggessit mihi vir clarissimus Janus Ulitius, longo suavissimae amicitiae usu mihi perfamiliaris, atque adeo patriae antiquitatum & reliquarum omnium elegantiarum unicus promus condus"; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, 424.

²⁵⁸ *BWN*, xviii, 288–290; *Biographie universelle*, 391.

²⁵⁹ See below, chapter VI.

²⁶⁰ See below, p. 147.

²⁶¹ This book will be discussed at length below, on pp. 151–158.

anonymously as a precursor to Junius's edition of the Gothic-Anglo-Saxon Gospels.

In all three books published by Van Vliet in 1663 and 1664 he used the so-called Junius types,²⁶² which Junius had purchased for the various alphabets used in his works. In *'t Vader ons*, Van Vliet mentioned that Junius had provided punches and matrices at his own expense (a1') and listed specimens of the Gothic, 'Runic', and Anglo-Saxon fonts, as well as black letter and Greek capitals. Junius had ordered his 'pica-Saxon' in Amsterdam in 1654 to print Old English for his publication of *Cædmon* and the *Observationes in Willeram*.²⁶³ All three of Van Vliet's books contain the Old English font, as well as the Greek one. In *'t Vader ons*, Gothic was mostly printed in Junius's 'pica-Gothic' and runes in 'pica-Runic', which Junius had ordered especially for the 1665 publications. For Icelandic, Danish, and Swedish, Van Vliet occasionally used Junius's 'pica-Icelandic', a traditional Schwabacher design which goes back to the fifteenth century.²⁶⁴ Since *'t Vader ons* antedates the publication of the Gothic-Anglo-Saxon Gospels and the *Gothicum glossarium* the book is the first publication in which these types were used, something hitherto only recognized with respect to Gothic by Van de Velde.²⁶⁵ This does not imply that the types had not been used before. In his list of Junius's published and forthcoming works, Van Vliet mentioned the fact that the Gothic Gospels had already been printed in 1663. Although none of Van Vliet's publications from 1663 and 1664 has a printer's name on the title-page, the use of Junius's types proves that these books were all printed by Johan and Hendrik van Esch in Dordrecht,²⁶⁶ where the Gothic-Anglo-Saxon Gospels and the *Gothicum glossarium* were produced in 1663 and 1664 with the Junius types.

²⁶² On the Junius types, see especially P.J. Lucas, "Junius, His Printers, His Types: An Interim Report", in *Franciscus Junius F.F. and his Circle*, Rolf H. Bremmer Jr. ed. (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1998), 177–198, who reviews the evidence relating to these types.

²⁶³ See Junius's letter to John Selden (08–05–1654), published by George Hickey, *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologus* (Oxford, 1705), XLIII–XLIV.

²⁶⁴ Horace Hart, *Notes on a Century of Typography at the University Press, Oxford 1693–1794* (Oxford, 1900), 39; Talbot Baines Reed, *Old English Letter Foundries* (London, 1974), 142–43.

²⁶⁵ Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 119.

²⁶⁶ This is not noticed by C. van Gulik *et al.* eds., *Drie eeuwen Bredase boeken 1604–1900* (Breda, 1984), 43–45, nos. 19, 20 and 21, who discusses *'t Recht van successie* and *Bredaesche almanac, en chronijck* and refers to the copies with title-pages supplied by the Breda printers Abraham Subbinck and Johannes Evermans as different editions.

Van Vliet's contribution to Junius's *Gothicum glossarium*, a fourteen-page verse dedication to the sponsor of Junius's book and owner of the Codex Argenteus, the Swedish chancellor Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie,²⁶⁷ combines Van Vliet's passions for Latin verse and Germanic philology. The mythical origins of the Swedes and the Goths are reconciled and supported by pseudo-historical and etymological conjectures in a large number of footnotes, which makes this poem an extraordinary work. Whether Junius requested Van Vliet to compose the dedication is unknown. Besides Count Magnus, it is Junius who is extensively praised. Van Vliet depicted him as a guiding light in the study of Gothic, who had provided the Swedes with their true identity. Junius felt slightly embarrassed, and, since he knew the contents of the poem before its publication, he sought to moderate the remarks in his introduction *Ad lectorem*, in which he commented that he considered Van Vliet's praise somewhat exaggerated.

...the good Janus Vlitius, who is a very good friend of mine, has spoken, albeit somewhat exaggeratedly, about the elevated splendour and greatness of this book that was written many centuries ago, and which has been miserably damaged by age, and also about my efforts to try to trace and collect thin bits and dashes of fading characters, and to compile the Gothic glossary....²⁶⁸

The description of Junius in Van Vliet's dedication to Magnus is indicative of the never ending stream of laudatory utterances with which Van Vliet honoured his friend. Praise came in prose as well as in verse. In his correspondence he hardly ever mentioned Junius without the title *ille optimus senex* prefaced to his name, and in his studies he referred to Junius with reverence. In the introduction to *'t Vader ons*, Van Vliet lauded Junius enthusiastically when he described how the Gothic Gospels had ended up in the hands of "the no less pious than highly learned Francis Junius, son of the renowned theologist of the same name", and concluded his exposition by asking the readers to look favourably on his appetizer "until they would be able to taste mouths full of the holy and delicious

²⁶⁷ In his dedication Van Vliet alluded to the fact that De la Gardie paid for the production of the Gothic types necessary to print the edition; see below, pp. 394–395, ll. 67–69.

²⁶⁸ "De augustâ interim specie ac majestate libri plurimis retrò sæculis noti ac vetustate miserè vexati, de meâ itidem operâ in consecrandis comprehendendisque tenuibus fugientium literarum apicibus concinnandôque glossario Gothico, licet multa nimîaque ferè dixerit optimus ac mihi amicissimus Do^{us} Janus Vlitius..."; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***1'.

dishes of Junius, who could never be praised enough”.²⁶⁹ In one of his letters, Junius expressed his disapproval of such exaggerated laudations:

Concerning the full facts and other circumstances of the book, these are circumstantially and much too loudly described in the enclosed *Vader Ons*. Mr Johan van Vliet, clerk of the town of Breda, is the author of the booklet; but just as he is high-spirited and exceptionally inclined to poetry, so he quite considerably exceeded the mark in this small work when speaking of me, partly through affection, partly also by being moved or driven by poetic ideas to excessive and entirely hyperbolic phraseology.²⁷⁰

In view of Van Vliet's attitude, it is only natural that Junius was also the object of his Latin poetry. A page-long study of verse lines and parts of verses on Junius not only reflects Van Vliet's opinion, but also provides an interesting insight in the way he constructed his Latin poetry. In several hexameters he compared Junius with Varro.²⁷¹ From other instances it appears that he was trying to compose lines that would fit a portrait.²⁷² On a blank page in his copy of the *Observationes in Willerami*, he wrote: “To the image of Francis Junius. Dutchman, this is the countenance of your Junius, the devoted advocate and glory of the mother tongue.”²⁷³ Four lines by Van Vliet were added to an engraving in Christopher Rawlinson's edition of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* in Old English:

²⁶⁹ “den niet min Godvruchtigen, als Hoogst-geleerden Heer Frank Junius, Sone van den roemcundigen Godsgeleerde van die selve naem”; Van Vliet, *'t Vader ons*, a1^r; “dit voorsmaeckje ten goede te houwen, tot dat sij de Heijlige en Heerlijckde gerechten van de noijt genoeg te prijzen H^r Iunius met volle monden sullen comen te smaecken”; *Ibid.*, a4^v.

²⁷⁰ “Wat de gantsche gelegenheyd en d'andere omstandigheden des boeks aengaet, deselve worden in 't medegaende Vader Ons wijdloopighlik en al te luydruchtig voorgesteld. Den Heer Johan van Vliet, griffier der stad van Breda, is den autheur van 't boekken; maer gelijk hij vol is van geest en wonderlik genegen tot de poësijsje, so heeft hij in dit werksken de maete vrij wat veel te buyten gegaen als hij van mij spreekt, eendeels door affectie, anderdeels ook door poëtische invallen aengeleydet ofte aengedreven sijnde tot overtollige en gantsch hyperbolische manieren van spreken”; Francis Junius to an unknown correspondent in Frankfurt, 13-03-1665, Amsterdam, University Library, M80; edition and translation by Sophie van Romburgh.

²⁷¹ London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 783, 241^r. “Eloqui vindex et restaurator aviti // Junius hac facie, Varro secundus erat”. [Junius, whose countenance this is, was an advocate and restorer of ancestral eloquence, and the second Varro.]

²⁷² “Gloria linguarum, decus immortale pectore sophorum // Junius hac facie conspiciendus erat”. [The glory of languages, immortal gem with the mind of the wise, Junius with this countenance was worthy of attention.]

²⁷³ Leeuwarden, Provinciale Bibliotheek Friesland, 1601 Th (=Junius, *Observationes*), [χ3^r]: “In Effigiem F. Junij // Ille pius patriæ vindex et gloria linguæ // Talia, Teuto, tuus, Junius ora tulit. // J.V” [Janus Vlietius].

Qui priscas patriæ linguas linguisque decorem
 Reddidit, ingenuo hoc JUNIUS ore fuit.
 Ætheras tranquilli animi sed pingere dotes
 Non potuit, quamvis nobilis arte, manus. Ianus Vlitius²⁷⁴

The first lines sum up the two essential aspects of the study of Old Germanic languages as Van Vliet recognized them in Junius's work: restoring the ancestral language to the nation and restoring decorum (seemliness and splendour) to language.

9. *Bankruptcy and death (1665–1666)*

The final years of Van Vliet's life were an anticlimax involving disease and bankruptcy. His relation with the town council of Breda deteriorated steadily after 1660, not least on account of frequent periods of prolonged absence. His sojourn in England lasted for more than six months, and in the ensuing years there were increasing doubts about the way he fulfilled his duties.²⁷⁵ The archives of the *Nassause Domeinraad*, a council in charge of the possessions of the House of Orange Nassau, reveal that the Breda Council urged him to return to his duties in March 1661, when he was still in England. At the end of February 1662 the Drossaart of Breda ran out of patience, and wrote to Amalia van Solms, who had succeeded Mary Stuart as guardian of Prince William III after her death on 3 January 1661, requesting her to order Van Vliet back to the bench within a fortnight, or else some other capable person would be appointed to take care of the work. It seems that Van Vliet was indeed relieved of his position in the ensuing months, for on 9 April 1662 he was given a renewed commission as town clerk of Breda. The House of Orange, whose loyal supporter he had been throughout the years, kept him in the saddle in spite

²⁷⁴ "This is the noble countenance of Junius, who restored the old languages to the fatherland and splendour to the languages. However, the hand, though noble in art, has not been able to depict the divine talents of the serene soul". I have not found these lines anywhere else and do not know how Rawlinson came by them. The engraving is based on Van Dyke's portrait of Junius, which is now in the Bodleian Library, in Oxford; it is pasted as an unnumbered folio in between pp. b2^v and A1^r. I owe this information to Robin Smith. The edition was based on Junius's transcript of the Old English Boethius (MS Junius 12). According to Bennett, *History of Old English and Old Norse Studies*, 75–78, only 250 copies of this book were printed. See also Adams, 80–81.

²⁷⁵ Breda, GA. Hi. 22, 32.

of the opposition in the town. However, his position had become more unsteady, as appears from a written guarantee to a certain Mr. Trigland that, in case Van Vliet should die or renounce his position, the post would be his.²⁷⁶ Moreover, he seemed to suffer from frequent spells of bad health. Christiaan Huygens, whom Van Vliet met in London, reported in his correspondence that the latter was often unable to leave his room because of an ulcerous leg.²⁷⁷ In 1661, he moved to the Caterstraat, where he rented a house called 'De Gulden Osch'. In 1663 he moved again, to a house in the same street belonging to the former mayor Johan Buicx, where he lived until the end his life.²⁷⁸ Van Vliet's last surviving letter dates from 1 March 1665, after which no correspondence has been preserved. The Town Council of Breda summoned him in 1665 on account of his prolonged absence from the bench, and he was given a few more days to give a satisfactory account.²⁷⁹ His health got steadily worse, as appears from his last letter, written after he had been bedridden for twenty days.²⁸⁰ The accounts show that the family made ample use of doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries, which makes it all the more likely that poor health was the reason for his neglecting his work.

Little more than six months later he was bankrupt, for on 28 September 1665 Prasers, a Breda notary, started to compile a detailed inventory of his belongings.²⁸¹ A statement of the various debts, which was drawn up in October 1665,²⁸² indicates that Van Vliet was in great debt, and that his expenditure had by far exceeded his income. The list shows the house to be full of valuable belongings. The library contained "six large and five small cupboards with books; a square table, in which are deposited all manner of papers; several more printed unbound papers, which", as the notary commented, "the Town Clerk claimed to need for his study and office".²⁸³ In desperate need of money, he started to sell his belongings.

²⁷⁶ The Hague, ARA. Archief van de Staten Generaal 1.08.11.1155, 26–27, 32–34, 37.

²⁷⁷ Christiaan Huygens, *Œuvres complètes*... (The Hague, 1888–1950), III, 276.

²⁷⁸ Breda, GA. R. Breda 537, 321^{r+v}.

²⁷⁹ Breda, GA. Hi. 22, 32.

²⁸⁰ Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 01–03–1665.

²⁸¹ Breda, GA. N. Breda (2), 89–117.

²⁸² Breda, GA. N. Breda (2), 96^v–99^v.

²⁸³ "Inde Bibliotheecq: sess groote en vijf cleyne kasten met boucken; een vierkante tafel, waerinne berusten allerhande papieren; noch verscheyde gedruckte ongebonden papieren welce boecken ende papieren de griffier van Vliet seght hem tot sijne studie ende office nootsaake te sijn"; Breda, GA. N–Breda 186–3, 93^r.

On 5 November 1665 goods were sold to the value of *f* 1522:19:3,²⁸⁴ and on 13 January 1666, books were sold for *f* 382:2:–.

On 18 March 1666 Van Vliet breathed his last. His death did not go unnoticed in Breda; an unknown hand wrote on a fly-leaf of an archive book: “The gentleman and lawyer Mr. Johan van Vliet, clerk of the town and Baronial lands of Breda died the 18th of March 1666, in the evening between seven-thirty and eight o’clock.”²⁸⁵ The funeral took place four days later, on 22 March.²⁸⁶ After Van Vliet’s death, his debts had to be settled and notary Prasers made up a second, more detailed inventory of his possessions.²⁸⁷ Reading it, one is struck by the fact that the house must have been littered with books. Apart from those in the library, many more books were discovered in other rooms.²⁸⁸ On 20 April, Johan Evermans, a Breda printer, collected a ream of paper from the house to print the catalogue for the auction of the books.²⁸⁹

The auction catalogue, which lists 1249 items, besides three trays of 60 Roman coins, shows the extent of Van Vliet’s library. The auctioneers divided the collection into two main groups: *libri juridici* and *libri miscellanei*, both, as custom dictated, subdivided according to the sizes of the books. These were followed by a small section containing music books. The collection contained only eight manuscripts, the most important of which was the *Ormulum*, three genuine incunables and five post-incunables. His attempt to purchase a manuscript of the Salic laws from Isaac Vossius in 1665 suggests that he was trying to increase the number of manuscripts on Germanic history and languages.²⁹⁰ The collection of coins, some of which he collected during his trip to Yorkshire in 1652, were typical of seventeenth-century libraries, which often contained cabi-

²⁸⁴ Breda, GA. Hi. 508, 11.

²⁸⁵ “De Heer en Mr. Johan van Vliet, griffier der stad ende lande van Breda is gestorven de 18^{en} Meert 1666, s’avonts tussen half acht en acht uren”; Breda, GA. Hi. 104, ii.

²⁸⁶ Breda, GA. Rek. Gr. Kerk III.8.63, 44^r.

²⁸⁷ Breda, GA. N-Breda 186 (2), 102–117.

²⁸⁸ “Een boeck gebonden in Goors parquement; noch een boeck oock so ingebonden met annotaties; noch een boeck daer op staet *Historia Brabanticae* met een letter D; noch een boeck ...daer op staet geschreven poemata; noch een out boeck; ongebonden boecken”; Breda, GA. N-Breda 186 (2), 102. [A book bound in Goor parchment; another book bound in the same way with annotations; another book, *Historiae Brabanticae* with a letter D; another book, on which is written *poemata*; another old book; books without bindings.]

²⁸⁹ The only extant copy of it is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Bibl. III. 4^o.1.(16).

²⁹⁰ Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 21–08–1663.

nets of coins and antiquarian rarities.²⁹¹ More remarkable was the number of books in contemporary European languages. I counted 81 books in Dutch, which is less than seven per cent, but as many as 136 books in Italian, 91 in French, 68 in English, and 25 in Spanish. More than 25 per cents of the books are therefore in languages other than Dutch or classical languages, which is considerable. Some of these works derive from the collection of Caspar van Kinschot, who left him many books in contemporary European languages. However, both Caspar van Kinschot's bequest and the total number of books in modern languages are indicative of Van Vliet's ability actually to read these books himself. The key to his knowledge are a number of grammars and as many as 20 dictionaries. The greater part of the remaining books are works about classical literature, both Greek and Latin, law, and a considerable number of historical works. The auction catalogue shows that Van Vliet was a typical humanist, but one with an exceptional knowledge of contemporary languages.

The final account drawn up by Town Clerk Van Mook mentions piles of papers that were found in the house, some of which were returned to the widow because they were deemed worthless, but of which the greater part was put up for auction, even if Van Mook himself did not attribute great value to Van Vliet's private speculations.²⁹² In May 1667, the Englishman William Griffith, secretary to Henry Coventry at the Peace of Breda,²⁹³ acquired a large bundle of Van Vliet's notes (now London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 783), which contains the bulk of his shorter studies in manuscript. One can only conjecture how many more of Van Vliet's studies were lost during these turbulent events.

On 24 May some furniture and books were auctioned for the sum of *f* 1029:13:–, the jewellery for *f* 517:5:–, and silver coins for *f* 10:–:–. On 12 July 1666 the rest of the books were put up for auction in The Hague in the Ridderzaal by the bookseller Ameling. The books yielded *f* 1363:15:–. 180 silver and copper coins brought in *f* 22:15:–. The endless list of creditors includes bakers, winesellers, cleaners, doctors, apothecaries, his landlord, and the printers and booksellers Abraham Subbinck, Cornelis Seldenslach, and Johannes Evermans in Breda, and Hendrick van Esch in Dordrecht. Finally, after everything had been sold and all proceeds divided among the creditors, the account showed a deficit

²⁹¹ See Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586–1631...* (Oxford, 1979), 66–68, on the famous library of Sir Robert Cotton.

²⁹² Breda, GA. Hi. 508, 1–25.

²⁹³ N.R. Ker, "Unpublished Parts of the *Ormulum...*", *Medium Aevum* 9 (1940), 1.

of *f* 799:13:6. In an official verdict, the Court of Holland decided that Clara Hesselt van Dinter and her two under-age children were to be relieved of any further obligations regarding the inheritance of Jan van Vliet.²⁹⁴

Nothing is known about Van Vliet's funeral, except that the notary paid *f* 18:18:- for the coffin. Presumably, Clara moved back to The Hague.²⁹⁵ For a while she lived with her sister Catharina. She died in 1682 and was buried in the Groote Kerk. She was given a funeral befitting a lady of noble birth, which presumably indicates that her family had taken care of her.²⁹⁶

10. *Concluding remarks*

By way of conclusion it is interesting to consider which factors in Jan van Vliet's life contributed to promoting his interest in Old Germanic languages. At the time, such studies were, after all, regarded by many as exotic and unscholarly. I will leave reflections on, or conclusions about, his character out of consideration here, for although these may have been of influence on the quality of his works as a whole, his character did not influence the nature of his studies. For his achievements in the field of Germanic languages, three elements in his life appear to be of major influence: the nature of his education in Leiden, his nomination as town clerk in Breda and his contacts with Francis Junius.

His university studies, liberal arts followed by law, proved a combination which was particularly suitable for the study of philology in its broadest possible sense. The influence of teachers such as Daniel Heinsius and Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, both of whom worked in the Leiden philological tradition established by Lipsius, Scaliger, and other sixteenth-century scholars,²⁹⁷ is discernible in the range of Van Vliet's interests. Moreover, both professors were interested in the vernacular: while Boxhorn had been actively engaged with Old High German and Old English, Heinsius had written Dutch poetry. Law studies in Leiden offered a humanist philological approach to the subject, which was directly based on

²⁹⁴ Breda, GA. Hi. 508.

²⁹⁵ In 1681, Clara was mentioned in the will of Arent van Dalen (1613–1681), who had been steward during the special embassy to England in 1651/52; The Hague, GA. 539, 59.

²⁹⁶ The Hague, GA. 95a: 4°, 19, 25.

²⁹⁷ See above, pp. 41–42.

the French humanist school of the previous century.²⁹⁸ Similar humanist principles were applied to regional vernacular law. From the very start of his scholarly and professional career, Van Vliet's studies included not only law and classical philology, but also theology, history, chorography, contemporary European languages, and the study of language on a comparative basis. Moreover, he appeared interested in antiquarianism and numismatics, which appears most clearly from his accounts of various travels. The seeds of his later career as a scholar of Germanic philology were already present during this stage of his life. All they needed to come to fruition were the right circumstances which would give them a fertile soil.

The move to Breda, caused by Van Vliet's unhappy circumstances, brought about a change of environment, which separated him from the mainstream of classical philology, however much he resented and regretted this. Conditions in Breda gave room to hitherto subsidiary interests, which were much enhanced when he was created town clerk in 1653. Suddenly, he found himself in charge of medieval charters and documents and became preoccupied with research into Breda's impressive history, which provided an irresistible challenge. In accordance with the current chorographic traditions he intended to write a comprehensive description of Breda, incorporating, as he repeatedly stated himself, a section on laws, one on place-names, and a chronicle. His training as a philologist and a lawyer had provided him with the capacity to undertake such a scheme, and the harshness of the opposition of other Breda dignitaries is perhaps the best evidence for his knowledge of the matter and for the quality of his work. For Van Vliet, his inquiries into medieval Dutch statutes and charters must have been as fascinating as his textual emendations of classical poetry. Moreover, he found himself on practically untrodden paths. Making these paths accessible would considerably increase his status in the barony. The example of Isaac Vossius, who was official historiographer of the town of Amsterdam, may have been on his mind, and his admiration for the Antwerp historiographer Caspar Gevartius, whom he considered worthy of an elaborate ode in 1658, illustrates Van Vliet's aspirations in this direction. The first definite traces of his interest in Old Germanic languages are found in Breda, and resulted directly from his occupations with Medieval Dutch texts. Francis Junius's influence, which started in 1659, put a train in motion which carried Van Vliet on a short but eventful voyage through the Old Germanic world.

²⁹⁸ G.C.J.J. van den Bergh, *Geleerd recht...* (Deventer, 1985), 54.

Jan van Vliet was the first scholar to recognize the decisive influence of Francis Junius on the diachronic study of Germanic languages. He himself was most anxious to acknowledge and proclaim that his sole inspiration had been his friend Junius, who, he claimed, was also the provider of material for his studies:

We have the more essential [matters] from the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels, generously supplied to me by the most congenial and trustworthy Junius. He alone is the best qualified for such matters, and is totally immersed in it, but he does so many things that I fear he will produce nothing, due to his advanced age.²⁹⁹

Junius made a deep impression on Van Vliet, which is evident from their frequent contacts and Van Vliet's attitude of great respect and even veneration. Their relationship, though, was very much a one-way event. Van Vliet absorbed Junius's work and ideas, and used aspects of it in his own studies. The vast difference in knowledge and experience makes it unlikely that Junius was significantly influenced by Van Vliet in a scholarly way. Emotionally, this was a different matter. From the beginning, Van Vliet was enthusiastic about Junius's intended publications, and encouraged him. The fear, repeatedly expressed, that Junius might die soon as a result of his advanced age may have given an extra impetus to his efforts. One can only guess at how many hours the two men conversed about Old Germanic languages, and what the nature and content of their discussions were.

²⁹⁹ "Solidiora ex Gothicis Francicisque habemus Evangeliiis, quae liberaliter mecum communicavit amicissimus & candidissimus Junius! Is quidem solus haec optime praestare possit, & totus in illis est, sed tam multa agit, ut verear nihil effecturum tam propecta jam aetate"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 27-01-1662.

CHAPTER THREE

VAN VLIET'S PHILOLOGICAL KITCHEN: THE PRIMARY MATERIAL

Jan van Vliet's studies of Old Germanic languages consist of annotations to books and manuscripts from his library (and some from the library of Francis Junius), studies in manuscript, three small publications, and a long Latin poem. They form the basic material on which his achievements must be evaluated, and hence will be classified as the primary material. This heterogeneous body of studies was produced between the second half of the 1650s and Van Vliet's death early in 1666, which amounts to roughly a decade. By far the greater part is confined to the period between the beginning of 1659 and the end of 1665, which narrows down his most productive years to six. During this time, Van Vliet acquired most, or perhaps all, of his knowledge of Old English, Old High German, Old Frisian, Gothic, and Old Norse. Within Van Vliet's Germanic studies we can broadly distinguish between theoretical information and practical philological work such as etymologies, transcripts, glossaries, and other inventories. The first aspect is quantitatively much smaller than the second, and mainly consists of a five-page preface to *'t Vader ons*,¹ information presented in the learned verse eulogy to Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie,² and passages from his correspondence. Although such theoretical expositions also form part of the primary material, I will not list them here, but discuss them together with Van Vliet's ideas and methods in chapter VI. This chapter presents a survey of the practical component of Van Vliet's Germanic studies, which I have divided in the following categories: (1) annotations to manuscripts and incunables, (2) other printed books, (3) text excerpts, (4) glossaries, (5) miscellaneous studies in manuscript, (6) his publications.

¹ See above, p. 100.

² See below, Appendix 2.

1. *Manuscripts and incunables*

Van Vliet's earliest known annotations referring to Germanic languages are found in a late Middle Dutch book of hours and prayers written somewhere in the present-day province of South Holland in 1475.³ An inscription on f. 1^r reveals that Van Vliet bought this manuscript in The Hague in 1656 for the sum of two guilders. The first part (1^v–12^v) contains a calendar from the Utrecht diocese; the rest is mainly made up of prayers, psalms, and canticles. Annotations are found throughout the book. Van Vliet collated the calendar with another specimen which he named *v*, but he did not give any clue as to where this other calendar came from. Furthermore, he underlined words in the text, and supplied them in the margin with Dutch variant forms or Latin translations. On f. 14^v he compared Psalm 8 with a similar Psalm in Abrahamus Mylius's *Lingua Belgica*.⁴ At the time of his work on this manuscript, Dutch seems to have been Van Vliet's only interest, and this interest predominantly concentrated on old forms. On f. 146^v he presented a list of thirteen Dutch words which, in his opinion, were characterised by their archaic spelling, followed by a second list on f. 147^r.⁵

Some three years later he procured the Early Middle English *Ormulum* manuscript.⁶ He wrote down on a flyleaf that he acquired it in February

³ Now Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, HS 12080, see W. de Vreese, "De Bredasche Almanack van Jan van Vliet", *TNTL* 51 (1933), 161–177. For a summary description of the manuscript, see J. van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Belgique* (Brussels, 1901), 496–97, no. 790.

⁴ Mylius, *De lingua Belgica*, 150.

⁵ The list is headed *Oude spellingen der woorden* 'old spellings of words'. Based on Van Vliet's misreading of *mit* for *ruit* De Vreese, "Bredasche Almanack", 170, postulated that Van Vliet's philological and paleographical knowledge was still only rudimentary. His assumption seems somewhat far-fetched to me, especially since, in the same article, De Vreese accredited Van Vliet (albeit on false grounds) with a remarkably correct transcription of a set of notoriously difficult early Middle Dutch health rules from a manuscript which, at the time, belonged to Isaac Vossius (now MS Junius 83).

⁶ MS Junius 1, see Madan *et al.*, II, 963. For information on the *Ormulum*, see M.B. Parkes, "On the Presumed Date and Possible Origin of the Manuscript of the *Ormulum*...", *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds...*, in E.G. Stanley and D. Gray eds. (Cambridge, 1983), 115–127; R.W. Burchfield, "The Language of the *Ormulum*", *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1956), 56–87; J.E. Turville Petre, "Studies on the *Ormulum* MS.", *JEGP* 46 (1947), 1–27.

1659 for the substantial sum of eighteen guilders⁷ from relatives of its former owner, Sir Thomas Aylesbury (1576–1657), a mathematician and a zealous book collector. Aylesbury had been stripped of his fortune in 1642 on account of his Royalist sympathies, and had gone into exile, first to Antwerp, and from 1652 onwards to Breda. Overcome by financial troubles, he was forced to sell much of his collection of valuable books and manuscripts, a practice which was continued after his death in 1657, for his family sold the *Ormulum* to Van Vliet two years later.⁸ After Van Vliet's death the book was auctioned together with most of Van Vliet's library in July 1666. Ignorant of its precise contents, the auctioneers had it catalogued under no. LMF 107 as *Een oudt Sweeds of Gottisch in Parquement geschreven Boeck over de Evangelium* 'An old Swedish or Gothic parchment book about the Gospel'. It was purchased by Francis Junius, who added the manuscript to his collection, and formed part of Junius's bequest to the Bodleian Library in 1677.

Van Vliet's examination of the *Ormulum* has left numerous traces in the book. Apart from the above inscription, the same fly-leaf contains two runic alphabets and some scribbles in his hand. The numbering of the columns was generally thought to have been done by Francis Junius,⁹ but the column numbers in the manuscript are demonstrably by Jan van Vliet, who used this numeration in most of his *Ormulum* studies. Moreover, some errors in the numbering occur where leaves were cut away from the manuscript, which makes it unlikely that Junius numbered the columns. Between columns 176 and 177 a few lines on a slip of parchment are the remainder of a missing column. These lines were left unaccounted for in the numeration of the columns. A similar lacuna is left between columns 308 and 309. Although not a serious flaw, it is most likely that Junius, whose meticulousness was proverbial, would have noticed and indicated this.¹⁰

Van Vliet's annotations to the text of the *Ormulum* served exclusively to facilitate his studies. In considerable parts of the manuscript he separated the words by small vertical lines,¹¹ and also supplied chapter and

⁷ "Jani Vlitii / Bredae 1659, 6 Febr. const. f. 18".

⁸ London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 783, 73'. Van Vliet wrote: "Ex Rithmis Saxonis M.S.S.E Bibliothecae P.M.Thomæ Alesburiensis Equitis Compositis"; see *DNB*, II, 277.

⁹ Turville-Petre, 1; Madan *et al.*, II, 963.

¹⁰ Robert Holt ed., *The Ormulum, with Notes and a Glossary* (Oxford, 1878), I, 397.

¹¹ Burchfield, "The Language of the *Ormulum*", 66, was the first to recognize the vertical lines as Van Vliet's insertions, and remarked that until then the vertical lines had been considered insertions by Orm to facilitate the readability of the manuscript.

verse numbers from the relevant parts of the Bible, sometimes in open spaces in capital letters, or in small gaps in the text.¹² Some emendations and corrections regarding its language show Van Vliet's awareness of the peculiarities of the orthography of the *Ormulum*. Moreover, the *Ormulum* is one of the earliest vernacular manuscripts in which hyphens are frequently used at the end of a line to indicate word division, and Van Vliet sometimes added hyphens to words where Orm himself had seen no use for them, inserted hyphens where Orm had apparently forgotten to add one, and inked over faded hyphens.¹³

In his description of the Junius manuscripts for the 1697 printed catalogue of the Bodleian Library, Thomas Tanner stated that some etymological observations were attached to the *Ormulum* manuscript.¹⁴ Most likely, these philological comments were added by Van Vliet, who studied the manuscript extensively. Unfortunately, since the late seventeenth century these notes have been lost together with approximately 25 per cent of the original manuscript.¹⁵

The only contemporary manuscript annotated by Van Vliet is a rudimentary Gothic-Greek glossary by Francis Junius which has been preserved among Van Vliet's notes in London, Lambeth Palace MS 783 (henceforth LA).¹⁶ It contains words from the Codex Argenteus with Greek translations, and is probably one of Junius's early attempts to master the Gothic language.¹⁷ Van Vliet's marginal annotations consist almost exclusively of cognate words. The majority are Dutch, the rest are

¹² Some additions are recognizable in the illustrations to Parkes, 115–127, whose figures 1 and 2 show Van Vliet's vertical lines to separate the words, while in figures 2–4, his seventeenth-century hand stands out among the text. Fig 2, at the bottom: "Vers. 20."; fig. 3. in the bottom-right corner: "Joh. I. 19. Præfatio"; fig. 4. in the initial: "Johan Cap. II. vers. 12".

¹³ R.W. Burchfield, "Line-End Hyphens in the *Ormulum* Manuscript...", in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English...*, M. Godden *et al.* eds. (Oxford, 1994). For my information in this paragraph, I am indebted to Burchfield's work, including his examples of Van Vliet's annotations to the *Ormulum*.

¹⁴ Holt, lxxvi, quoting from Tanner's description of the Junius manuscripts in the old Bodleian catalogue; see Edward Bernard ed., *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum...* (Oxford, 1697), 249: "Ad finem apponuntur quarundam vocum Etymologiae". [The etymologies of some words have been added at the end.]

¹⁵ Holt, lxxxviii; Ker, "Unpublished Parts of the *Ormulum*, 1–2. On Van Vliet's excerpts from lost parts of the *Ormulum*, see below, pp. 131–132.

¹⁶ LA, 287^r–323^v.

¹⁷ On Junius's early Gothic studies, see Norbert Voorwinden, in Franciscus Junius, *Observationes...*, repr. in facsimile, *Early Studies in Germanic Philology* 1 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1992), viii–ix. On this glossary, see also below, pp. 177–178.

Modern English, Old and Early Middle English,¹⁸ Old High German, Frisian, German, French, and Scots. Apart from the cognates, there are twelve additional Gothic words and some translations into Latin and Greek. The purpose of the Dutch cognates was not to provide translations of the Gothic entries, which are all explained in Greek, but solely to compare them with Gothic. It is not known when Junius gave the manuscript to Van Vliet, but, since it is the source of many of Van Vliet's Gothic annotations, 1660 is the most likely date.

In the autumn of 1659, Van Vliet borrowed Junius's copy of the incunable text of the Old Frisian laws, which is now MS Junius 109 (henceforth J109).¹⁹ Van Vliet noted this fact on f. 7^v, where he also recorded the return of the book five months later.²⁰ He studied it carefully, and added numerous annotations which can generally be distinguished without too much difficulty from Junius's earlier commentary,²¹ and later collations with other manuscripts of Frisian law.²² Van Vliet often provided information about the laws, such as titles to the articles, making the book more accessible with an eye to a possible edition. Occasional references to the statutes of Kennemerland, Zeeland and Flanders, to compare with what he found in Frisian law, are probably the result of his work on the statutes of Breda, in which there are similar comparisons. They document

¹⁸ Van Vliet qualified these words as *AS*. Most are from the *Ormulum*, but some are proper Old English.

¹⁹ In Dutch literature the incunable edition of the Old Frisian laws is often named *Druk* 'print'. For its contents, see P. Gerbenzon, *Apparaat voor de studie van Oudfries recht* (Haren, 1981), II, 93–94. The place and date of printing are unknown. Traditionally, it was believed to have been printed in Cologne around 1485, at the instigation of one Hiddo Camminga, but this is now disputed; see M.P. van Buijtenen, "De drukker van het Freeska-Landriucht", in *Fryske stúdzjes oanbean oan Prof. Dr. J.H. Brouwer...*, K. Dykstra *et al.* eds. (Assen, 1960), 99–123. M.H.H. Engels, *Catalogus van incunabelen te Leeuwarden* (Leeuwarden, 1977), 19–20, suggests the second half of the 1480s to be the most likely date of printing, as the year 1488 is mentioned in the copy preserved in the British Museum. Recently, Antwerp has been suggested as the most likely place of printing; the printer presumably being Gheraert Leeu from Gouda, and the compiler Jacobus Canter from Groningen.

²⁰ "A Cl. et Humanissimo Viro, Franc. Junio. accepi Hagae prid. non. viibres. MDCLIX Hagae. Janus Vlitius; Item eidem cum maximis gratiis restitui MDCLX. nonis Februariis". [I received [this book] from the most noble and benevolent Francis Junius at the Hague on 4 September 1659 at the Hague. Janus Vlitius; Similarly, I returned it very thankfully on 5 February 1660.]

²¹ Junius added page numbers, capital letters, chapter and article numbers, cross-references, underlinings, corrections, hyphens, and philological information.

²² The book also contains Junius's additions from his collation with MS Roorda; see Gerbenzon, II, 98, and the now lost MS Unia; see Gerbenzon, II, 95–97; Madan *et al.*, II, 975–976; Siebs, 4–37.

Van Vliet's initial attempts to compare vernacular Old Frisian law with medieval Dutch law, which is something that to the best of my knowledge had never been ventured by any lawyer up to that time.²³ Among some observations on the language he identified verse by writing *Metra* in the margin. Cognate forms are relatively rare—I have found six instances of Dutch and Old Frisian cognates, and some from other languages such as Danish, Modern English, Old English, and Old High German—which demonstrates that the addition of cognates was not his primary aim. In one case, Van Vliet pencilled a rudimentary glossary of ten Old Frisian words and phrases. However, on the whole, his notes are very brief and fragmentary, and give little information about his actual knowledge of these languages. The reasons for his sparse annotations may be that, firstly, the book did not belong to him, and, secondly, that Junius may well have asked him explicitly to concentrate on the legal side, which Junius was probably less familiar with.

In February 1660 Junius lent Van Vliet another Frisian text, and again Van Vliet recorded his gratitude to Junius on a fly-leaf of the book.²⁴ This time it was a late fifteenth-century manuscript, nowadays known as *Codex Aysma*.²⁵ Van Vliet's notes in J109 contain no references to MS Aysma, which indicates that he probably borrowed it after he had returned J109. He supplied several articles with Latin titles, facilitating collation with other legal texts, and wrote additional entries to an index on p. iii, which Junius had started.²⁶ He also underlined a number of Old Frisian words and one Middle Dutch word.²⁷ There are three references to the incunable edition, one of which relates to a comparison between *frysselen* and *frislen*, the only instance in which he recorded a difference in spelling

²³ In his *Inleydinge tot de Hollandsche regts-geleertheyd* (The Hague, 1631), Hugo Grotius had compared Dutch law with the *Lex Frisionum*, a capitulary from 802 AD.

²⁴ On p. iii he wrote: "nobilissimi et clarissimi viri Francisci Junii hoc libro utor 1660 Janus Vlitius". [I make use of this book [belonging to] the noble gentleman Francis Junius, 1660, Janus Vlitius.]

²⁵ MS Junius 78. On the contents of MS Aysma, see Gerbenzon, II, 97; Madan *et al.*, II: 981; Siebs, 37–43. For an edition, see W.J. Buma *et al.*, *Codex Aysma...* (Assen, 1993).

²⁶ Junius also added other annotations, mainly cross-references, to the manuscript.

²⁷ My using the term 'Middle Dutch' does not imply that Van Vliet distinguished between Modern Dutch and Middle Dutch. From his point of view there was an opposition between archaic and contemporary Dutch; see below, pp. 255–256. The term 'Middle Dutch' was not yet used at the time. Nevertheless, to avoid confusion I will use 'Middle Dutch' to denote the Dutch language of the Middle Ages, and 'Dutch' with reference to the contemporaneous language.

between MS Aysma and the incunable edition.²⁸ He also corrected two scribal errors.²⁹

MS Aysma probably remained in Van Vliet's possession for a prolonged period after 1660, for he frequently used it in his later works.³⁰ He mostly referred to it as *MS*,³¹ which suggests that it was the only Old Frisian manuscript he knew at the time. Thomas Marshall referred to the book as *Vlittii codex*,³² indicating that he also associated it with Van Vliet. It is not known when it was returned to Junius.

Sometime during the same year, Van Vliet managed to acquire a copy of the incunable edition of the Old Frisian laws for himself, which is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marshall 60 (henceforth MA). An inscription records that he received the book from Thomas Browne, at the time chaplain to Mary Stuart.³³ How and when and why Thomas Browne obtained this copy of what was presumably a rare book is unclear. As he often did with such books, Van Vliet had it interleaved, and two fly-leaves were inserted, to make it suitable for his Old Frisian studies. On the first fly-leaf he drew up a fancy title: "The Frisian statutes with its index and some notes by several language scholars",³⁴ partly in Frisian, formulated with the help of words from the book, and partly in Dutch.

Van Vliet heavily annotated this book. He copied page numbers, section numbers, cross-references, underlining, corrections, titles of sections and articles, and miscellaneous observations from J109 during a first collation, which probably took place very soon after he had acquired his copy. Although MA has half a quire that is missing in J109 preceding the main text,³⁵ he did not alter Junius's foliation to include these pages, but started numbering on f. a1^r, which is the first printed page in J109. After p. 147,

²⁸ MS Junius 78, 115.

²⁹ He erased *So scel* on p. 90, which had been written twice in the manuscript, and *wanner en kind thria* on p. 172, because it was wrongly repeated from the article above. Buma *et al.* do not mention this in the edition.

³⁰ In *'t Recht van successie*, 2, Van Vliet referred to MS Aysma as: "...een ander mette de handt geschreven (van de selve Heer Iunius mij insgelijcks toegekomen...)". [another hand-written copy that was likewise sent to me by the same Mr. Junius]

³¹ Van Vliet never used the name 'Codex Aysma'; it was first coined by Siebs, 38.

³² Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marshall 60, [176].

³³ "Dono Rev. V. Thomae Brunonis S.T.D. 1660"; MA, [III]. Wumkes, 292, was the first to identify Browne.

³⁴ "Dae FREESKA Land-riuchta mit siner taefla en eenige aenteyckeningen van verscheyden geleerden in Taelen".

³⁵ One introductory page, beginning: *Ther era godes, synre liauer moder*, and three pages containing the table of contents beginning: *Haet is riucht list*.

he miscounted the page numbers, which required corrections up to p. 156. Chapters and section numbers in MA correspond to J109, except for a few minor differences.³⁶ Van Vliet copied cross-references, underlining, and corrections,³⁷ with little variation.³⁸ Underlining is more frequent in J109 than in MA, as there was no need to copy the long lines in J109 separating the paragraphs.³⁹ In addition, he added some of the historical and etymological information from J109 to his notes in MA.

However, MA contains many more annotations than those copied from J109, mostly philological and historical observations. Incidental additions include a short glossary of fourteen words,⁴⁰ and the Decalogue in Danish and Icelandic. To the last six commandments in Icelandic Van Vliet added Swedish variants, and to the Danish version the text of *Matthew* 22: 37. The annotations do not give evidence of much effort to demonstrate a close relationship between Frisian and the Scandinavian languages, something which might have been expected. Less systematically, there are variants from a Low German translation of the Frisian laws,⁴¹ as well as additions from MS Roorda and, more importantly, from MS Unia, a manuscript now lost.

Theodor Siebs, who described the contents of Junius's Frisian manuscripts, was the first to discover that not only J109 but also MA contained information from MS Unia. Siebs collated MA and J109, and concluded that Van Vliet had first collated MA with J109, and had only later inserted material from MS Unia, presumably independently of Junius.⁴² Unlike

³⁶ The titles of the various articles in MA, in so far as they are by Van Vliet, are mostly the same as in J109, except for some titles in MA absent in J109.

³⁷ The incunable edition of the Old Frisian laws is full of printer's errors, many of which Junius corrected. Moreover, Junius added punctuation and capitals, and altered consonantal *i* to *j*; see H.S.E. Bos-Van der Heide, *Het Rudolfsboek* (Assen, 1937), 8.

³⁸ There is no evidence that Van Vliet made many independent corrections. However, see E. Galama, "Freenska landriucht, fynsten en fragen", in Dykstra *et al.* eds., 128.

³⁹ These lines had been added by Junius on an earlier occasion to compensate for the absence of rubrication in J109.

⁴⁰ MA, 215–216. There are also some notes and pen trials in a sixteenth-century hand, which are irrelevant to my discussion.

⁴¹ Printed by Christianus Schotanus, *Beschryvinge van de heerlyckheydt van Frieslandt...* (Franeker, 1664), 106–125.

⁴² Siebs, 13: "Wir lernen aus diesen Betrachtungen Folgendes: Als Vlitius von Junius 1659 das Ms. Iun. 109 entlieh, waren dort die Kollationen des Codex Unia noch nicht eingetragen, sonst hätte doch Vlitius Manches daraus übernommen; Vlitius (†1666) hat den Codex Unia gekannt, aber nicht etwa aus des Iunius Abschrift, sondern vermutlich im Original, denn wo bei Iunius deutlich » Autentica en recht boick « zu lesen ist, vermag er das Wort nicht zu entziffern". Bos-Van der Heide, 7–9, 17–18, confused Van Vliet's hand

Siebs, Breuker entirely disclaims Van Vliet's independent use of Unia and emphasizes his total dependence on Junius. At the same time, he raises doubts about the hand in which the variants from MS Unia were added: "The annotations from MS Unia were all written in the same hand, which differs from that in which Vlitius at an earlier occasion (in 1660?) copied annotations of Junius. The difference is so systematic that I have even wondered whether the hand that made the Unia annotations really is Vlitius's hand. I would not know, however, who else could have made them."⁴³ Alerted by Breuker's remark, I subjected the notes to a close inspection and have reached the conclusion on palaeographical grounds that part of the annotations in MA, including all quotations from and references to MS Unia, are not to be ascribed to Jan van Vliet but to Thomas Marshall, to whom Francis Junius gave the book after Van Vliet's death in 1666.⁴⁴ This also explains why there are no references to, or quotations from, MS Unia to be found anywhere in Van Vliet's work. Whenever Van Vliet referred to an Old Frisian manuscript, these references can invariably be traced back to MS Aysma. Most of Van Vliet's variants from MS Aysma were added independently of Junius, who seems to have made little use of this particular manuscript.

In his annotations to MA, Van Vliet mainly aimed at explaining a substantial number of Old Frisian words, which he underlined in the text. Most of these words are either given a Latin translation or are provided with cognates from Dutch, or one or more other Old Germanic languages. Languages occurring in his commentary include Old Frisian, Dutch, Old English, Old High German, Gothic, 'Runic', French, Spanish, Italian, Latin, Greek, Middle English, Modern English, Danish, and Swedish. In his etymologies and historical remarks Van Vliet referred to a wide range of sources. Some of his etymologies are based on Junius's notes on ff. I–III of J109. Of his commentary to *Nacht-Ferst*,⁴⁵ Van Vliet took "Nacht-Ferst, i. noctis induciae spatium, Frist, Otr. II.3,55. V.24, 343." from

with that of the Frisian historian Simon Abbes Gabbema. Concerning the notes from MS Unia, Galama, 129, believed that Van Vliet generally depended on Junius, although he deemed the notes still valuable for a reconstruction of MS Unia.

⁴³ Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 60–62.

⁴⁴ See Kees Dekker, "The Old Frisian studies of Jan van Vliet (1620–1666) and Thomas Marshall (1621–1685)", in *Approaches to Old Frisian Philology*, Rolf H. Bremmer Jr. et al. eds. (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1998), 113–138, for more information, including a list of all annotations added by Marshall to MA.

⁴⁵ MA, 33^{bis}.

J109,⁴⁶ while “*AS. Fyrst Beda II, 12. V, 1. et alibi...*” was added by Van Vliet of his own accord. An adjoining note by Marshall was derived from the opposite page in J109.⁴⁷ Since Van Vliet did not copy this information, it is likely that Junius added it after Van Vliet’s death in 1666, which shows Junius was still working on Old Frisian at a later stage in his career.

Van Vliet did not give any legal commentary related to the contents of the Frisian laws. Instead, he paid attention to some pseudo-historical passages which appear scattered among the statutes. In addition to the table of contents, he listed historical sections including accounts of Charlemagne, Willebrord, Magnus, and Widukind. His remark that he considered these stories to be fiction⁴⁸ indicates that he was sceptical with respect to the Frisian sagas.⁴⁹

From p. 45 onwards, Van Vliet collated MA with an extract of a Low German translation of the Frisian laws published by Christianus Schotanus (1603–1671), professor of Greek and Theology at the University of Franeker. Schotanus published a chorography of Friesland with newly engraved maps in 1664. He had his maps preceded by almost the entire text of the Old Frisian incunable, to which he added a Low German extract from an unidentified manuscript, consisting of the *Magnus Keuren* (106–107), the Seventeen Statutes (107–111), the Twenty-four Land-laws (111–115) and the *Seendriucht*.⁵⁰ Schotanus claimed they were made for use in Groningen, before the subjugation of Frisia by the Duke of Saxony, as Van Vliet indicated on p. 45^{bis} of MA.⁵¹ Words or passages from the extract, which are usually preceded by “*Epitome*”, are added in cases where the text of the incunable edition was different. Sometimes, Van Vliet underlined the particular word or passage, or marked words he found to be absent in Schotanus with square brackets. Van Vliet’s collation with Schotanus’s extract goes as far as the ninth statute on p. 53 of MA, after which it stops. Why he suddenly left off is unclear. The most likely solution is that

⁴⁶ J109, III^r.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, III^v.

⁴⁸ “*Historiae narratiunculae omnes fere fabulosae*”.

⁴⁹ But see below, pp. 148–149.

⁵⁰ *NNBW*, v, 700–701; Gerbenzon, II, 56. For an inventory of Low German manuscripts of Old Frisian law, see P. Gerbenzon and H.D. Meijering, “Inhoudsopgaven van de Ommelanden rechtshandschriften”, *Meidielingen*...1 (1972), 59–114; 2 (1978–2), 7–84; (1978–3), 3–77, which does not include this version.

⁵¹ “*Hic incipit Epitome Legum veterum edita a Scotano, et scripta, ut putat, ante Regimen Saxonicum id est Anno 1468*” [recte 1498].

his increasing spells of illness in the course of 1665 prevented him from further work on the Frisian laws.

Van Vliet annotated MA with a possible edition of the Frisian laws in mind, an idea originating from Junius, who believed that such an edition could improve the understanding of Dutch. In no field of studies is there a better possibility to trace the earliest cooperation and communication between Van Vliet and Junius than in Frisian, which is evident from their discussions in the manuscripts.⁵² To help him with a possible edition of Old Frisian texts Junius also supplied Van Vliet with autograph annotations to words and phrases from the Frisian laws,⁵³ as well as an index to Henry Spelman's *Archaeologus* (1626), an encyclopedia of legal terms, which Junius had intended to use himself in an edition of Frisian laws.

⁵² A telling piece of evidence for this communication is their discussion on a place at the beginning of the *Rudolfsboek* (p. 145 of the incunable edition), where the text reads: "Dit sint dae riucht ende di oenbighin des Keyzers boeck Rodulphus. deer hy dede binna borders. da hy da fresen toe farra hinlayde". In J109 Junius had corrected *borders*, which he considered a printer's error, to *bordeus* 'Bordeaux'. Junius's suggestion to substitute *bordeus* for *borders* belongs to the first series of corrections, made at the time when Junius had not yet collated J109 with MSS Unia and Roorda. Junius based his correction on p. 148 of the incunable edition: "Dit sint dae flower slettelen deer dy keiser Rodulphus sette binna Bordeus bi des Pawes hingnisse", in spite of the fact that in J109 the word is neither underlined nor supplied with a cross-reference. Van Vliet, who doubted Junius's conjecture, added in J109: "Rudolfus I. sub Henrico IV. imperator factus. Anno 1077. Alter vero Anno 1273. sed neuter in Gallia fuisse narratur". [Rudolf I was made emperor under Henry IV in 1077. The other in 1273. But neither of the two is said to have been in France.] Van Vliet repeated his opinion even more explicitly in his annotation to the same passage in MA: "Rudolfus I sub Henrico IV Imperator factus anno 1077. alter vero anno 1273. Sed neuter in Francia aut Burdigalae fuisse narratur, quare ego potius per borders fines scil. Frisiorum, intelligo". [Rudolf I was made emperor under Henry IV in 1077. The other in 1273. But neither of the two is said to have been in France or in Bordeaux, which is why I had rather understand *borders* boundaries, namely of the Frisians.] In the margin Van Vliet qualified the emendation as: "*ut Junius*". Junius reacted by writing in J109 immediately underneath Van Vliet's remark: "Suscipabatur ergo Vlitius noster per borders intelligi Fines vel Limites id est Frisiarum scilicet". [Therefore, our Vlitius expected that for *borders* boundaries or frontiers was understood, that is, naturally, of the Frisians.] Whereas Junius had made his correction on the basis of analogous attestations, Van Vliet expressed his doubts on historical grounds, first in J109 and subsequently in MA. See Galama, 128, on this observation, and also Hermann Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* (Strasbourg, 1901–1909), II, 531.

⁵³ These annotations consist of words and phrases from the laws with philological comments and references (LA, 350–357, 369–372) and part of what may have been intended as a first etymological glossary of Old Frisian words (LA, 375–378); see A. Campbell, "New Frisian Material in a Lambeth Manuscript", *Frysk Jierboek* (Assen, 1937), 33, H; 34, K, L.

Unfortunately, neither Junius nor Van Vliet ever succeeded in producing this much desired edition.⁵⁴

2. Printed books

The multiple extensive annotations in MA were presumably made in preparation of an annotated edition of the Frisian laws. However, this does not seem to have been the purpose of his annotations in some printed books, which sometimes only seem to serve for recording occasional philological observations or to establish a connection from one item to another. An incidental, but telling case of such a connection is his observation in a book on rules and legal procedures at the law-courts, in which Van Vliet illustrated the connection between law and Germanic philology. To the phrase “ten minste acht dagen voor het genecht” he added:

genecht] Flemish *genacht*, because the ancient Germans counted their days in nights and not in days. Just as the Old Franks (inhabitants of these lands) and Saxons did, as can be seen in their laws by Lindenbrog, and in his glossary under *noctes* in which he claimed that Caesar and Tacitus said the same about the Germans. See also Wendelinus in the Salic laws and Vredius in his history of Flanders.⁵⁵

Of much less significance are the few random notes to his copy of Henry Hexham's Dutch-English and English-Dutch dictionary (1649), in which he entered a few English words to the English-Dutch section.⁵⁶

Van Vliet's annotations to Cornelis Kiliaan's *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae* (Antwerp, 1599) are interesting in more than one way because the copy he annotated (henceforth KI) once belonged to Kiliaan himself.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ See for instance LA, 343^v, where Junius commented to *Harmiscare*: “*confer cum hermscheed in LL. Fris*”.

⁵⁵ “Genecht] Fland. genacht, uyt redenen, om dat de oude duytschen hun tijden reeckenden bij nachten, en niet bij dagen. Soo oock de oude Francken (ingesetenen deser landen) ende Saxen, alste [sic] sien is in der selver wetten bij Lindenbrogium, et in Gloss. ejusdem voce Noctes, ubi allegat Caesarem et Tacitum idem de Germanis referentes. Vide et Wendelin. ad LL. Salic. et Vreed. in Histor. Flandr.”; Beuckel Cornelisz Nieuwland, *Ordonnantie ende instructie...* (The Hague, 1606), 32^{bis}; Breda, Magistraatsbibliotheek, 119 A. On the significance of this note, see below, p. 204.

⁵⁶ Now Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1403 I 3. See Osselton, 43–57, whose discussion of Hexham's dictionary contains an illustration from the dictionary showing Van Vliet's hand.

⁵⁷ The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 393 F 10.

Kiliaan had made corrections to the book in the form of erasures, alterations, and additions, to use it as a printer's copy for a revised edition. Although there are no marks of ownership in the book, Van Vliet's additions suggest that it once belonged to him. He also made three references to Kiliaan's manuscript information in his annotations to Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (Oxford, 1659).⁵⁸ How and when Van Vliet acquired Kiliaan's annotated copy is unknown, but he may have bought it on one of his regular visits to Antwerp.⁵⁹

Van Vliet's isolated additions, of which I have been able to identify nineteen, do not constitute a substantial improvement to Kiliaan's work.⁶⁰ They include one Gothic, two English and four Frisian words, presumably from the incunable edition—a source which Kiliaan did not use.⁶¹ Lack of space and the fact that he owned at least two copies of Kiliaan's dictionary may account for Van Vliet's scant additions. His notes do not show that he was aware of the fact that the annotations in his copy of the *Etymologicum* were by the great Kiliaan himself.

Among the earliest examples of Van Vliet's annotations on Old Germanic languages may well be those he made in his copy of Francis Junius's *Observationes in Willeram* (henceforth OW). The book is now in the Provincial Library of Friesland,⁶² and forms part of a collection that belonged to the Frisian philologist Joost Hiddes Halbertsma (1789–1869). How the book had come into Halbertsma's possession is unknown. Halbertsma also possessed an interleaved copy of Merula's edition of Willeram, likewise annotated by Van Vliet, and matching Van Vliet's copy of the *Observationes* exactly in size and binding, which looks distinctly eighteenth century. The auction catalogue of Van Vliet's books lists under nr. LMO 343, *Willeramus cum notis Merulae & Junii L.R Rytharus de S. Annono* [sic], presumably a combined edition of the two books, from which Halbertsma's two copies originate. Binding the two

⁵⁸ See Dekker, "Vide Kilian", 533–534.

⁵⁹ See F. Claes sj., *De vierde Kiliaan...* (The Hague, 1981) 11–12, for an account of the book's history immediately after Kiliaan's death. Eventually, it ended up in the Royal Library in The Hague, where it was noticed by Albert Kluyver, *Proeve eener kritiek op het woordenboek van Kiliaan* (The Hague, 1884), 153–154.

⁶⁰ See Dekker, "Vide Kilian", 534–537, for a list of Van Vliet's additions.

⁶¹ On the sources of Kiliaan's Frisian words, see J. van der Kooi, *De 'Fryske' wurden út Kiliaen* (Groningen, 1976); Gilbert A.R. de Smet, "Op zoek naar de bronnen van Kiliaans Friese woorden", in *Flecht op 'e koai...*, T. Hoekema et al. eds. (Groningen, 1960), 145–151.

⁶² Leeuwarden, Provinciale Bibliotheek Friesland, 1601 Th.

books into one volume was probably done at the instigation of Van Vliet and must have taken place at the same time as the interleaving of Merula's edition. The auction catalogue lists a similar copy under LMO 349, *Willeramus ut supra* 343, but the description only refers to the name Merula. The second copy has not been found.

Van Vliet's commentary consists of underlining, cognates, and a relatively limited number of more sophisticated philological annotations,⁶³ mainly concentrated on six blank pages appended to the end of the book.⁶⁴ That the *Observationes* were a gift from his friend Isaac Vossius is proudly recorded on the title-page.⁶⁵ Underlining, which is frequent throughout the book, is usually limited to one word, but may, occasionally, extend to two or three words. Nearly all underlined words are Old High German lemmata, but a few are Greek, Latin, or Old English words. Not all underlined words have necessarily been supplied with additional information. Besides underlining, Van Vliet, seemingly at random, selected Old High German words, to which he added cognates from Dutch, Italian, 'Runic', Middle English, Old Frisian, Modern English, Old English, Greek, and Old Low Franconian. He did not shun more exotic combinations, and remarked about Old English *cofa* that it was the ancestor of Spanish *alcave*.⁶⁶ Several excerpts from Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, a work which Van Vliet already knew when he started his annotations to Junius's *Observationes*, are translated into Dutch verbatim, not to clarify the meaning of the lines, but clearly to highlight the resemblance between Old High German and Dutch. Translations of Old High German words into Latin are rare in Van Vliet's annotations, because Junius glossed his material quite consistently.

Etymologies are infrequent among Van Vliet's notes to the *Observationes*. He apparently felt little inclination to add his own etymologies, presumably out of respect for Junius's work, and also because his knowledge was still inadequate when he first worked on the book. His

⁶³ For a detailed description and evaluation of Van Vliet's notes to the *Observationes*, see M. Hinkema, *Two Studies in Francis Junius's Observationes* (Leiden, 1991), 76–123, who counted just over three hundred annotations in the entire book, nearly half of which belong to the indices.

⁶⁴ OW, [χ1–χ3]. Apart from 311 numbered pages, the book contains unnumbered folios, which I have numbered here for the sake of reference. In the beginning of the book a title-page and the formal dedication, the dedicatory letter and the *Ad lectorem* [π1–π8]. After p. 311, Junius's indices (V4v–X8^r) and three added folios [χ1–χ3].

⁶⁵ "Jani Vlitii ex dono Is. Vossii".

⁶⁶ OW, 236.

interest in onomastics and history, in the form of occasional etymologies of proper names, place-names, and historical names,⁶⁷ indicates that in the beginning of 1659 his attention was mainly focused on his chorographical and historical work on Breda.

On an additional page, Van Vliet made some toponymical observations, in which he incorporated excerpts from Samuel Bochart's *Geographia sacra* (Caen, 1646), and from an unspecified work by William Camden.⁶⁸ The addition of Gothic with a reference to the Codex Argenteus shows firstly that Van Vliet did not rely only on Bochart and Camden but also included information of his own, and secondly that these notes were made later than most of the other notes in the book, which did not yet contain Gothic. Van Vliet's annotations conclude on p. [χ1'], with an index of books and manuscripts cited by Junius, the beginning of an index of topics [χ3'], and, at the end of the book [χ3'], a distich in honour of Junius.⁶⁹

It is not known when Van Vliet acquired his most extensively annotated book, his copy of William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*⁷⁰ (henceforth SO).⁷¹ In all likelihood, he purchased it during his stay in England between November 1660 and July 1661. On the title-page he wrote: *Jani Vlitii Armiger Regis*. That he intended the book for his Germanic studies is evident from the fact that he had ordered the binder to include two fly-leaves at the beginning of the book and seven additional quires of four folios plus two fly-leaves at the end, amounting to 46 blank folios or 92 extra pages to enable him to enter observations of his own. In the book are two hand-written loose leaves, and two smaller notes pasted between pp. A1^v-A2^r, K4^v-L1^r. One loose leaf stuck between the front cover and the first fly-leaf as well as the two smaller notes are in

⁶⁷ For example, OW, 21-2, 117, 289-292.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, [χ2^v].

⁶⁹ See above, p. 103.

⁷⁰ The history of Old English lexicography and particularly that of Somner's *Dictionarium* is well documented. On Somner's *Dictionarium*, see Angelika Lutz, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von William Somners *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*", *Anglia* 106 (1988), 1-25; M. Sue Hetherington, "The Recovery of the Anglo-Saxon Lexicon", in Berkhout and McCormick Gatch, 79-89; Hetherington, *Beginnings*, 125-182, 190-221; J.K. Cook, *Developing Techniques in Anglo-Saxon Scholarship in the Seventeenth Century...*, (Toronto, 1962); Bennett, *History of Old English and Old Norse Studies*; Adams, 61-65.

⁷¹ Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 766 A 5. The records of the Librarian of Leiden University do not reveal when the book entered the University Library, but older catalogues do not list it. See Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Bibliotheekarchief C 4 and C 5.

Francis Junius's hand.⁷² Another leaf with a glossary in Jan van Vliet's hand⁷³ was stuck with a pin between the last fly-leaf and the back-cover.⁷⁴

The annotations to Somner's *Dictionarium* are among Van Vliet's most substantial Germanic studies. Almost all of the pages contain marginal and interlinear remarks. The writing is very small and extremely condensed, as there is often a minimum of space to be utilized. The annotations consist of: a short glossary headed *Islandica*;⁷⁵ a reference to Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*;⁷⁶ philological annotations to the *Dictionarium* and Ælfric's *Glossary*;⁷⁷ a list of authors quoted in the dictionary;⁷⁸ a rudimentary Gothic glossary, headed *Lexicon Gothicum*;⁷⁹ a list of numerals, headed *Numeri Variis Linguis*;⁸⁰ the beginnings of a Swedish glossary, headed *Suedica*;⁸¹ and a note on Old English *syl* 'column'.⁸²

In the *Dictionarium* Van Vliet mostly underlined Old English terms that are cognates of Dutch, plus, in some cases, Modern English or Old Frisian words. Moreover, the most frequently occurring annotations are Dutch cognates of Old English entries. Sample counts show that in the section for the letter *E* twenty Dutch cognate forms appear out of a total of 81 annotations, while in the section for the letter *G*, 92 out of 126 notes feature a Dutch cognate. Cognates from other languages occur less regularly. Middle English words from the *Ormulum* are particularly frequent at the beginning of the book, whereas Gothic and Old High German cognates are dispersed more evenly. Less numerous, but also evenly

⁷² The large leaf in Junius's hand contains short entries on "viall, vie, vinegar, violet, un, understande, upon, upstart, usher of the hall", which Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 53, considers to be the beginnings of an English dictionary. The entries were left unfinished, after which Junius turned the sheet upside down to use it as a draft for entries in his *Etymologicum Anglicanum*. The two small notes pasted in between the pages contain two entries, on *acorne* and on *to aile*, from the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*. The rectangular slips are the same as those Junius inserted in MS Junius 5, 7^v, 13^v. On the second slip Van Vliet wrote: "*ad eglan Jun*".

⁷³ This leaf contains a glossary based on the *Ormulum*; see below, pp. 136–137.

⁷⁴ The numbering presented here, based on my own count, represents two fly-leaves [$\pi 1$ – $\pi 2$], 364 printed pages, first with quire numbers (*a, b, A–Xx2*), followed by page numbers (1–80) plus six unnumbered pages [80–86], followed by 43 extra blank folios [i–xliii].

⁷⁵ SO, [$\pi 2$].

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, [$\pi 2$].

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, [ii'–xxxiv].

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, [xxxiv].

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, [xxxv].

⁸² *Ibid.*, [xlii].

spread, are Old Frisian, Danish, and Icelandic cognates, the last of which are recorded both in runes and Roman. Crimean Gothic occurs twice, in the sections for the letters *S* and *T*.

The annotations are not evenly divided over the entire dictionary. The average density of the notes per page varies from, for example 8.4 in the section for the letter *A* to only 0.5 in the section for the letter *V*. Van Vliet's efforts are mainly concentrated on the beginning of the book. The sections for the letters *A-H*, comprising about half the pages of the book, contain nearly two-thirds of the notes, with an average of 5.67 notes per page. The rest of the sections together hold little more than a third of the notes, with an average of 3.3 notes per page. The reasons for this are, firstly, that Van Vliet collated the sections for the letters *A-F* with Junius's Old English dictionary,⁸³ and, secondly, that he probably continued to add notes until his death in 1666. If he had ever entertained any specific plans for the *Dictionarium*, these never progressed beyond their initial stages. There are no annotations in Ælfric's *Grammar*,⁸⁴ and very few in the *Glossary*.⁸⁵

The work on the dictionary is characterized by the use of a particularly wide range of references to sources, of which there are at least 72.⁸⁶ Since the number of Van Vliet's annotations is considerable, the frequency of the sources, in conjunction with the occurrence of words in various languages, allow an insight into his intentions. Numerically, Dutch words form by far the most prominent addition, but they are not usually attributed to specific sources. Kiliaan's *Etymologicum* is the only source of Dutch occurring more than five times. Old English sources form the second largest group. Additions taken from Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary*, Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the Cædmon manuscript, the Old English Gospels, the Anglo-Saxon laws, and, most importantly, the Psalms, occur 166 times. The *Ormulum*, referred to as *MS AS meus* because he regarded it as his own Anglo-Saxon manuscript, is mentioned 106 times, and is consequently Van Vliet's most prominent single source. It is followed by the Codex Argenteus, to which he referred 93 times, although the total number of Gothic words is considerably higher as a result of unreferenced Gothic cognates. Old High German cognates constitute the next largest group of additions, followed by Lipsius's glossary of Old Low

⁸³ See the following paragraph.

⁸⁴ SO, 1-52.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 53-80.

⁸⁶ References to various Old English Gospels or laws have been counted as one.

Franconian words (15×), which Van Vliet did not distinguish from Old High German. These are followed by Icelandic words in runes from Ole Worm's *Lexicon* (12×) although a number of unreferenced words in runes are listed. Apart from Junius's *Observationes in Willeramī*, to which Van Vliet pointed fifteen times, no other single source⁸⁷ is referred to more than six times. Fifty out of the seventy-two references have a maximum of two attestations, while 33 are mentioned only once. References to the above mentioned Old English sources are the result of Van Vliet's collation of sections for the letters A–F of Somner's *Dictionarium* with Junius's Old English–Latin lexicon.⁸⁸ Van Vliet's collation presumably formed the first stage in his work on the *Dictionarium*, preceding the numerous Dutch additions, since there are no instances in which a Dutch variant precedes the information from Junius's lexicon.

Various possibilities emerge as to what Van Vliet's intentions with the *Dictionarium* might have been. His improvements from the collation with MSS Junius 2 and 3 show that there was a feeling that Somner's impressive work had still not been exhaustive. However, it is unlikely that Van Vliet ever aimed at publishing a second augmented edition of the *Dictionarium*, because his collation is inconsistent, and, moreover, Junius intended to publish his Old English–Latin lexicon as a dictionary in its own right. The high number of Dutch cognates in conjunction with those from other Germanic languages suggests that he intended to gather information for an etymological dictionary of Dutch, for which Somner's work provided a good basis.

Van Vliet's copy of Paullus Merula's *Willerami abbatis in canticum canticorum* (Leiden, 1598) (henceforth MR),⁸⁹ is much more sparsely annotated than SO, although it was interleaved for this purpose.⁹⁰ The book was bought in Antwerp, as appears from the title-page inscription,⁹¹ and his additions to the book are relatively sparse in relation to the available space created by the interleaving; of the interleaves only 67 contain anno-

⁸⁷ There are eleven references to a French dictionary, but these were derived from various dictionaries.

⁸⁸ Now MSS Junius 2 and 3, see Dekker, "That Most Elaborate One of Francis Junius".

⁸⁹ Leeuwarden, Provinciale Bibliotheek Friesland, 1600Th. Together with the annotated copy of Junius's *Observationes in Willeramī* it formed part of the collection of J.H. Halbertsma. See above, p. 123.

⁹⁰ Partly based on my own count, the pages of the book are numbered: ff. [i–v], ff. *1–*8, **1–**6, pp. 1–179, ff. [i–ii].

⁹¹ *Jani Vlietij Antverpiae*.

tations, whereas 132 are blank, which suggests that he had a more thorough study of the text in mind, but never got round to it.

The annotations show that Van Vliet initially studied the text with the help of Junius's *Observationes*, by far the most frequently used source. He underlined the words corresponding to Junius's lemmata, while in the margins he noted the page numbers of the *Observationes* on which these words were discussed. Dutch cognates are virtually absent, but cognates from other languages occur at regular intervals. Further sources regularly cited are Junius's Latin-Old High German glossaries and the *Ormulum*. All other references occur only once or twice in the annotations, indicating that there was no consistent collation with other works. Van Vliet made a number of corrections to Jan van Hout's Dutch translation of the Old High German text, which were in all but four cases derived from Junius.⁹² Miscellaneous annotations include the beginnings of various inventories, in which Van Vliet attempted to categorise Dutch words derived from Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and polysemous words. From Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, Van Vliet copied the Lord's Prayer.⁹³

Van Vliet's notes on the *Willeram* contain his most elaborate etymologies of Old High German words, in which he fruitfully combined his knowledge of language and history. The notes also include expositions on the phonology and morphology of Old High German and Dutch. There is an attitude of purism in his comments added to a list of Dutch words derived from Latin by Castricomius,⁹⁴ in that Van Vliet observed that the ones he had underlined were all "barbarian offshoots" which seemed to him to be derived from French. He also claimed to have provided more examples in his copy of a French dictionary, which, unfortunately, I have been unable to trace.⁹⁵

Merula concluded the book with the *Expositio Alamanica veterum Francicorum vocabulorum, in lib. euangeliorum Otfridi vsitatorum, quae*

⁹² That Van Hout's translation was far from flawless had already been demonstrated by Junius, who suggested a substantial number of corrections; see Junius, *Observationes*, 303–311. Inconsistent as usual, Van Vliet made random changes, for which, in most cases, he used the *Observationes*, either Junius's list of corrections or the main text; see MR, 5, 17, 18, 29, 35, 44, 65, 91, 93, 102, 115 (second correction), 128, 131, 146, 150, 151, 157.

⁹³ MR, *a1^{viii}.

⁹⁴ Merula, 35.

⁹⁵ "Subvirgulata omnino barbara, et a Gallis derivata videntur. Plura habet Vreedius et ego ad calcem Dictionarii Franc."; MR, 35. [The underlined words are totally barbarian [i.e. not of classical Latin origin] and appear to have been derived from French. Vreedius has more, and [so have] I at the end of a French dictionary.]

vt multa in hoc scripto occurrunt, etiam huic operi accomodantur,⁹⁶ a ten-page Old High German–Latin–Dutch glossary based on words from the 1571 edition of Otfrid’s *Evangelienbuch*, occasionally collated with the *Willeram* text or supplied with other information. Van Vliet added inter-linear and marginal annotations and expanded the glossary with new entries, often with substantial etymological comments. He provided the Old High German entries not only with cognates from Dutch and Old High German but also from Old English, Early Middle English (Orm), Old Frisian, French, Gothic, and ‘Runic’. Some of the etymologies in this glossary are among the most detailed in his studies. In all, 63 new lemmata were added to the 296 given by Merula, and 38 existing lemmata were expanded. This considerable increase in the number of entries contrasts with the rest of the book, in which annotations are rather sparse. It shows that Van Vliet preferred lexicographical works over texts, a preference which will also become evident from the sources he used.

The great diversity in Van Vliet’s annotations to SO and MR contrasts sharply with notes serving a single purpose, such as his additions to Ole Worm’s *RUNIR, seu Danica literatura antiquissima* (Amsterdam, 1636) (henceforth RU).⁹⁷ It cannot be determined when Van Vliet acquired this particular copy. He also owned the second enlarged edition (1651), which he presumably purchased because it was a combined edition together with Worm’s *Lexicon Runicum*, and from the page references it is clear that this second edition was used for most of his quotations. In the 1636 edition Van Vliet exclusively added notes intended to facilitate his understanding of runes, including 62 Old English cognates on leaves pasted in the Old Danish–Latin glossary on pp. 160–176. He derived most of these words from Somner’s *Dictionarium*, in which Worm’s “Old Danish language” is repeatedly referred to, so that the connection became more obvious. Some cognates were from his own notes in SO, including those resulting from the collation with MSS Jun. 2 and 3.⁹⁸

Apart from the comparison between Danish and Old English, the book seems to have been used exclusively for the study of runes. The main part

⁹⁶ “Alamannic exposition of old Franconian words used in Otfrid’s *Evangelienbuch*, which are also added to this work because many occur in that document”.

⁹⁷ Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Thysius 1419.

⁹⁸ For instance, the Old English form *fagnian* (RU, 161^{bs}) does not occur in Somner’s *Dictionarium* but was added by Van Vliet to *fægnian* (SO, L4’) from MS Junius 2, 15’. As if he could not resist the temptation, one Dutch cognate *veegh* was added to Old English *feigr* (RU, 161).

of the book, which contains theoretical information, was not annotated except for a transliteration into Roman characters of a passage of runes.⁹⁹ In the section entitled *De prisca Danorum poesi dissertatio*, containing the Icelandic poems *Krakamál* and *Höfuðlausn* in runes, Van Vliet transliterated both poems into Roman, presumably to practise his knowledge of runes.¹⁰⁰ Slips of paper containing the transliteration were pasted on the pages. The frequent errors of transcription demonstrate that, at the time of the transliteration, Van Vliet was still a dilettante runologist, and when his transcription is compared with a modern edition of the poem it appears that he was not acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of Old Norse.

3. Excerpts

Excerpts of Old Germanic texts are rare among Van Vliet's Germanic studies. Some examples occur in LA, while others are part of his published work. Presumably, he had no opportunity to make substantial transcripts for he never copied more than samples. A substantial number of the text excerpts in LA derives from his own *Ormulum* manuscript. They can be divided into six sections: (a) headed *Excerpta Ex Expositionibus in Evangeliorum Libro*;¹⁰¹ (b) excerpts similar to the preceding pages but written in a slightly browner ink;¹⁰² (c) the dedication to the *Ormulum*;¹⁰³ (d) the preface to the *Ormulum*;¹⁰⁴ (e) passages from the *Ormulum* on the right-hand side, headed *Idem Anglo-Saxonice*, with the corresponding passages from Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* on the facing page, headed *Idem Francicae ex Otfridi Lib. I. Cap. IV*. There are a few comments in the margins on either side;¹⁰⁵ (f), headed *Evangelium II. S. Luc. II....*, contains a lost homily on *Luke II* from cols. 13–19.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ RU, 129.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 197–239.

¹⁰¹ LA, 51^r–66^v. Ff. 57^r, 58^r, 59^r (1/4), 61^r (3/4), 63^r, 64^v, 65^r (1/2) are not *Ormulum* excerpts but notes in Latin on legal studies.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 67^v–72^v.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 73^r–76^v, text only on the recto-sides; see Holt, B1^r–B7^r. On the same folio (76^v) after the dedication it reads: "*fuit in diebus Herodis th. Cap. I.i.5*", followed by chapters from the Bible, listed in the order of their occurrence in the manuscript.

¹⁰⁴ LA, 77^r–81^r; Holt, D5^r–D8^v.

¹⁰⁵ LA, 81^v–86^r. Van Vliet referred to the excerpts as: *Luc. I, 5–9* (81^v–82^r), *Luc. I, 10–14* (82^v–83^r), *Luc. I, 15–17* (83^v–84^r), *Luc. I, 18–21* (84^v–85^r), *Luc. I, 22–24* (85^v–86^r).

¹⁰⁶ LA, 87^r–88^r; Ker, "Unpublished Parts of the *Ormulum*", 4–5.

The excerpts fall into two groups, (a)–(b) and (c)–(f), which differ in several respects. Whereas (a)–(b) consist of miscellaneous excerpts, (c)–(f) contain continuous blocks of text, which, in the case of (f), led to Ker's rediscovery of a homily from the part of the *Ormulum* that is lost. Likewise, (c)–(f) do not have the column numbers from the manuscript, which Van Vliet added to (a)–(b), but only references to the Bible. As a result, the exact numbers of the columns of the homily (f) still remain a mystery. In (d) and (e) Van Vliet was more faithful, though not consistently, to the peculiarities of Orm's spelling, often adding the superimposed double consonants and the double tilde to represent a nasal. In (f) he was less faithful. An additional difference between the two groups is that (c)–(f) all stem from the initial part of the *Ormulum*, whereas (a) and (b) contain material from more than a quarter of the manuscript. Moreover, in (a) and (b) Van Vliet did not always give an precise rendering of Orm's text.

The above observations lead to the conclusion that the excerpts under (c), (d), (e) and (f) predate those under (a) and (b). Van Vliet bought the *Ormulum* in February 1659, but his headings over the excerpts under numbers (c)–(d) indicate that he had copied from the manuscript in January 1659, when it was still in Aylesbury's library.¹⁰⁷ At the time Van Vliet, naturally, had not numbered the columns of the manuscript, since it was not yet his property. It seems that (d) must have followed (c) about the same time for they share virtually the same characteristics. In his letter to Isaac Vossius from July 1659, in which he offered to put the manuscript at Junius's disposal, Van Vliet made it clear that he had already compared the *Ormulum* to Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*. The comparison with the Otfrid text in (e) is proof of this.

In March 1663 Van Vliet made some excerpts from MS Junius 13, Junius's manuscript of the Old High German translation of the *Diatessaron* by Tatian of Alexandria,¹⁰⁸ which have been split up into two blocks in LA. The first block contains books 33/1–4, 34, 35, 12 and 43, and ends: "*Sequitur in Harmonia Joan. II ab initio usque II. tum denique Matth. VIII ab initio et*".¹⁰⁹ The second block contains material from books

¹⁰⁷ LA, 73^r. Van Vliet wrote: "EXCERPTA Ex Rithmis Saxonis M.S.S.E Bibliotheca P.M. Thomae Alesburiensis Equitis Compositis Ex Evangelis etc. quorum Praefatio sequitur", which is followed by a second heading over the first column: "MDCLIX Jañ. Bredae Paraphrasis in Evangelia, aut Ormo Monacho Augustiniano Angl. Sax. v. Praef."

¹⁰⁸ MS Junius 13 contains some miscellaneous scribbles by Van Vliet on f. 252. The text of Tatian was first published by Johannes Philippus Palthen in 1706, whose edition was reprinted in facsimile in 1993 with an introduction by Peter Ganz.

¹⁰⁹ LA, 257^r–260^v.

22,¹¹⁰ 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, and 32, and is headed: “*SERMONE in MONTE ex TATIANI Paraphrasi Harmonica IV Evangeliorum excerptis*”.¹¹¹ The order of the books shows that the second block of excerpts naturally follows the first, and it seems, therefore, that ff. 257^r–260^v have been misbound. Van Vliet copied this material faithfully, keeping the lines the same length as in his exemplar, and adding the chapter and verse numbers from the Bible to allow for easy reference. Van Vliet wrote the Tatian excerpts in an exceptionally neat cursive hand, which is taller than the one he regularly used for Dutch and has a more vertical slant. It seems as if he adopted this hand especially for the Old High German text, which would be an attempt to follow contemporaneous conventions to write different languages in different hands, and print them accordingly.

LA, ff. 248^r–253^v, contain a transcript of a Latin–Old English glossary, headed *Glossarium Theotiscum*. Two bibliographical notes on the transcript provide information about its provenance. The first note tells us that Van Vliet made his transcript from a copy belonging to Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, in Leiden in February 1659. From the second note it appears that Gronovius’s copy ultimately derived from a Bede manuscript, which was procured from Oxford by the French collector François Pithou in 1572, but which is now no longer extant.¹¹² The German philologist and lawyer Friedrich Lindenbrog (1573–1648) had made a transcript from this manuscript, which was subsequently copied by his brother Henry. Van Vliet’s exemplar was the copy Henry Lindenbrog made.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Wrongly referred to as “xxvii” by Van Vliet.

¹¹¹ LA, 283^r–286^v. In the heading to this second block Van Vliet added: “scripsi Dordrecht ex apographo Junii Martio 1663”.

¹¹² Ker, *Catalogue*, 470. At the top of his transcript Van Vliet wrote: “Lugd. Bat. MDCLIX. vii F[ebruarii] beneficio Clarissimi Gronovij describebam”. [I transcribed this in Leiden (February, 7th) 1659, through the kindness of the most noble Gronovius.] At the bottom Van Vliet copied from his exemplar: “Hactenus ex MS. Pithaei. Haec vocabula Frater meus Fridericus ex membranis Francisci Pithaei (quas in Anglia Oxoniae nactus et cujus titulus praetulit Bedam) descripsit, et ego ea fide qua ipse descripserat, etiam ex suo descripsi libro. Sic *omnia* in apographo Hendrici Lindenbrogij, fratris Friderici του παντ”. [So far, from Pithou’s manuscript. My brother Frederick copied these words from François Pithou’s manuscript (which he acquired from Oxford and which carried the title ‘Beda’), and I have copied it with equal faithfulness from his book. Thus all is in Henry Lindenbrog’s hand, the brother of the great Friedrich.]

¹¹³ Lindenbrog wrote in his copy (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS philol. 263, 16–19^v): “Ex membranis Francisci Pithoei, quas in Anglia Oxoniae nactus titulus praeferebat BEDAM”. [From François Pithou’s manuscript, which he acquired from Oxford, and which was entitled: ‘Beda’.] In his inventory of manuscripts containing Ælfric’s *Grammar* and *Glossary*, Buckalew, “Nowell, Lambarde and Leland...”, 25–27,

In 1659, Gronovius had been the owner of his copy for at least eight years, for he had discussed it in a letter to Francis Junius of 7 November 1651.¹¹⁴ Gronovius, who referred to it as the glossary *Latinum Theotiscum*, had sent it to Junius to be checked, and the latter returned it to Gronovius on 7 December of the same year. Junius complained that it had been written by someone who had little or no knowledge of Old English orthography, and informed Gronovius that he had added the correct Old English words to the corrupt forms.¹¹⁵ In 1991 Rolf H. Bremmer discovered Gronovius's copy, annotated by Junius, in the Provincial Library of Friesland.¹¹⁶

There are certain questions about these glossaries which are hard to resolve. Firstly, is the Leeuwarden copy Van Vliet's exemplar? Van Vliet's transcript of Gronovius's glossary, which was apparently made eight years after Junius had returned it with the corrections to Gronovius, bears no trace whatsoever of Junius's additions. Van Vliet still called the glossary *Glossarium Theotiscum*, although Junius had made it quite clear to Gronovius that the language of the glossary was Old English. Secondly, the Leeuwarden copy does not contain Lindenbrog's remarks on its history. Although the two versions look like faithful copies—the only entry Van Vliet skipped is *lignarius, treouui[rct]a*—the annotated Leeuwarden copy is not Van Vliet's exemplar, nor the original transcript which Henry Lindenbrog made from his brother's book, but a copy made by, or for, Gronovius, to send to Junius. Van Vliet, for one reason or other, never set eyes on this copy and must have transcribed the 'original' from Gronovius's collection.

Another unresolved question relating to this glossary is how Van Vliet could show the unfamiliarity with its language and spelling, revealed by his corrections to the transcript, when he had begun his *Ormulum* studies at least a month before he copied the glossary, but perhaps even earlier? As Junius rightly observed, the person who had written Gronovius's copy knew little or nothing about Old English. Both ⟨p⟩ and ⟨p⟩ *wynn* are wrongly represented as ⟨p⟩. Initially, Van Vliet, who may have held the glossary to be Old High German as a result of the heading *Theotiscum*,

described this particular manuscript as MS Q. The Hamburg philologist Friedrich Lindenbrog, as well as Jacques Bongars (1546–1612), a humanist scholar from Bern, made transcripts of the glossary, which have been preserved.

¹¹⁴ Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, M 89b.

¹¹⁵ Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, M 89b verso.

¹¹⁶ Bremmer, *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle*, 207–208.

had copied this faithfully. However, after a while he discovered that what he had transcribed as ⟨p⟩ frequently had to be ⟨þ⟩, so he enthusiastically set out to make corrections, indiscriminately adding vertical strokes to the ⟨p⟩, without exactly knowing what he was doing. Words like Old English *wicce* 'witch, soothsayer', *pawa* 'peacock', *gewita* 'councillor, witness', and *fiscpol* 'fishpond' were altered to *þicce*, *þapa*, *geþita*, and *fiscþol*. Although at a later stage Van Vliet provided the glossary with cognates from the *Ormulum* as well as from Dutch and Modern English, he actually did very little with the glossary, and never made proper corrections. It seems that after his purchase of the *Ormulum* in February 1659, Van Vliet disregarded this remarkable document entirely.

Further excerpts of text include five Old English hymns with Latin glosses copied from MS Junius 107,¹¹⁷ and a passage from Matthew 6 in late Middle English, headed *Ex M.S. Juniano N. Testamenti þe Sixte Chapter of Matthew*.¹¹⁸ It was copied from MS Junius 29 containing the New Testament in the version of John Wycliffe. Oddly enough, Van Vliet's excerpt stops just before the beginning of the Lord's Prayer that he printed as item 22 in *'t Vader Ons*.

4. Glossaries

In addition to text excerpts, Van Vliet's textual studies produced glossaries in various stages of completion, varying in size from one or two words to more than a thousand entries. They occur in LA, in printed books, and even in a medieval manuscript: a medieval statute book in the Breda municipal archives contains the beginning of a glossary by Van Vliet.¹¹⁹ The more substantial glossaries were carefully planned in advance. Often, he would divide a number of pages into alphabetical sections, in which he wrote down entries while reading a text. This made it very difficult for him to maintain a strict alphabetical order within the sections, and although he sometimes set out to do so, Van Vliet invariably failed. The glosses were either added immediately or followed later. He frequently glossed in Latin, but also provided cognate Germanic forms,

¹¹⁷ LA, 134^r–135^v. Francis Junius copied the hymns from London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian D. xii. The hymns concerned here are nos. 18, 21, 24, 76, 77 in H. Gneuss, *Hymnen und Hymnar im englischen Mittelalter...* (Tübingen, 1968).

¹¹⁸ LA, 271^r.

¹¹⁹ Breda, GA. Hi. 02.

with a distinct preference for Dutch ones. In general, two types of glossaries can be distinguished, depending on the purpose of the work. Firstly, there are glossaries which serve as miniature dictionaries to a certain text. The emphasis is on the meaning of the entries, which is mostly given in Latin or Dutch. Secondly, there are glossaries which not only contain translations of the entries but also provide additional etymological and historical information.

Nonetheless, not all glossaries fit into either of the two categories. His *Ormulum* glossaries, which constitute Van Vliet's most substantial lexicographical undertaking, waver between the two types. The most substantial one, headed *Glossarium Saxonicum*, comprises 17 quarto pages, which contain some 1700 entries.¹²⁰ Burchfield claimed that "when the words are rearranged into strict alphabetical sequence it becomes apparent that the list falls little short of a complete record of the words (though not of the forms and occurrences) in the surviving parts of the *Ormulum*..."¹²¹ The sections were spent well before Van Vliet had finished reading, and in his zeal he filled most of the pages from top to bottom, also adding entries on ff. 43^v and 50^v. As a result, the writing became very condensed, overcrowding the pages, up to a point where there was no more space left.¹²² Sometimes, Van Vliet glossed his entries with Latin translations, but he also listed cognates from Dutch, Old English, Modern English, Swedish, German, and Danish, and there is even one instance of Hebrew.¹²³ Occasionally, he added a quotation, but this is by no means common, since the size and layout of the glossary left no room for this. Etymologies and other linguistic observations are equally rare. References to sources are sparse. Most of the words are provided with references to the manuscript, either chapter and verse numbers from the Bible, or column and line numbers. Only a small portion of the words are without any reference at all.

Van Vliet continued this glossary on an unfolded cover of a letter, which was preserved between the last fly-leaf and the back cover in SO. In size, the letter can be compared to four quarto pages, of which three

¹²⁰ LA, 43^v–51^v.

¹²¹ R.W. Burchfield, (1962). "Ormulum: Words Copied by Jan van Vliet from Parts Now Lost", in *English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien...*, Norman Davis and C.L. Wrenn eds. (London, 1962), 95.

¹²² Burchfield, "Ormulum", 95, complains of a "casual and sometimes barely legible hand".

¹²³ LA, 48^b.

have been used to write 215 entries. The procedure for its compilation resembled that of the *Glossarium Saxonicum*, in that Van Vliet had first divided the available space into alphabetically ordered sections *A, B, D, E, F, G, H, L, M, N, O, R*, before he started entering words. No sections for *U* and *W* were needed, since here the *Glossarium Saxonicum* still had room for further entries in these sections. The entries in this unfolded letter were taken from columns 203 and higher, which supports my assumption that this sheet is a sequel to the *Glossarium Saxonicum*. Just like the other *Ormulum* glossaries and excerpts, this Leiden *Ormulum* glossary also includes material from parts of the manuscript which have disappeared. The majority of this 'lost *Ormulum* material' was edited by Burchfield, who checked all excerpts and glossaries in LA.¹²⁴ However, this sheet, which was unknown to Burchfield, contains a further eleven words which do not occur in either Holt's edition of the *Ormulum* or Burchfield's list.

From these 'working' glossaries, Van Vliet set out to compile a much more detailed version, of which only a fragment has been preserved.¹²⁵ This glossary was neatly and spaciously designed and may ultimately have been intended for an edition. Two-thirds of the entries have been illustrated with a documented quotation from the manuscript. A cross-reference to *buten* may be an indication that more of this glossary had already been completed.¹²⁶ Van Vliet's efforts to achieve clarity is visible from his quotations, where, in two instances, he added a name between brackets to a pronominal subject.

Along lines similar to the earlier *Ormulum* glossaries, Van Vliet compiled a glossary to what he believed to be the *Canons of Edgar*.¹²⁷ Van Vliet's heading, "*Ex statuto Edgari Regis in Notis Seldeni ad Eadmeri Nova*" indicates that he derived his text from John Selden's *Eadmeri monachi Cantuariensis historiae*, which does not contain an edition of the *Canons of Edgar*, but of the preface and epilogue of the Old English *Regularis concordia*.¹²⁸ To most of the Old English entries he added a Latin translation, and in a few instances provided cognate forms from the

¹²⁴ Burchfield, "Ormulum", 97–111.

¹²⁵ LA, 89^r, 90^r, 91^r; the verso sides are blank.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 89^r.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 131^r. The *Canons of Edgar* are part of the canonical laws, recorded in Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 3206; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, and MS Junius 121; see Ker, *Catalogue*, nos. 11; 49b, art. 45; 338, art. 5.

¹²⁸ John Selden, *Eadmeri monachi...libri vi...* (London, 1623), 145–154. I owe this information to Timothy Graham.

Ormulum, Dutch or Modern English. References to the text occur at nearly all entries. The glossary clearly seems intended to enhance understanding of the text and does not serve any other purpose. Since the only collations are with the *Ormulum*, this glossary was probably compiled before the end of 1660. At a later stage, Van Vliet would almost certainly have included Old English from other sources available to him, as well as cognates from other Old Germanic languages.

Van Vliet's rudimentary glossary to the works of Geoffrey Chaucer headed *E Chaucero*,¹²⁹ in which he listed about 220 mostly unreferenced words and short phrases, is definitely of a later date. Some of the words from Chaucer were provided with cognate forms from Dutch, Modern English, and Danish, and there is even one Spanish form; Latin translations are rare, and some of the entries have not been explained at all. The purpose of this glossary is not entirely clear. Collation of the entries with a concordance revealed a number of forms that are *hapax legomena* in Chaucer's entire corpus.¹³⁰ The *Knight's Tale* appears to have been his most important quarry, but he also added words from the *General Prologue*, the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, the *Physician's Tale*, the *Miller's Tale*, the *Book of the Duchess*, the *Legend of Good Women*, and even a minor poem (*Fortune*). At times, Van Vliet touched upon the differences in spelling between Chaucer's English and seventeenth-century English.¹³¹

Van Vliet compiled a rudimentary glossary of Old Frisian in the margins of John Craston's *Vocabularium Graeco-Latinum* (1497).¹³² He used the exceptionally wide left and right margins of this incunable Greek-Latin glossary to list 389 Old Frisian entries from the incunable edition of the Old Frisian laws. Not all Old Frisian words and phrases were provided with translations or cognate forms; a substantial number remain unexplained. Presumably, Van Vliet assembled this early explanatory

¹²⁹ LA, 276^{r+v}.

¹³⁰ John S.P. Tatlock and Arthur G. Kennedy, *A Concordance to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Washington, 1927).

¹³¹ Thomas Speght's glossary, *The old and obscure words in Chaucer explained...*, appended to his editions of 1598 and (with alterations) 1602 did not play any role in Van Vliet's rudimentary Chaucer glossary. See Kerling, *Chaucer in Early English Dictionaries*, 28–42, for a discussion of Speght's glossaries. Francis Junius possessed Speght's 1598 edition (MS Junius 9) as well as the edition of 1602 (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek 364 A 13), which contains his autograph annotations. Both of these editions may have been used by Van Vliet, although he did not refer to Junius's annotations. Junius's lexicon of Chaucer's words (MS Junius 6), which he made in preparation for a new edition, does not figure in Van Vliet's work either.

¹³² Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 766 B2.

glossary during his earliest Old Frisian studies, for it was never completed, but left abandoned for another much more detailed Old Frisian glossary (henceforth FG),¹³³ which is also based on the incunable edition. To his entries in this glossary, Van Vliet added compounds constructed with the lemma, short quotations containing the lemma, Latin translations, variants from MS Aysma, antonyms, cognate forms in Dutch, Old English, Early Middle English, French, Gothic, Modern English, Old High German, Swedish, and Italian. He documented his information with a considerable number of sources, not only glossaries and dictionaries, but also statute books from other regions in the Netherlands. In his philological commentary, Van Vliet restricted himself mostly to the variation between Old Frisian and Dutch, but on occasion he also provided information of a more general historical nature. The two Old Frisian glossaries illustrate the division between the two types of glossaries indicated above. The first constitutes an attempt to make an inventory of the lexicon and forms part of a learning process, while the second serves to place the Old Frisian vocabulary in a philological perspective and gives evidence of a certain mastery of the language.

Another well-planned glossary is Van Vliet's *Lexicon Gothicum*, written on additional blank pages in his copy of Somner's *Dictionarium*.¹³⁴ The Gothic words are frequently provided with Greek or Latin translations, and illustrated by cognate forms from Dutch, Old English, Danish, Modern English, Old High German, Frisian, Icelandic, and 'Runic'. The entries are referenced by means of page numbers and/or line-numbers from the Codex Argenteus, or chapter and verse numbers from the Bible. The glossary also contains Danish words, which can easily be recognized because they have been written in a slightly different hand. They are in the same columns as the Gothic words in sections for the letters *A*, *B*, and *D*. The reason for the addition of the Danish entries, which appear in blocks between the Gothic entries, is unclear. Presumably, this glossary was compiled over a longer period of time, but it is far from complete. The additional leaves also contain a short list of Icelandic words and a rudimentary list of Swedish words.¹³⁵

¹³³ LA, 91^v-126^v.

¹³⁴ SO, [iii^t-xxxiii^t].

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, [π2^t], [xxxiv^v].

5. *Miscellaneous studies*

Further hand-written studies by Van Vliet in notebooks or unbound quires consist of a variety of items. The earliest evidence of his interest in Germanic languages is his journal of a tour of Friesland and the eastern Dutch provinces made in 1643, in the form of a diary written in no fewer than six languages (Latin, Dutch, Frisian, French, Italian, and English).¹³⁶ It was edited and published by Brouwer and Campbell in 1939. Van Vliet's interest in the Frisian language appears from additions to the diary: three Frisian poems not known from any other source,¹³⁷ seven Frisian words with Modern English and Dutch translations,¹³⁸ the days of the week in Frisian and Modern English,¹³⁹ names of coins and Dutch words held to be glosses,¹⁴⁰ a short glossary of Frisian words,¹⁴¹ and some notes on correlation of sounds in Frisian and Dutch which are a sequel to the preceding glossary.¹⁴² In the actual diary, Van Vliet attempted to describe the events of two days in Frisian, for which he made use of whatever words he could borrow from the poems he had recorded, and from Baardt's *Friese boerepractica* (1640), a book of prognostications. Brouwer and Campbell compiled a list of the words Van Vliet used from these sources, and if the contents of this list is compared to Van Vliet's Frisian passages, it becomes clear that he also included vocabulary from other sources. Some of these words were "pseudo-Frisian forms, errors, hyper-Frisianisms and Hollandisms", which he constructed with the help of sounds he heard.¹⁴³ However, other words appear to be genuine Frisian, from which it can be inferred that Van Vliet had at least acquired some knowledge of the language during his sojourn in Friesland. The traditional connection between Frisian and Old English is absent from Van Vliet's accounts. His description of Molkwerum, one of the towns he visited, is reminiscent of other contemporaneous accounts, but it does not refer to

¹³⁶ LA, 261–270.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 267^{r+v}; Brouwer and Campbell, 146.

¹³⁸ LA, 268^r.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 268^v.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 268^v; Brouwer and Campbell, 175.

¹⁴¹ LA, 269^r.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 269^v. Van Vliet's use of Frisian has been extensively analysed by Brouwer and Campbell, and I refer to their article for a detailed description of it.

¹⁴³ Brouwer and Campbell, 151–152.

this town being regarded as one of the places where people spoke a form of Frisian resembling older English.¹⁴⁴

Van Vliet's knowledge of Frisian may have occasioned Francis Junius to entrust the compilation of an annotated edition of Frisian proverbs to him. Van Vliet explicitly mentioned the reason for this project, and described his aim to be a comparative edition:

I have ready for printing a book of proverbs in Frisian, published long ago, which I have compared with those of neighbouring peoples. ... I owe my store of aids primarily to the noble Junius, who is the only one capable of providing this edition in the best possible way, but as he is busy with more important projects, he has delegated this small job to me.¹⁴⁵

The reason for Junius to delegate this task to Van Vliet is probably the same as his motivation for urging him to produce an edition of the Old Frisian laws; namely the significance of the Frisian language for the study of Dutch.¹⁴⁶ Nine leaves of the manuscript for this edition have been preserved (henceforth PV).¹⁴⁷ They are preceded by a set of philological queries, headed *Dubia ex Proverbiis Frisicis Clarissimo Junio Proponenda*, posed by Van Vliet, to which Junius wrote a set of answers.¹⁴⁸ Every now and then, Junius answered by *nihil intelligo* or *nihil hic video*, indicating that he did not recognize or understand a particular word or phrase, and felt unable to answer. It must been a complicating factor for Junius and Van Vliet that there were no glossed manuscripts of Frisian on

¹⁴⁴ See C.D. van Strien and Ph.H. Breuker, "Friesland in de reisverslagen van Britse reizigers omstreeks 1700...", *It Beaken* 52 (1990), 196–197, 212, who place Van Vliet's description of his visit of Molkwerum in the tradition of seventeenth-century travelling accounts, and state that Van Vliet's diary provides the oldest report of Molkwerum as a place of special interest.

¹⁴⁵ "Libellum adagiorum Frisica lingua pridem editorum, et a me cum aliis vicinarum gentium comparatorum sub praelo habeo. ... Alia mihi copia, alia adminicula adsunt, quae imprimis Cl. Junio debeo, qui solus haec optima praestare possit, sed majoribus intentus, haec minutula mihi demandavit"; Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 25–01–1662.

¹⁴⁶ That Junius himself was interested in the Frisian proverbs appears from the fact that he possessed the 1641 Franeker edition (MS Junius 122, 41–96), which, together with other Frisian books, he may have acquired during his stay in Friesland some time between 1646 and 1648, when he lived for some time with the Frisian poet Gysbert Japiks in Bolsward; see Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 50–51. Ample evidence of Junius's cooperation with Japiks is found on fols. 30–37 of the *Friessche tjerne* with Japiks's autograph annotations (MS Junius 122); see Breuker, *It wurk fan Gysbert Japix*, 172; Feitsma, *Tussen volkstaal en schrijftaal*, 11.

¹⁴⁷ LA, 379^r–387^r.

¹⁴⁸ The whole was edited and published by A. Feitsma ed., *Oude Friesche spreekwoorden...* (Groningen, 1956).

which they could base their translations and explanations, which made the study of Frisian a significantly different from that of Old English and Old High German. Junius often relied on notes and observations made during his stay with Gysbert Japiks. His frequent references to *Gisbertus noster* for his solutions emphasize how important Japiks had been for Junius's Frisian studies. Although Van Vliet must have known Japiks too, he never mentioned him.¹⁴⁹ After he had responded to almost all of Van Vliet's queries, Junius wrote that lack of time would detain him from further collaboration:

Thus far I complied with Your Renown's wishes, and I was far from feeling any trouble. It was, on the contrary, my pleasure to talk with you about our joint studies. I just feel sorry that I have deferred this slight service so long that there is no time left to speak further with you about several things. Farewell, good man, and be convinced that there is nothing which is not felt to be owed you by your FFF Junius.¹⁵⁰

There is no evidence that their cooperation on the proverbs was ever resumed.

Van Vliet presented the proverbs in alphabetical order. In each entry the Frisian proverb was listed first, followed by parallel proverbs in Dutch, and sometimes Latin or other languages. Subsequently, Van Vliet provided lengthy etymological observations on words from the proverbs, whenever he considered this necessary. Supplementary marginal annotations show that he continued to supply information after the original entries had been written. Of the alphabetical sections preserved, only *D* is complete, while parts of *B* and *E* are missing. Of section *B*, nos. 8–13, which form the final proverbs in section *B*, are still extant, and of section *E* only proverbs 1–4 remain. Apart from the 34 proverbs listed as en-

¹⁴⁹ In his answers to Van Vliet's *Dubia* Junius mentioned his discussions of the Frisian proverbs with Japiks, for among his answers to Van Vliet's question he wrote: "...et nihil ex ore Gisberti annotavi" (f. 243^v), "ut me docuit saepe mihi dicendus Gisbertus" (f. 246^v). Other Middle Frisian excerpts in Junius's hand, which have been found among Van Vliet's papers in LA, are annotations on *Woutir in Tjalle* (358^r) and a rudimentary glossary on Gysbert Japiks's *Ræmer in Sæpe* (358^{r+v}), edited by A. Feitsma, *Frysk út de 17de ieu...* (Groningen, 1956), 82–83. See also Breuker, *It wurk fan Gysbert Japix*, II, 244–247.

¹⁵⁰ "Hactenus indulsi Claritatis vestrae desiderio, tantumque abfuit ut molestiam ullam persentiscerem, ut contra blandum fuerit de communibus studiis tecum agere. hoc tantum doleo me opellam hanc eousque protraxisse, ut jam nihil temporis, quo te porro de nonnullis rebus compellem sit reliquum. Vale vir summe, at nihil esse crede; quod non tibi se debere putet tuus FFF Junius"; LA, 246a; Feitsma, *Oude Friesche spreek-woorden*, 109; I am indebted to Sophie van Romburgh for the translation.

tries,¹⁵¹ a further 44 were included as part of the etymological notes.¹⁵² It is evident from the *dubia*, in which Van Vliet referred to the page numbers of a printed book, that his selection of proverbs was based on the *Oude Friese spreekwoorden* (Franeker, 1641).¹⁵³ However, since section *D*, the only section that has been preserved in its entirety, lists only twenty-one proverbs as entries, it appears that Van Vliet intended to publish only a selection of this edition.

That the nine leaves actually constitute an attempt to publish a selection of Frisian proverbs is clear from the layout of the pages. Quire numbers were added to all of the recto sides of the folios¹⁵⁴ except f. 387^r. A wide left margin offered room for additions and improvements, which enabled the printer to insert them into the main text. The nine folios suggest that Van Vliet stopped working on the proverbs just as he was beginning to write the etymological section of *joun* halfway down f. 387^r. However, it seems unlikely that one small part was approaching completion, while no work at all had been done on the rest, and it is therefore probable that he finished more of the work on the proverbs than has survived. This is corroborated by cross-references to proverbs in sections now lost such as *B.6.*, *B.7.*, and *A.10*. The *Dubia*, which contain questions on proverbs from sections *A–H*, suggest that Van Vliet had selected the proverbs for nearly half the book. In 1662, the book was almost ready for the press, but for some information from a book of English proverbs, which Van Vliet wished to procure from Huygens:

But upon reviewing matters, I have come to the conclusion that much is lacking. Several years ago, I gave your illustrious father [Constantine], or your brother Lodewijk, English proverbs in octavo, as it is called, with the Latin equivalents on the opposite page. I need those now very urgently.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Feitsma, *Oude Friesche spreek-woorden*, 121–142, nos. 87, 88, 101, 106, 83, 74, 117, 118, 128, 137, 138, 139, 140, 173, 174, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207, 209, 211, 215a, 215c, 217, 257, 160, 181, 260, 262, 266, 268, 277, 290d (in order of occurrence).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 121–142, nos. 698a, 698b, 703, 880, 687, 692, 837, 95, 439, 225, 764, 940a, 254, 687, 1047, 727, 92, 95, 476, 282, 141, 734, 264, 319, 281, 1027, 134, 179, 121, 529, 384, 52, 420, 746, 940b, 413, 670, 671, 315, 365, 286, 525, 693, 1046 (in order of occurrence).

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, IV–VI. On the source of the Frisian proverbs, see below, p. 151.

¹⁵⁴ LA, 380^r, C1; 381^r, C2; 382^r, D1; 383^r, D2; 384^r, E1; 385^r, E2; 386^r, F1.

¹⁵⁵ “Sed tum [sic] singula ruminor, plurima mihi deesse comperior. Praestiti ante aliquot annos sive Ill. Parenti tuo sive Ludovico fratri Adagia Anglia in 8° ut vocant. quibus ex adversa columna respondebant Latina. Vehementer iis nunc indigeo”; Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 25–01–1662. The book of proverbs has not been retrieved, nor is it listed in the auction catalogue. For a survey of publications of English proverbs, see F.P.

It seems that twelve English proverbs, of which eight¹⁵⁶ are in the marginal blocks of commentary, form Van Vliet's final work on the book.

Van Vliet's involvement with Dutch appears from a selection of words from P.C. Hooft's *Hendrik de Grote* (Amsterdam, 1626).¹⁵⁷ In this list he concentrated on peculiarities in Hooft's diction, such as his use of loan-words from mostly Romance languages, archaic and obsolete Dutch words, compounds words, and neologisms. In all, Van Vliet devised seven categories, for which he collected examples. In the seventeenth century the prose and poetry of Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft (1581–1647) was a role model for the upper classes, who strove to use an elevated form of Dutch. Hooft's early style showed many characteristics of the *Rederijkers* 'rhetoricians', a literary school from the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. However, in the course of the seventeenth century Hooft changed his spelling, morphology, and syntax, and became more of a purist in the choice of his diction, as a result of attempts to revitalise, standardise, and civilise the language.¹⁵⁸ Van Vliet's criticism of Hooft's prose is a very early example of the study of Hooft's diction. However, there is no evidence that Van Vliet regarded Hooft as a model, in the way that Hooft was often looked upon until well into the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Van Vliet knew enough to be able to distinguish the exceptional character of his prose, and appears to have been aware of contemporaneous trends in the usage of Dutch. There are no clues as to the date of this study.

On 14 May 1663, Van Vliet was in Dordrecht, at the house of Thomas Marshall, where he studied the *Cologne Chronicle*,¹⁵⁹ an incunable edition written in the Rhine–Franconian dialect.¹⁶⁰ His extracts and observations include a list of words and expressions from the *Cologne Chronicle* with Dutch and Modern English cognates, and some names of months, which he may have intended to use in his list of names of the months in the

Wilson, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1970).

¹⁵⁶ B.8 (2x), B.10, D.2, D.7, D.19, D.21, E.2. (Numbering based on Feitsma, *Oude Friesche spreek-woorden*)

¹⁵⁷ LA, 360–361.

¹⁵⁸ See C.A. Zaalberg, "Hendrik de Grote verbeterd", *Studies over Hooft...* (Groningen, 1981), for a commentary on Hooft's choice of words in the first and the third editions of *Hendrik de Grote*, with special emphasis on purism.

¹⁵⁹ The *Cologne Chronicle* is not listed among the manuscripts Marshall bequeathed to the Bodleian Library; see Madan *et al.*, II, 992–1008, 1205–1211.

¹⁶⁰ See Ernst Voullieme, *Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts...* (Bonn, 1903), 145, no. 324.

Bredaesche almanac.¹⁶¹ However, the main purpose of his observations was the spelling, which he compared with that of contemporary Dutch.

A similar concern is apparent from his study of Geoffrey Chaucer's language,¹⁶² in which Van Vliet recorded differences in spelling between Chaucer's English and contemporary English. His choice of variants from Chaucer's texts is remarkable for its concentration on exceptional forms. It almost seems as if he deliberately looked for non-standard forms to compare with Modern English. Consultation of Tatlock and Kennedy's concordance reveals that some of the forms produced by Van Vliet do not occur in Chaucer's work, and hence are probably reconstructions of his own making, even if we take into account that the spelling of the sixteenth-century Chaucer editions from which Van Vliet derived his material deviates considerably from that in the modern standard editions on which Tatlock and Kennedy based their concordance. Even though Van Vliet must have used one of the early Chaucer editions,¹⁶³ there is no mention of one in the auction catalogue of his books. Chaucer's language also inspired Van Vliet to make some etymological remarks.¹⁶⁴

Other examples of short undatable etymological studies in LA include observations on Old High German words attributed to Junius,¹⁶⁵ and on older Swedish words from Johannes Loccenius's *Lexicon Juris Sueo-Gothicum* (Uppsala, 1657).¹⁶⁶ In yet other studies, Van Vliet assigned special emphasis to toponymy, as exemplified by his excerpts from William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (London, 1656),¹⁶⁷ his notes on Yorkshire topographical names,¹⁶⁸ and miscellaneous toponymical and etymological observations from works by William Camden.¹⁶⁹ Two short studies touch on various grammatical problems. An inventory of

¹⁶¹ LA, 272^r–273^r. At the top of the page, Van Vliet wrote: "Dordrecht. 14 Mey 166iii. Mr. Marshal", and subsequently he recorded the title of the book: "Die Cronica van der hilliger Stat van Coellen, impressa 1499 by Joh. Coelhof".

¹⁶² LA, 275^r.

¹⁶³ The first edition of Chaucer's complete works was that by William Thynne (1532). For a complete facsimile of Thynne's work plus the additions provided by the subsequent editors up to and including 1602, see D.S. Brewer ed., *Chaucer, The Works 1532, with Supplementary Material from the Editions of 1542, 1561, 1598 and 1602* (Menston, 1969).

¹⁶⁴ LA, 278^r.

¹⁶⁵ LA, 240^v, headed: "Excerpta ex annotationibus Junii".

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 278^v.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 278^v.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 275^r, headed: "Geographica in Ebor".

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 338^r, headed: "Observata obiter in ANGLIA ex Scot. mappa".

synonyms from the *Ormulum* is a semantic study,¹⁷⁰ whereas an inventory of Gothic pronouns and numerals attempts to establish the proper case and number for the pronouns, and to construct rudimentary paradigms.¹⁷¹

The layout of all of Van Vliet's hand-written studies has several characteristics in common. He used abbreviations extensively, and employed separate hands for different languages. Some of his standard ligatures were common in contemporary writing, but he did not use them consistently. Words such as *et*, *sub*, *quod*, *omnia*, and the suffix *-que* are commonly abbreviated, but endings like *-orum*, *-ibus* usually are not. Very common abbreviations are *v.* for *vide*, *h.* for *hinc* or *hic*, *f.* for *faciendum*, *î.* for *infra*, *ŝ.* for *supra*, *a.* for *ab*, *i.* for *id est*, *id.* for *idem*, *p.* for *pagina*, *vet.* for *vetus*. Furthermore, all languages are commonly abbreviated: *B.* or *Belg.* for *Belgica*, *AS.* for *Anglo-Saxonica*, *Teut.* or *Teuto.* for *Teutonica*, *Germ.* for *Germanica*, *Gal.* for *Gallica*, *Run.* for *Runica*, *Ital.* for *Italica*, *Theot.* for *Theotisca*, *Dan.* for *Danica*, *Sued.* for *Suedica*, *Goth.* for *Gothica*, *A.* for *Anglica*, *Isl.* for *Islandica*, *Fris.* for *Frisica*, *Lat.* for *Latina*, *Gr.* for *Graeca*, *Hisp.* for *Hispanica*.¹⁷²

According to the common practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Van Vliet used separate hands for different languages. The medieval book hand had disappeared almost entirely after the invention of printing, but the two other medieval scripts, *cursiva*, and *hybrida* or *bastarda*, continued to be used in numerous varieties.¹⁷³ In the Netherlands Gothic cursive was used mainly for the vernacular hand, while a similar, if more angular variety commonly called the *Kurrente* developed in Germany. Characteristically, this was never used for Latin and French, but only for vernacular purposes. At the same time, the humanist cursive written with a pointed, instead of a flattened pen, and with characters slanting to the right became the main vehicle for humanist writings and was commonplace in Latin texts.¹⁷⁴ Both the humanist and the Gothic cursive are present in Van Vliet's works, as well as imitated medieval hands. His main hand was the humanist cursive hand, which is found in various sizes and variations in his correspondence and annotations. It is used for Latin and most other languages, but not usually for Dutch, for

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 279, 280^{t+v}.

¹⁷² On Van Vliet's nomenclature, see below, pp. 242–257.

¹⁷³ C. Dekker *et al.*, *Album palaeographicum xvii provinciarum...* (Turnhout, 1992),

xvii.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, xviii.

which he mainly used a Gothic cursive hand. Although this was also written with a pointed pen, its more vertical slant is discernible, as well as the characteristic forms of the ⟨h⟩, ⟨ck⟩, and final ⟨s⟩. One of the most suitable documents to compare Van Vliet's use of the humanist and the Gothic cursive hands is his planned edition of Frisian proverbs, in which he deliberately made use of both hands to mark the different typefaces to be used eventually in printing. In the diary of the tour of Friesland, which was written in seven languages, the Gothic cursive was used for Dutch and Frisian, while Latin, French, English, and Italian were written in humanist cursive.

Besides Greek characters, Van Vliet also used other special alphabets in imitation of original manuscripts. He wrote Gothic in Wulfila's Gothic uncials, a practice conventionalized by Vulcanius (1597) and Gruterus (1602), and adopted Insular minuscules for Old English. The practice of making a distinction between Latin and vernacular text through the use of insular versus caroline hands dates back to scribes of the tenth century, and was imitated in the earliest publications of Old English, which had been printed in 'Anglo-Saxon' characters, or *Alphabetum Anglicum*, from the very onset of Old English printing.¹⁷⁵ Van Vliet even copied characters from the *Ormulum*, reflecting Orm's use of English Caroline for his Latin pericopes, but insular varieties of ⟨h⟩, ⟨r⟩, and ⟨g⟩ in his English text will have reaffirmed his convictions that the vernacular was presented differently in the Middle Ages. Ole Worm's works served as an example for using runes to write Old Norse.

6. Published works

In his published works Van Vliet only presented philological and etymological observations, and text excerpts. He never published glossaries, which play such an important role in his hand-written studies. His printed books were written in Dutch, unlike his manuscript studies, of which the basic language is Latin. Quantitatively, his publications make up the least substantial component of his studies, since only *'t Vader ons* (1664) deals exclusively with Germanic philology. Two previous publications in which Germanic studies play a role were written for a different purpose.

¹⁷⁵ Parkes, 122; Ker, *Catalogue*, xxvi–xxvii; Adams, 157–181.

't Recht van successie volgens de costumen der stad ende lande van Breda (henceforth RS) was printed in Dordrecht by Johannes and Hendricus van Esch in 1663. Although the printer is not mentioned on the title-page, Van Vliet stated in his preface that typographical problems had forced him to look for a printer in Dordrecht. The Old English printed in Junius's pica Saxon type makes it almost impossible that the printer was anyone other than the brothers Van Esch, where, at that time, Junius's edition of the Old English and Gothic Gospels was printed. *'t Recht van successie* discussed local statutes on the law of succession and was a forerunner of a more comprehensive publication on the Breda statutes, which he considered too costly to publish at the time. The book consists of a title-page with an engraving by Abraham Santvoort,¹⁷⁶ a preface (*1^r–*4^v), and the actual book, consisting of 64 (1–64) pages. The engraving consists of three panels. The top panel depicts the Council of Breda in session, with the town clerk clearly in the forefront, situated at the central table among the top ranking dignitaries. The central panel shows two Breda councillors with their characteristic long gowns, which were a token of their rank, flanking the title of the book, which is encircled by a wreath. The bottom panel shows the skyline of Breda.

To illustrate and support his interpretations of the Breda statutes, Van Vliet quoted from Old Frisian, Old English, Middle Dutch, and Middle Low German law. Old Frisian citations are the most frequent, and were derived from the incunable edition as well as from MS Aysma. Only some of them were translated. Van Vliet's quotations from Old Germanic legal texts served to provide authenticity to his renderings of the Breda statutes and his interpretations. In his notes to the first article, he immediately confronted his readers with this approach by highlighting the correspondence between a statute from Breda and its Frisian counterpart, which, he stressed, "they claim to have received from Charlemagne". He then mentioned his Frisian source, emphasizing its antiquity, along with the names of Ubbo Emmius and Francis Junius to lend some authority. The second article is explained with the help of an Old English quotation, which he associated with the name of King Edmund and the year 946. To article VI he added a long passage from a medieval Breda statute book, on which he commented: "the language of this statute, which I have therefore

¹⁷⁶ The engraver Adriaan Santvoort (1617–1669) worked regularly for Van Vliet. See Geraldine van der Gaag, *Glimpses Behind the Scenes...: The Lives and Works of Jan van Vliet (1620–1666) and Abraham Dirkszoon Santvoort (1617–1669)* (Leiden, 1992); *NNBW*, x, 873–874.

followed punctually here, demonstrates its antiquity".¹⁷⁷ Again, a Frisian statute follows, which was also attributed to Charlemagne, who, Van Vliet speculated, "transferred rebellious Saxons, including Frisians, to the regions of Breda". Similar argumentation was adduced to various other articles, where Van Vliet supported his proposed interpretations with quotations from medieval legislation. In two instances, he used Tacitus's *Germania* to support his assumptions in matters of kinship.¹⁷⁸

With the help of etymological expositions, three of the most important legal terms are explained with respect to the law of succession: 'marriage goods', 'goods', and 'bastard'. In his etymologies Van Vliet referred to Breton (Celtic), Danish, Dutch, English, German, Gothic, Greek, Icelandic, Italian, French, Latin, Middle Low German, Old Frisian, Old High German, Old Flemish, Old Franconian, Old English, 'Runic', and Spanish, and mentioned a wide range of sources. Apart from vernacular statutes, Carolingian laws such as the Salic, Swabian, Burgundian, and Longobardic laws are also mentioned. The great antiquity of these laws—Van Vliet estimated the Salic laws to be some 1100 years old—made them very suitable for his purpose.

The *Bredaesche almantac, en chronijck* (henceforth BA), published at the beginning of 1664, was also printed in Dordrecht. The book consists of a title-page with an engraving by Abraham van Santvoort, half a quire containing a dedication to Prince William III of Orange, a calculation of the days of the new and full moon in the years 1664–1670 and of the Sundays of the leap-year 1664, followed by two pages of Dutch verse.¹⁷⁹

The engraving depicts in the background the Oldenhove churchyard in Leeuwarden, and in the foreground a salesman selling booklets from a box, on which we read: *Frieske Spreeckwoorden* 'Frisian Proverbs'. At the top of the page, we read: *Bredaesche Almanac, en Chronijck*. As the title of the book has nothing to do with the picture—apart from the fact that ambulant salesmen often sold almanacks—I believe that this engraving was originally intended for a page, or even title-page, of the edition of Frisian proverbs. After the project of the Frisian proverbs had been abandoned, the scroll containing the title *Bredaesche Almanac, en Chronijck* may have been inserted as a correction, and any original title may have been removed from the plate by Santvoort. The list of Frisian

¹⁷⁷ "De tael van dese Keure, die ick daerom hier punctuelijck gevolgt hebbe, wijst de oudheijt der selver uijt"; RS, 11.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 30, 51.

¹⁷⁹ BA, *1–*2.

proverbs completing the book offers at least some justification for the illustration on the title-page. The actual almanack covers 12 pages, and is followed by an unnumbered page with an engraving by Santvoort, which is divided in a top panel depicting citizens kneeling at the tomb of the Oranges in the Great Church of Breda, and a lower panel providing a view of Breda. This is followed by the *Bredaesche chronijck*, and a selection of Frisian proverbs.¹⁸⁰ In some copies there are three more pages with engravings: one depicting a map of the county of Strijen with the old district of Breda, one with the three great seals of Breda and the counter seals, and one depicting the coats of arms of the barons of Breda.

The book was published anonymously; the pseudonym *Fobbe Korst*, which concludes a dedication to the Prince of Orange in seventeenth-century home-made Frisian, was presumably only designed to rhyme with *forst*, and has no other significance. Wumkes qualified this poem as a *Frysk rymstik*,¹⁸¹ in spite of earlier negative criticism. Boot, who had the poem examined by a Dr J.G. Ottema, asserted that “there was not a line in which there was no mistake regarding the Frisian language”.¹⁸² It was the Breda lawyer J.H. Hoeufft who discovered the authorship of the book, when he found two copies of the *Almanac* bound together with Van Vliet’s *Quinquatum Bredanarum descriptio*, and one together with *’t Recht van successie*.¹⁸³

In the *Bredaesche almanac*, the pages are headed by the name of the month in Latin, followed by its counterpart in Old High German, Dutch, Old English, and Greek.¹⁸⁴ He silently derived most of the Dutch names from Kiliaan’s *Etymologicum*, but he also added a number of Middle Dutch forms from other (unknown) sources, which he may have found during his studies of medieval documents. The Old High German variants stem from Junius’s transcript of the Old High German names of the months and the winds, from Einhart’s *De vita et gestis Caroli Magni*. Van Vliet, who owned this transcript,¹⁸⁵ did not acknowledge Junius, but attributed the Old High German variants to Charlemagne. He also owned the printed edition of Einhart’s *Vita*. Some of the Old English names were

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 13–27.

¹⁸¹ The poem is printed by Wumkes, 278; and Feitsma, *Frysk ut de 17de ieu*, 113–114.

¹⁸² Boot, “Johan van Vliet”, 312.

¹⁸³ Jacob Hendrik Hoeufft, *Taalkundige aanmerkingen op eenige Oud-Friesche spreekwoorden* (Breda, 1812), III–IV.

¹⁸⁴ To August he added between brackets: *awst Cambro-Brit*.

¹⁸⁵ LA, 239’.

claimed to be derived from Bede's *De temporum ratione*, ch. 13, but in fact, all except three were copied from Somner's *Dictionarium*.¹⁸⁶ The difference in typesetting between ordinary Old English names, which are printed in Junius's pica-Saxon, and those derived from Bede, printed in black letter, can also be traced to Somner, who had likewise used black letter for the names derived from Bede's *De temporum ratione*, but insular characters for the other Old English names. The Greek words at the end of the lists are attributed to Suidas.¹⁸⁷ The first of the Greek names is always from the Athenian calendar, whereas the following are mostly Hellenistic, or from other regions of Greece.¹⁸⁸

To each month except January, Van Vliet added a set of Early Middle Dutch health rules, which originate from MS Junius 83, ff. 4–9. However, Van Vliet did not derive the health rules directly from the original manuscript, but from a transcript by Francis Junius.¹⁸⁹ De Vreese suggested that Van Vliet had made an independent study of MS Junius 83, and consequently attributed a number of errors of transcription to Van Vliet.¹⁹⁰ In reality, some of Van Vliet's incorrect readings are based on Junius's errors of transcription, while other mistakes result from Van Vliet's copying Junius's transcript. A list containing 57 Frisian proverbs on p. 28, headed *Der oude Vrije Friesen Spreeck-Woorden*, concludes the book. The spelling of Van Vliet's proverbs differs, in many places, from the *Oude Friese spreeckwoorden* (Franeker, 1641) although all proverbs were taken from that edition.¹⁹¹ The variation in spelling seems so convincing that Van de Velde speaks of a "Vlitian version", and collated Van Vliet's proverbs with those from the 1641 edition in Feitsma's inventory, apparently assuming that Van Vliet used a different version.¹⁹²

't *Vader ons in XX oude Duijse en Noordse taelen, met d' uijtleggingen, &c.* (henceforth VO) was published anonymously in 1664, for reasons which are unclear, as Van Vliet made no secret of his authorship

¹⁸⁶ Somner, *Dictionarium*, Cc4^{r+v}, s.v. *monap*.

¹⁸⁷ Thought, at the time, to be the name of a tenth-century Greek lexicographer, but nowadays the name is interpreted as an acronym of *Συναγωγὴ Ὀνομαστικῆς Ὑλῆς Δι' Ἀλφάβητου*. I owe this information to Peter Stork.

¹⁸⁸ See Alan F. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology...* (Munich, 1972), who provides chronologically and geographically arranged lists of the names of months in ancient Greece.

¹⁸⁹ LA, 232^v–233^r.

¹⁹⁰ De Vreese, "Bredasche Almanack", 173–175.

¹⁹¹ In her list of Frisian proverbs Feitsma, *Oude Friesche spreeck-woorden*, 145, gives the numbers of the proverbs from the edition, which Van Vliet included in his selection.

¹⁹² Van de Velde, "Vlitiana Frisica", 21–22.

in his correspondence. Hoeufft was the first to establish Van Vliet's authorship of *'t Vader ons*, as a result of Van Vliet's remark on p. 21 that he shortly intended to publish a chorography of the land of Breda.¹⁹³ Van Vliet intended the book as a curtain raiser for Junius's forthcoming edition of the Gothic Gospels, which he claimed to have supported.¹⁹⁴ It consists of 56 pages in octavo and is made up of four quires: *a*, *A*, *B*, *C*. Quire *a* consists of four unnumbered folios, while *A*, *B* and *C*, of 8 folios each, are numbered 1–48. The title-page shows an engraving by Abraham Santvoort. The image is highly symbolic, and is an emblematic representation of the miracle of Pentecost, *Acts* 2: 2–4, by which the Apostles were endowed with the ability to speak foreign languages, to preach God's word to other nations. The gust of wind felt by the Apostles is represented by the shape of a heart crowned with fire representing the Holy Spirit. This heart contains the title of the book. Above this figure we read *orate et vigilate*. The Holy Spirit descends from heaven in the shape of a dove, and manifests himself by tongues of fire on the heads of the apostles. The new opportunity to understand Old Germanic languages was represented as God's gift to mankind. The discovery of Gothic and increase in knowledge of other Old Germanic languages were considered similar to the effect of the Holy Spirit, which provided the ability to speak a variety of languages. Those who receive this gift are compared to the Apostles, in that they are able to unite the world in a common understanding and establish unity, not only of religion but also of language.

The book opens with an introduction, headed "To all sincere lovers of the Low Dutch and neighbouring languages",¹⁹⁵ in which Van Vliet succinctly surveys his views on the Old Germanic languages, and exuberantly praises Francis Junius's merits. The next item is a list of Junius's works, both published and ready for the press,¹⁹⁶ followed by specimens of

¹⁹³ Jacob Hendrik Hoeufft, *Parnassus Latino Belgicus* (Dordrecht, 1819), 174. In his 1815 edition of Van Vliet's list of Frisian proverbs from the *Bredaesche almanac, en chronijck*, Hoeufft had already alluded to Van Vliet's interest in Germanic languages. In 1802 Hoeufft's friend, the Leiden professor Matthijs Siegenbeek still attributed the *'t Vader ons* to Junius, in his lectures given at Leiden University; see Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Hs 1498, 470. Van Vliet's authorship of *'t Vader ons* was not mentioned by Adry in the *Magasin encyclopédique*, 333–359.

¹⁹⁴ On Van Vliet's active cooperation with Junius, see above, pp. 98–100. See also Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, 424.

¹⁹⁵ "Aen alle oprechte Lief-Hebbers van de Neder-duijtsche, ende Naburige Spraecken"; VO, a1^r–a4^r.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, a4^{r-v}.

Junius's Gothic, Old English and runic types, black letter, and Greek capitals.

The main part of the book, consisting of quires *A* (2–16), *B* (17–32), and *C* (33–47), contains 29 versions of the Lord's Prayer and five canticles. Of these, two are in Gothic, five in Old English, nine in Old High German, three in Swedish, two in Danish, one in Middle High German, three in Middle Dutch, one in Frisian, one in Norwegian, one in Icelandic, four in Middle English, one in Scots, and one in Finnish. The claim that the book contains the Lord's Prayer "in twenty Northern and German languages", is therefore exaggerated. Even if we take into account that Van Vliet distinguished between Swedish and Old Swedish, Danish and Norwegian, *Teuts*, *Sweitz* and *Francks*, *Nederduijts* and Old Flemish, there are no more than seventeen different languages. The following list briefly describes the text items and, if traceable, names the sources.¹⁹⁷ All versions of the Lord's Prayer are from *Matthew* 6: 9–13, unless otherwise indicated.

1. "Gothic", printed in Gothic types, with an exact transliteration in Roman type underneath, and below that a literal Dutch translation; source: Junius's edition of the *Codex Argenteus*.¹⁹⁸

2. "Old English", printed in Anglo-Saxon types with interlinear Dutch translation; source: Wheelock's edition of Bede.¹⁹⁹

3. "different versions compared, from the Gospels of *Matthew* 6: 9 and *Luke* 11: 12", printed in Anglo-Saxon types; source: Junius and Marshall's edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.²⁰⁰

4. *Idem*, from *Luke* 11: 2–4, collated with the previous item; source: see no. 3.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ Van Vliet did not use Hieronymus Megiser, *Specimen quadraginta...oratio Domini*, (Frankfurt, 1603), which presented 40 specimens of the Lord's Prayer. Although Megiser also included Gothic, Old High German, Danish, Swedish, Icelandic, and Finnish, Van Vliet cannot have used this book, because text and spelling are different.

¹⁹⁸ "Gots"; VO, 1–2. It was presumably derived from one of Junius's transcripts.

¹⁹⁹ "Engel-Sax"; *ibid.*, 11–12. Abraham Wheelock, *Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum...* (Cambridge, 1643, 1644), 495–496, derived it from a series of homilies by Aelfric, in Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg 3.28, 261^v–262^v; see Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 15, art. 94.

²⁰⁰ "Anders uijt de Evangelien van Matthaeus vi, 9. en Lucas xi, 12 tegens elckander geleecken"; VO, 12. Franciscus Junius, *Quatuor D.N.J.C. evangeliorum versiones...*, 14–15.

²⁰¹ VO, 12.

5. “Anglo-Saxon, according to Camden about 700 AD”, printed in Modern English with the Old English text in Anglo-Saxon types underneath; source: Camden’s *Remains of a Greater Work*.²⁰²

6. “the Lord’s Prayer in the Old High German languages [sic], from the second book, the twenty-first chapter of Otfrid”; source: Flacius Illyricus’s edition of Otfrid’s *Evangelienbuch*.²⁰³

7. “from Latin Hymns translated into Old German in *MS. Voss. Hymn. II, § 7.*”, printed in Latin, with the Old High German text and a literal Dutch translation underneath; source: *Murbach Hymnal*.²⁰⁴

8. “the Lord’s Prayer differently translated into Old High German”. This version is identical with one published in Marquard Freher’s *Orationis Dominicae* (Heidelberg, 1609/1610), but Van Vliet presumably copied it from Junius’s transcript of this version.²⁰⁵

9. “from the Franconian translation of Tatian’s *Gospel Harmony*”; source: MS Junius 13, the Old High German translation of Tatian’s *Harmonia evangelica*.²⁰⁶

10. “from the psalter of Notker, a monk from St. Gall”; source: Junius’s excerpts from Goldast (1606) in MS Junius 64.²⁰⁷

²⁰² “A. Sax, volgens Camden, omtrent A. 700”; *ibid.*, 33. William Camden, *Remains of a Greater Work...* (London, 1637), presented a very defective reading of the Lord’s Prayer from the Lindisfarne glosses, London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D. iv. MSS Junius 50 and 76 contain extracts from the Lindisfarne glosses, but do not include the Lord’s Prayer.

²⁰³ “Het Gebed Ons’ Heeren. /In de oude Teutsche Spraecken./ Uz thaz andere Buach thaz XXI. Cap. Otfridi”; VO, 17–18. The same version is found in MR, *a1^{mbis}; see Flacius Illyricus, 200–202.

²⁰⁴ “Uijt de Latijnse Lof-zangen in’t oude Duijts overgeset in MS. Voss. Hymn. II. §.7.”; VO, 22–23. The *Murbach Hymnal* is a series of Latin Hymns with Old High German glosses; MS Junius 25, 116–117; 121–129.

²⁰⁵ “t Vader Ons Verscheijdentlick overgeset in out Theuts”; VO, 29. See MS Junius 64, 2’. Freher claimed to have found it in a St. Gall manuscript. The same version of the Lord’s Prayer copied from Freher was published by Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Prima religionis Christianae rudimenta...* (Leiden, 1650), 6. See E.G. Stanley, “The Sources of Francis Junius’s Learning...”, in Bremmer ed., *Franciscus Junius F.F. and his Circle*, 168–169; —, “The Continental Contribution to the Study of Anglo-Saxon Writings...”, in his *Collection of Papers with Emphasis on Old English Literature* (Toronto, 1987), 66.

²⁰⁶ “Uijt de Franckse Oversettinge van Tatiani Harmonia Euangelica”; VO, 30.

²⁰⁷ “Uijt het Psalmboek van Notger Monick van Sinte Gall”; VO, 30. MS Junius 64, 16–30, are notes from Melchior Goldast, *Alamannicarum rerum scriptores...* (Frankfurt, 1606); this paternoster is on f. 21’, which is part of a loose leaf (21–22) on which Junius copied two versions of the Lord’s Prayer from Goldast’s book, beginning: “Melchioris Goldasti rerum Alamannicarum tomus Tertius complectitur varia quaedam opuscula Joachimi Vadiani Consulis quondam Sanctgallensis, in quibus de vetere Francicâ translatione Symboli

11. "Swiss"; source: Mylius (1612).²⁰⁸
12. "from another book of about 1300 AD";²⁰⁹ source: see no. 10.
13. "Dutch, from an old manuscript of Nicolaes de Winter".²¹⁰
14. "the same from another manuscript of [Nicolaes de Winter]".²¹¹
15. "...in very old Flemish".²¹²
16. "Frisian"; source: Vulcanius (1597).²¹³
17. "Danish".²¹⁴
18. "Old Swedish, with 'Runic' characters", printed in runes with the Swedish text underneath.²¹⁵
19. "Swedish".²¹⁶

apostolici atque Orationis Dominicae agens Vadianus, etiam haec habet inter alia ejusdem tomi pagina 47...". [The third volume of Melchior Goldast's *Rerum Alamannicarum* comprises certain miscellaneous works by Joachim Vadianus, the former Mayor of St. Gallen. In these works Vadianus, speaking of an ancient Franconian translation of the Creed and the Paternoster, also has this among other things on page 47 of this volume:...] Van Vliet probably used this leaf. See Stanley, "Sources of Francis Junius's Learning", 168–169.

²⁰⁸ "Sweitz"; VO, 30. Mylius, *De lingua Belgica*, 258, copied it from Conrad Gesner, *Mythridates...* (Zürich, 1555), 41, or from the 2nd. edition, Caspar Waser ed. (Zürich, 1610), 46. Junius owned both editions (MS Junius 88).

²⁰⁹ "Uijt een ander boeck omtrent A. 1300"; VO, 30.

²¹⁰ "Nederduijts uijt een oud MS. van Mr. Nicolaes de Winter"; VO, 31. John Chamberlayne, *Oratio Dominica in diversas omnium fere gentium linguas versa* (Amsterdam, 1715), 66, reproduced it verbatim, and claimed to have derived it from the Utrecht professor of theology Franciscus Burmannus; *ibid.*, *****2". Johan Christoph Adelung, *Mythridates in bey nahe fünf-hundert Sprachen und Mundarten* (Berlin, 1806–1817), II, 250, repeated this.

²¹¹ "Noch uyt een ander MS van de selve"; VO, 31. Its language and word order is reminiscent of Low German paternosters.

²¹² "...eerst in seer oud Flaems"; VO, 42–43.

²¹³ "Fries"; *ibid.*, 31. Vulcanius, 98. See below, p. 329, for the nature of Van Vliet's emendations.

²¹⁴ "Deens"; VO, 31. It was printed by Adelung, II, 301, no. 179, who described it as "Heutiges Dänisch aus der Dänischen Bibel". The precise sources for text items 17–20, versions of the Lord's Prayer in Danish, Swedish and Norwegian, are difficult to pinpoint. The *Bibliotheca Danica...* (Copenhagen, 1877–1902), I, 304–305, lists nine Danish publications on the Lord's Prayer between 1552 and 1637, none of which occur in the auction catalogue of Van Vliet's books. H.F. Moule and T.H. Darlow, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British Bible Society* (London, 1963), 277–280, list no fewer than eleven editions of the Bible and the New Testament in Danish between 1524 and 1647, and nine editions of Swedish Bibles and New Testaments between 1526 and 1655 (*ibid.*, 1492–1498). The only Scandinavian Bible in the auction catalogue of Van Vliet's books is a Swedish one (LMF 056) printed in Stockholm in 1642.

²¹⁵ "Oud Sweeds/ met Runisse boeckstaven"; VO, 14–15. It resembles one printed by Adelung, II, 313–314, no. 86, which he characterised as *Heutiges Schwedisch*.

²¹⁶ "Sweeds"; VO, 31. It resembles one printed by Adelung, II, 315, no. 190, which he named *Gottländisch*, and copied from Wolfgang Lazius, 548.

20. "Norwegian".²¹⁷
21. "Icelandic"; source: the Icelandic Bible (1644).²¹⁸
22. "English, from Junius's manuscript, about 300 years old"; source: MS Junius 29, the New Testament in Middle English in the later Wycliffite version.²¹⁹
23. "English, of Pope Adrian, about the year 1155"; source: see no. 3.²²⁰
24. "also English, shortly before the year 1217"; source: see no. 3.²²¹
25. "also English by Wycliffe, about 1360"; source: see no. 3.²²²
26. "Scottish".²²³
27. "in Finnish".²²⁴

Next follow a number of versions of Simeon's Hymn in various languages, and the Hymn of Ambrose in Old High German:

28. "holy Simeon's Song", printed in Gothic types; source: see no. 1.²²⁵
29. The same, printed in Anglo-Saxon types; source: see nos. 3, 4.²²⁶
30. "Otfrid in Old High German"; source: see no. 6.²²⁷
31. "from Tatian's *Gospel Harmony*"; source: see no. 9.²²⁸
32. "Swedish".²²⁹

²¹⁷ "Nordweegs"; VO, 32. It is the same as one printed by Adelung, II, 303–304, no. 180, which he derived from Johannes Micraelius's *Alten Pommerland* (1640), 124, and to which he added that it was the only Norwegian version at the time.

²¹⁸ "Iislands"; VO, 32. Van Vliet found it in an Icelandic Bible (Stockholm, 1644) in the library of Leiden University (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 506 A 9), where it is still to be found; See Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 29–05–1662.

²¹⁹ "Engels, uijt een MS. van den H^e. Iunius bij de 300 jaren oud"; VO, 32. MS Junius 29, 16^a; the manuscript has *be pi wille idoen in us in erpe as in heuene*. The *in us*, an obvious scribal error, was corrected by a single vertical line, which does not seem to be scribal practice, and may therefore have been made by Junius or Van Vliet. In any case, the latter did not copy the mistake. Some errors of transcription demonstrate that Van Vliet copied it directly from the manuscript. He wrote *tai* for *dai* 'day', because he misinterpreted a ligature of *d* and *a* for *ta*. In *temptacioun* Van Vliet mistook *c* for *t*, and wrote "*temptatioun*".

²²⁰ "Engels, van Paus Adriaen omtrent 't jaer 1155"; VO, 33. Camden, *Remains*, 24.

²²¹ "Noch Engels, cort aen't jaer 1217"; VO, 34. Camden, *Remains*, 24–25.

²²² "Noch Engels van Wickliffe omtrent 1360"; VO, 34. Camden, *Remains*, 25.

²²³ "Scots"; VO, 32. It was printed by Adelung, II, 338, no. 206, who claims that it originated from *Franc. Junii Vader ons in xx oude talen*, S. 32, and that it also occurred in Isaac Le Long, *Boek-Zaal der Nederduytsche bybels...* (Amsterdam, 1732), 70.

²²⁴ "In 't Finlands"; VO, 34. It was also printed by Adelung, II, 757, no. 318, who described it as *Finnisch, aus der Bibel, Stockholm, 1642*.

²²⁵ "De Lofsang van den H. Simeon"; VO, 15.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

²²⁷ "Otfrid in Oud Teuts"; *ibid.*, 16. Flacius Illyricus, 68.

²²⁸ "Uyt Tatiani Harmonia Euang."; VO, 16.

²²⁹ "Sweeds"; VO, 16.

33. "Danish".²³⁰

34. "the Hymn of Ambrose, the Song of Ambrose in Franconian".²³¹

The idea of comparing languages with different versions of the Lord's Prayer, or on a larger scale, with parallel Biblical texts, was a long-standing tradition. Especially in Oriental studies polyglot Bibles played an important role, and although collation of the Scriptures and the ability to read Oriental texts was their primary purpose, such Bibles must have been appealing to scholars interested in the comparison of languages.²³² The Lord's Prayer was undoubtedly the best-known text in the Bible, and was therefore suitable par excellence for comparative studies. In the field of Old Germanic languages, versions of the Lord's Prayer had been used, both to illustrate one particular language and to compare languages. Manuscript version of the Lord's Prayer in Gothic circulated among humanists in the second half of the fifteenth century,²³³ and the first Old English texts ever to be printed included the Lord's Prayer and the Creed.²³⁴ Printed versions had been used by, among others, Conrad Gesner (1555), William Camden (1605), Hieronymus Megiser (1603), Bonaventura Vulcanius (1597), Marquard Freher (1609, 1610), Abrahamus Mylius (1612), and Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn (1650), before Van Vliet published his collection. So many authors had collected paternosters that in the eighteenth century it was already considered to be a well-established tradition of language comparison.²³⁵ The tradition of collecting and publishing versions of the Lord's Prayer extended into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when *'t Vader ons* was repeatedly used as a source.²³⁶

Besides paternosters, hymns and canticles, *'t Vader ons* contains various sections of etymological commentary. There are two such blocks in quire *A*, of which the first (pp. 3–11) relates to text item 1, and the second (pp. 12–14) contains explanations of words from text items 2–4. Quire *B* also has two blocks of etymological commentary, of which the first (pp. 19–21) serves as an exposition to text item 6, and the second (pp. 23–29) explains text item 7. Quire *C* contains only one block of etymological commentary (pp. 35–41), in which words from various items

²³⁰ "Deens"; VO, 16.

²³¹ "Hymnus Ambrosii/De Lofsangh van Ambrosius in 't Francks"; VO, 46–48.

²³² See Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist 1563–1632* (Leiden, 1985), 82–84.

²³³ See Van de Velde, *Studie v/h Gotisch*, 67–84.

²³⁴ Adams, 23–25.

²³⁵ Chamberlayne, *4^v–*****2^v.

²³⁶ See below, pp. 348–349.

have been taken as lemmata. The observations on the Old High German lemmata in quire *B* are, on the whole, less elaborate than those in quires *A* and *C*. The languages most frequently adduced in the blocks of commentary are Old High German, Old English, Gothic, Dutch, Modern English, followed by Greek. Frisian is remarkably rare, and so is Latin. Van Vliet also referred to “Biscay” (Basque), Bohemian (Czech), Finnish, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Latin, Old Latin (also called Roman), Spanish, Persian, and Welsh.²³⁷

Van Vliet’s elaborate etymologies in VO show a wealth of philological data, which, together with the introduction, reflect his linguistic beliefs. As in his other works, his remarks are mainly concerned with spelling, sounds, etymology, and sometimes touch on morphology. His observation that in the Old Germanic languages the inflectional system was still in operation is out of character, for he rarely discusses case-endings.²³⁸ He completely disregards syntactic matters.²³⁹ Some attention is also paid to onomastic data.²⁴⁰

7. Final remarks

In conclusion to this survey of the primary material, it must be stressed that it is likely that only a fraction of Van Vliet’s studies have been preserved. I have already mentioned possible lost material on the *Ormulum* and the Frisian proverbs, but the accounts of the notary who made the inventory of Van Vliet’s belongings in 1666 suggest that the number of unbound papers and quires exceeded the contents of LA. Moreover, many of his important books for the study of Old Germanic languages, which he referred to in his studies and which are listed in the auction catalogue, have never been retrieved. These include John Spelman’s Old English Psalter, Wheelock’s edition of Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica*, Lambarde’s *Archaionomia*, Otfrid’s *Evangelienbuch*, as well as Middle Dutch chronicles and statute books, Friedrich Lindenbrog’s *Codex legum antiquarum* and Olivarius Vredius’s *Historia comitum Flandriae*, the last two containing important glossaries. In other words, any study of Van Vliet’s work must of necessity be based upon incomplete data.

²³⁷ “De Walse Britten”; VO, 4.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

²³⁹ Van Vliet’s linguistic observations will be dealt with extensively in ch. vi.

²⁴⁰ VO, 21, 39, 41.

From what has been preserved, it is evident that Van Vliet's Germanic studies are very diverse. The works show that his interests started with Dutch and Frisian, and from there moved to Old English, Old High German and Old Frisian. Gothic and Icelandic seem to have come last, although it is not known in which order. The number of languages which Van Vliet included is striking, not least the contemporary European languages, which he had managed to acquire without the modern facilities of foreign language education. Most of the datable material originates from the period between 1659 and 1666, but it is often difficult to determine the precise year in which he made a particular study. Many of the hand-written studies will have been worked on by fits and starts for a prolonged period of time, for Van Vliet was only a 'part-time researcher'. Although several works, such as the annotations to MA and the second Old Frisian glossary, seem related and designed for a particular goal, there is no clear line or aim discernible from the various sorts of studies. Many of the hand-written studies are very fragmentary and none gives the impression of a finished work. He easily left one thing for another, and hardly ever carried anything through to the end. Apart from his introduction to VO, theoretical observations are brief, and rare in comparison with the number of glossaries and etymologies. The nature of the studies can therefore be described as practical rather than theoretical. Although it is obvious that the main purpose of his work is the study of the Old Germanic languages and particularly Dutch, further evidence about the extent of his studies will have to be derived from his sources and studies by other scholars: the secondary material.

CHAPTER FOUR

HACTENUS MIHI FERE INAUDITA: SOURCES AND REFERENCES

In his Old Germanic studies, Jan van Vliet referred to no fewer than 143 different sources, mostly by means of references consisting of the name of an author, a title of a book, or an identification of a manuscript, either in full or by means of an abbreviation. Such references occur throughout Van Vliet's work and it would appear that he had recourse to an extremely wide range of sources. However, before arriving at this conclusion it is first of all necessary to verify that there are no discrepancies between his references and sources, notions which are to be regarded as different. A reference is an author's conscious attempt to record the origin of an idea, citation, cognate, or parallel which he uses in his study. It is subjective in that, on the one hand, an author has the choice of emending, adding, or omitting, and, on the other hand, an author may not be sure of the exactitude of someone else's work. A source, in contrast, is the genuine origin of an idea, citation, cognate or parallel, which may, or may not, be documented by means of a reference. In published works, it is the author's choice to reveal what he wishes to show his readers and what not. In private notes an author determines for himself what is worth recording, and what is self-evident. The study of sources and references should therefore be approached with care. The total number of sources consulted may differ considerably from the number referred to. The Renaissance was an age of book-learning, in which scholars were often extremely well read. Many aspects of their common classical grounding, which formed the background of all humanist scholarship, could be regarded as axiomatic. Hence, the most common sources, such as classical grammars, philosophical works and dictionaries were often the least consistently documented. The option of referring to a source, and the number of times this is done, may reveal information about the perceived significance of that source, but the scarcity or even the absence of references must not lead us to presuppose that a particular source is insignificant. However, once a proper distinction has been made, the explication of the references and identification of the actual sources can be a contribution to our knowledge of past scholarship, both of the scholar and of the sources proper.

In my consideration of the material Van Vliet used in his comparative studies, I will restrict myself mainly to the sources of Old Germanic languages proper. Categorisation per language, Old English, Old High German, Gothic, Old Frisian, Dutch, and Scandinavian, reveals distinct differences between the use of sources for each language. In addition, I will briefly discuss his sources of history, chorography, and etymology, as these are subjects which have a strong bearing on his studies. My aim, therefore, is not to provide an exhaustive survey of sources and references, but rather to indicate how he referred to his sources and to reveal his reasons for using them. The role of the auction catalogue of Van Vliet's books is surprisingly marginal, for the 143 different references in Van Vliet's Germanic studies compare poorly with his library of over 1200 titles. Moreover, only some of the references pertain to books from his library, while the rest relate to other sources. The titles from the auction catalogue are a good indication of what was immediately available, but they do not reflect the material Van Vliet used for his Germanic studies.

1. *Old English*

References to sources of Old English occur throughout Van Vliet's work, but there is a concentration of such references in SO, especially in the sections for the letters *A-E*. These are the result of his collation of SO with Junius's Old English-Latin lexicon, commonly named Junius's Old English dictionary (now MSS Junius 2 and 3).¹ There seems to have been no real attempt at consistent collation of the two dictionaries as a whole. Presumably, Junius, who kept his notes on loose sheets in pasteboard covers, lent only his fascicles *A-F* to Van Vliet, for in the rest of the sections in SO the collation becomes rather spasmodic. Although the *A* section of Junius's dictionary has not been preserved, it is still possible to determine the extent of Van Vliet's collation on the basis of an eighteenth-century transcript of Junius's dictionary made when it was still complete.² The structure of Junius's Old English-Latin dictionary must have made collation difficult and time-consuming. Initially, Junius listed his findings on

¹ For more information on Junius's Old English-Latin lexicon see Dekker, "That Most Elaborate One of Francis Junius"; Madan *et al.*, II, 964.

² British Library, MSS Add. 4720-4722.

quarto sheets, but when these proved inadequate for the amount of information to be recorded, he continued on folio sheets. Consequently, the list is not always in complete alphabetical order, and homonyms, or similar words from different sources, may occur at different places in the manuscript. Van Vliet seldom derived anything except Old English from Junius's dictionary, because Junius himself only rarely included such extraneous information.³

From Junius's dictionary, Van Vliet derived source references, spelling variants, new Latin translations, and also new entries in which he listed words missing in Somner's *Dictionarium*. Where Junius presented a list of Old English words ending in *-dom* Van Vliet repeated this idea, using Dutch words instead.⁴ He copied a similar list of Old English words ending in *-ful* but for no apparent reason omitted five words, which shows his inconsistency in these matters. Some of Junius's material originated from texts Van Vliet never set eyes on; in other cases texts were also available to him from other sources. The first group includes the Old English translation of Pope Gregory's *Dialogues*,⁵ King Alfred's Old English translation of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*,⁶ Old English Hymns,⁷ Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos*,⁸ and Gregory the Great's *Liber pastoralis*.⁹ Although Junius owned transcripts of all of these texts, there is no evidence that Van Vliet used them.

³ However, to *æced* 'vinegar' (SO, A2") Van Vliet added: Gothic *Akeitis*, Dutch *eedick*, *eeck*, and German *essich*, all of which he derived from MS Junius 2. This entry from the missing A section has been copied in an unknown hand to f. vii of MS Junius 2: "AS æced vel eced, *id est* acetum Alam. ezzech. Goth. Akeitis fulljands *id est* aceto implens Belg. edick, eeck. Ger. essig. Angl. vin-eger Gall....". It cannot be determined how much of this is actually by Junius, for the same entry in British Library, MS 4720, 14 reads: "Æced, æcced; Vineger. Acetum. Cotton *Rushworth* Luc. 23.36. Joh. 19.29 Æcced win. wine mingled with Myrrhe, Vinum Myrrhatum. Cotton Marc. xv, 23. æced fat, Acetagulum A. sawcer. Gl. R. pag. 26".

⁴ MS Junius 2, 72'; SO, 12°.

⁵ MS Junius 46, i-52 contains parts of Junius's transcript of the Old English version of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, from Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 76.

⁶ MS Junius 12 is Junius's transcript of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* from Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 180, which he collated with British Library, MS Cotton Otho A. vi (now half burnt).

⁷ MSS Junius 107 and 108 contain transcripts of Latin Hymns with Old English glosses from British Library, MSS Cotton Vespasian D. xii, and Julius A. vi.

⁸ MS Junius 15, 1-110, containing Junius's transcript of Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos* from British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B. i.

⁹ MS Junius 53.

The second group contains Old English texts which had already been published. Of Van Vliet's references to Ælfric's Old English rendering of excerpts from the Latin grammars of Priscian and Donatus, appended to Somner's *Dictionarium*,¹⁰ ten references in SO are from MS Junius 2, while two references in MA were derived from the edition. Also included in Somner's *Dictionarium* was the Old English–Latin glossary known as *Ælfric's Glossary* or *Glossarium R.*¹¹ For his edition of Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary*, Somner had used an incomplete manuscript for the *Grammar* (British Library, MS Royal 15 B xxii). For the glossary, Junius had provided him with a transcript of a manuscript glossary lent to him by the Antwerp painter Peter Paul Rubens. This manuscript was thought to be connected with Ælfric as a result of some verses in his honour which are at the top of the first folio. Junius stated in a comment at the top of his transcript (MS Junius 71) that he attributed this glossary to Archbishop Ælfric—no distinction between Archbishop Ælfric and Ælfric of Eynsham was made at the time. However, he referred to it as *Glossarium R.*, on the one hand to indicate that he obtained it from Rubens, and on the other hand to distinguish it from another “Ælfric” glossary (MS Junius 72) which he had transcribed from a copy belonging to Sir Robert Cotton¹² and one owned by Sir Symonds D'Ewes.¹³ Van Vliet did not possess a transcript of this glossary, and consistently referred to Somner's edition as “Ælfric's Glossary”. Even in his collation of SO with MS Junius 2 he consistently altered Junius's references to *Glossarium R.* into “Ælfric's Glossary”. The majority of Van Vliet's citations and references to it in SO can be traced to Junius's dictionary, but eight in SO and a few more in other works were derived from Somner's edition. Citations in MA and RS were derived from Junius's transcript of this glossary, now MS Junius 71.

Van Vliet possessed a copy of Abraham Wheelock's edition of the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, together with the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1644) (LMF 054).¹⁴ It was

¹⁰ Somner, *Dictionarium*, 1–52. It was copied from British Library, MS Royal 15 B xxii. See Julius Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar* (Berlin, 1880).

¹¹ Somner, *Dictionarium*, 53–80. Part of this glossary is now Antwerp, Museum Plantin Moretus, MS 16.2 (formerly 47), while another part is British Library, MS Add. 32246 (Ker, *Catalogue*, 1–3, no. 2). On this glossary, see Ladd, *passim*; Förster.

¹² British Library, MS Cotton Julius A. ii; Ker, *Catalogue*, 201–202, no. 158.

¹³ British Library, MS Harley 107; Ker, *Catalogue*, 303, no. 227, art. 1.

¹⁴ Wheelock's edition of the *Chronicle* was a collation of British Library, MS Cotton Otho B. xi and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 153; see Wheelock, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, 503–566; Adams, 54; Lutz, *Die Version G*, xxvii–xlx, lxxiii–lxxvi.

originally published in 1643, but Wheelock reissued it in the following year together with a reprint of William Lambarde's *Archaionomia*, first published in 1568, to which Wheelock added the *Canons of Edgar* and *Ælfric* in Old English and the Latin laws of William the Conqueror and Henry I, as well as a concise Old English–Latin glossary.¹⁵ For its time, the book presented an impressive collection of Old English historical and legal prose. The entire work was supplied with Latin translations, including Wheelock's own translations of the *Chronicles*. In his address to the reader, he gave a summary of the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, in which he also paid some attention to contributions by foreign scholars, including Johannes de Laet and Gerard Vossius.¹⁶ In order to facilitate the study of Old English, he printed a small passage on grammar, at the end.

Van Vliet's references to Bede in SO are all from Junius's dictionary, except one. Most of the references in his other studies presumably derive from Wheelock's edition, although many also occur in MSS Junius 2 and 3. He refers to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* twice, once, resulting from collation with Junius's dictionary, and once, independently. He took one citation from Wheelock's glossary, and Wheelock was also the source of a specimen of the Lord's Prayer in *'t Vader ons*.¹⁷ All citations from the Old English laws, to which both Junius and Van Vliet referred by means of LL. (*leges*) followed by the name of a king, stem from Wheelock's reprint of the *Archaionomia*.¹⁸ Part of the citations from the *Archaionomia* in SO are the result of collation with MS Junius 2, whereas the rest¹⁹ have presumably been copied directly from the edition.

Van Vliet relied even more heavily on Junius's Old English dictionary for his citations from and references to Old English psalms, even though he owned a copy of John Spelman's edition of an Old English Psalter (LMQ 166). Except for references to *generian* and *seo swyðre*,²⁰ all Psalter references in SO derive from MS Junius 2. The only other citation

¹⁵ Wheelock, *Archaionomia*, 217–226; Adams, 54.

¹⁶ See below, pp. 216–225.

¹⁷ Wheelock, *Archaionomia*, 495–496. See above, p. 153.

¹⁸ LL. *Edmundi*, LL. *Alvr.*, LL. *Can.*, LL. *Inae*, LL. *Edgari*, LL. *Aethelstani*, LL. *S. Edouardi*, *Can. Aelfr.*, LL. *Henr.*, LL. *Guilielmi*. Two citations are referred to as: LL. *Alvredi R. Polit.*, LL. *Pol.* The first (SO, L2') results from collation with Junius 2, and the second (MA, 37^{bs}) was copied from J109.

¹⁹ Van Vliet added to *Heregeat* (SO, X3'), LL. *Canuti* 123. The reference does not derive from MS Junius 2, where Junius wrote on f. 265'a: "heregeat est revelatio juxta Bromtonum LL. polit. Canuti regis § 68".

²⁰ SO, Rr3', Mm3'.

from an Old English Psalter is in VO. The ultimate source of the words is Spelman's edition. Junius collated his own copy of Spelman (MS Junius 33) with another manuscript, a Latin Psalter with continuous Old English glosses owned at the time by Isaac Vossius.²¹ Words added by Van Vliet based on MSS Junius 2 and 3 do not include material from this so-called Junius Psalter.

Van Vliet's citations of and references to the Old English Gospels also mostly derive from Junius's Old English dictionary. He referred to the Gospels by means of *NT* or a title of a Bible book. Although he frequently copied forms originating from the Lindisfarne and the Rushworth Gospels, which Junius marked *C* or *R* in his dictionary, this distinction was not usually copied by Van Vliet into SO. That he was familiar with the existence of these manuscripts can be seen from VO, where he referred to the Lindisfarne Gospels as "a certain Old written book from Mr. Cotton",²² and from LA, where he copied notes from Junius, mentioning both manuscripts. Van Vliet correctly quoted Old English *hlaf userne oferwistlic* from the Lindisfarne Gospels,²³ although his source for this information was probably MS Junius 42, the so-called *auctarium* containing philological commentary to Tatian, where, on ff. 39^r–42^v, Junius wrote a lengthy commentary on this issue.²⁴ Van Vliet also presented the Lord's Prayer from the Lindisfarne Gospels in its entirety from the defective version published by Camden, in which the same line read *uren hlaf oferwistlic*, but he did not realize the connection between his quotation from Camden and the correct version in the Junius manuscript. The remaining references to the Old English Gospels all occur in SO, and virtually all of them can be traced back to Junius's Old English dictionary. Van Vliet added the form *hal-pening*, which he had reconstructed from *hal-penige*, a form derived from Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 38,²⁵ which occurs neither in Somner's *Dictionarium* nor in MS Junius 2. He took two more forms from MS Hatton 38: *ge-ærwudest*, for which other manuscripts have *ge-ærwurdest* (Luke 2: 31), and *wær*, for which other manuscripts

²¹ MS Junius 27; Ker, *Catalogue*, 408–409, no. 335; Eduard Brenner, *Der altenglische Junius Psalter* (Heidelberg, 1908).

²² VO, 6, 13. "seecker Oud geschreven boeck van d'Heer Cotton".

²³ VO, 6.

²⁴ MS Junius 76 contains Junius's annotated excerpts from the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels.

²⁵ SO, X2^r. MS Hatton 38 contains the West Saxon Gospels; see Ker, *Catalogue*, 386–387, no. 325.

have *were* (*Luke* 5: 9).²⁶ Since Junius used MS Hatton 38 for the edition of the Old English Gospels, Van Vliet presumably copied these words directly from him.

There is no evidence that Van Vliet possessed the first printed edition of the Old English Gospels, which was published by John Foxe in 1571 at the instigation of Archbishop Parker,²⁷ but he owned two copies of Junius's 1665 edition, described in the auction catalogue as *Evangelia Gothica & Anglo Saxonica, per F. Junium* (LMQ 006, LMQ 167). There are no specific references to this book in Van Vliet's hand-written studies, but text items 1, 2, 3, and 29 from *'t Vader ons* derive from it. Since Van Vliet's book was published in 1664 and Junius's work not until 1665, Van Vliet must have had prior access to the Gospels, which he claimed to have been printed in 1663:

The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon four Gospels have been copied by the same Mr. Junius from the Codex Argenteus, and, with his new types, have been printed in quarto by Johannes van Esch at Dordrecht, in 1663.²⁸

In one instance, Van Vliet referred to Thomas Marshall's substantial philological observations on the Gospels, which follow the 1665 edition of the Gothic-Anglo-Saxon Gospels.²⁹ Marshall compiled a philological and theological commentary on the Gothic and Old English versions of the Gospels, in which he collated the text not only with the Greek and Vulgate versions but also with Hebrew and Coptic texts. However, Van Vliet's reference pertained to Old English *ganian* 'to yawn, to gape' on p. 449 of Marshall's observations on Gothic.

Junius's edition of the Biblical paraphrases in the Cædmon manuscript is not entered in the auction catalogue of Van Vliet's books. Junius had published his first edition of an Old English text in 1655, after the publication of the *Observationes in Willerami*. It is based on the so-called Caedmon manuscript (now MS Junius 11) given to Junius by Archbishop

²⁶ SO, p3^r, Rr4^r; Walter Skeat, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark...* (Cambridge, 1874), 54–55.

²⁷ Adams, 31–33; Skeat, xiv–xv.

²⁸ "De Gotse en Engels-Saxe IV. Euangelien zijn door den selven H^r. Junius ex Cod. Argenteo afgeschreven, ende met sijn Ed: nieuwe letteren tot Dordrecht bij Johannes van Esch 1663. gedaen drucken in 4^{to}"; VO, a4^r.

²⁹ *Thomae Mareschalli, Angli, Observationes de versione Gothica, nec non in ejusdem insigniores aliquot a textu Graeco discrepantias* and *Thomae Mareschalli, Angli, Observationes in versionem Anglo-Saxonicam*; in Junius, *Quatuor D.N.J.C. evangeliorum versiones*, 385–486, 487–565.

James Ussher in 1651.³⁰ All references to Cædmon in SO are the result of collation with MS Junius 2, but Van Vliet also referred to it in other studies for which he must have used the edition itself. There is no evidence to suggest that he consulted Junius's annotations to his Caedmon edition (now MS Junius 73*), although he mentioned these notes in his announcement of a second annotated edition in his list of Junius's publications:

Cædmon, or a very old, unique Anglo-Saxon elaboration of several places in the Holy Bible, printed, as the previous one, by the aforementioned Cunradi in quarto. However, it is held back until the commentary will also be completed.³¹

In his *Ormulum* glossaries, Van Vliet referred to Old English sources which he used independently of Junius. The *Canons of Edgar* from Wheelock's edition (1644) were used in MA. However, in the *Ormulum* glossary in LA, he added words from his glossary of what he considered to be Selden's edition of the *Canons of Edgar*.³² He may have used Francis Junius's copy (now MS Junius 18), in which the latter made numerous corrections to Selden's text. However, of all the corrections made by Junius only five can be traced in Van Vliet's glossary. In the same *Ormulum* glossary he also used Richard Verstegen's glossary of the *ancient English tounge* in the *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, the only substantial printed Old English glossary before the publication of Somner's *Dictionarium*.³³ In other studies, references pertain to Verstegen's etymology of *saxon*, which he linked to the word *seax* 'short sword, dagger', a suggestion Verstegen attributed to Justus Lipsius.³⁴ Verstegen's etymologies of the days of the week must have been the reason for Van Vliet to refer to him in relation to the Frisian names of the days of the week, although Verstegen's description of the pagan gods does not feature in Van Vliet's work.³⁵ It is not known how Van Vliet came by a copy of Verstegen's *Restitution*, which does not occur in the auction catalogue.

³⁰ The manuscript contains metrical paraphrases of most of *Genesis*, *Exodus* 13 and 14, *Daniel* 1–5, and the poems *Christ* and *Satan*; see Ker, *Catalogue*, 406–408, no. 334.

³¹ "CAEDMON, ofte een seer oude onvergelyckelijcke A-Saxe Uijtbreijdinge van verscheijden plaetsen in den H. Bijbel, bij den voorz. Cunradi als voren gedruckt in 4^o. Doch werdt noch ingehouden tot dat de Uijtleggingen mede sullen gereedt wesen."; VO, a4^v.

³² See above, p. 137.

³³ Verstegen, *Restitution*, 207–240.

³⁴ SO, Hh2^r; FG, 97^v; LA, 338^r. Verstegen, *Restitution*, 21–23.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 68–79. See Rolf H. Bremmer Jr., "The Anglo-Saxon Pantheon According to Richard Verstegen...", *The Recovery of Old English...*, Timothy Graham ed. (Kalamazoo, 1999), who discusses Verstegen's place in the development of Anglo-Saxon mythography.

Van Vliet's purchase of Somner's *Dictionarium* was probably the reason for his no longer using sources such as Selden's edition of the so-called *Canons of Edgar* and Verstegen's glossary. Although the number of references to Somner is relatively limited, this is not a clear indication of its influence, for much of the information derived from it was left un-referenced, including all but two of the Old English names of the months in BA. Somner's *Dictionarium* is therefore a much more important source of Old English words than would appear at first sight. Especially Old Frisian words in FG were often explained with its help, and, in some cases, the reader is referred to it for further information.

Van Vliet used books on history, law, and chorographic studies rather than text editions or lexicographical works for information about Old English topographical names. William Camden's *Remains*,³⁶ for instance, was the source of four paternosters in VO,³⁷ and probably also for two references in SO dealing with the etymology of place-names. However, although Van Vliet is known to have possessed a copy (LMQ 174) the last two references were not the result of direct consultation: the first was copied from MS Junius 2, while he attributed the second to an unspecified work by Junius. Camden's *Britannia* (London, 1586)³⁸ is referred to in LA for toponymical information. A history of Scotland by the famous humanist George Buchanan (1582) was also the source of a toponymical explanation of Old English *bricg*.³⁹ References in SO to Henry Spelman's *Archaeologus* (London, 1626)⁴⁰ relate to the meaning Old English *aclea*, and *hursta*.⁴¹ The first reference was derived from MS Junius 2, but the

³⁶ The book was reprinted in 1614, 1623, 1629, 1636, 1637, 1657, and it is not known which edition Van Vliet used. For my information I have used the 1637 reprint, which is the only copy available in the Netherlands.

³⁷ Nos. 5, 23, 24, 25. See above, pp. 155–156.

³⁸ The book was reprinted: London 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600, 1607; Frankfurt 1616. It is not known which edition Van Vliet possessed (LMO 087). The edition printed by George Bishop in London (1594) was supplied with an *Alphabetum Anglo-Saxonicum, hic apponendum curavimus, ut Saxonica nomina, quae passim in libro occurrunt facilius legantur*. In this edition Old English types were used, something which was left unmentioned by Adams, 174–175, in her *Chart of printers using Anglo-Saxon types*. In the 1617 reprint by the Amsterdam printer Willem Jansz., ordinary characters were used for Old English.

³⁹ SO, F2^r. The book was reprinted in Antwerp by G. van der Rade in 1583, and in Frankfurt 1584, 1594, 1624. It is not known which edition Van Vliet possessed (LMO 076).

⁴⁰ Spelman completed only half the work. The second volume was edited by William Dugdale and published with a reprint of the first volume under the title *Glossarium archaeologicum* in 1664.

⁴¹ SO, A2^r, Z1^r. Spelman, *Archaeologus*, 305, reads *Hursta, silva AS. Hurst*, which is not Old English but an Early Middle English reflex of Old English *Hyrst* 'hight, wood'.

second poses an interesting problem since Van Vliet did not possess a copy of Spelman's *Archaeologus*, nor is it listed among Junius's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. However, Isaac Vossius's copy contains Junius's annotations, and may have been in his library at some point.⁴² Junius's hand-written index on this book, which turned up among Van Vliet's papers,⁴³ has an entry on *hursta* but not on *aclea*.

If asked, Van Vliet himself would probably have considered his own *Ormulum* manuscript his most important source of Old English, for the number of citations exceed those of any source of Old English proper.⁴⁴ Often, he simply designated words from the *Ormulum AS. (Anglo-Saxonicum)*, as he also sometimes did to indicate unreferenced Old English words. Occasionally, he quoted phrases or passages from the text, but in the majority of cases his information was restricted to single words, for which he may well have used his own glossaries instead of the original text.⁴⁵

2. Old High German

Van Vliet's Old High German sources comprise much of the material available at the time, both early editions and works that were still in manuscript. His consultation method resembles that used for Old English, in that he consulted part of the works himself, whereas, for other material, he depended on Francis Junius's library and his generosity. The frequency of references to and quotations from Old High German sources is high throughout Van Vliet's work, and suggests that he had a considerable grasp of this language.

The first indication we have of this knowledge is when Van Vliet wrote to Isaac Vossius in July 1659 that he had compared passages from the *Ormulum* to corresponding parts from "Otfrid". His source was the first printed edition of the Old High German *Evangelienbuch* by Otfrid von

⁴² Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 43. The copy referred to is now Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 362 A2.

⁴³ LA, 339^r-350^r.

⁴⁴ Van Vliet did not distinguish between Orm's English and Old English from before the Norman conquest. See below, pp. 250-251.

⁴⁵ Apart from those in the *Ormulum* glossaries, I checked 180 words from the *Ormulum* with the glossary in Holt's edition and the list of unattested words published by Burchfield, "Ormulum". Although my list featured several words only published by Burchfield, Van Vliet's remaining studies did not yield any additional unequivocally unattested forms.

Weissenburg, edited by Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Basle, 1571). The frequency of the references to and quotations from Otfrid suggests that Van Vliet possessed a copy of the 1571 edition, although the auction catalogue does not list one. Junius owned an autograph transcript of the edition (MS Junius 17), as well as the printed edition itself (MS Junius 80), in which Van Vliet's hand can be seen in the *Alte Beicht*,⁴⁶ writing: "gipensti: gepeynsen; vovi Angl. Sax. gehatap vovete et scienter omisi. legendum bi minan wizzen; giburiti: gebeurde". In the section headed *Salomoni Episcopi*, there are some underlinings in red, a colour Van Vliet also used in MA.⁴⁷ How Van Vliet came to write in this book is not known. Although MS Junius 80 also contains underlinings, cross-references and some annotations by Junius, it is remarkable that very few of Junius's references point to his Old High German glossaries, which may imply that this edition was not Junius's immediate source for the glossaries. It is possible that Junius had originally worked from his transcript of the book, and that only later, after the Old High German glossaries had been completed, did he manage to lay his hands on a printed copy. Perhaps this copy came from Van Vliet's collection.

In the Old Frisian glossary in the margins of Craston's Greek-Latin lexicon, there are ten citations from Otfrid's Old High German prefatory epistle to Solomon,⁴⁸ but it is unclear why, in this particular glossary, Van Vliet only cited from such a small portion of the *Evangelienbuch*. When Van Vliet referred to the *index in Otfrido*, it is clear that he meant his own annotations in the glossary of words from Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, printed by Merula as an appendix to his edition of the Leiden Willeram.⁴⁹

Abbot Willeram's paraphrase of the *Song of Songs* is another Old High German text Van Vliet frequently consulted. He possessed two copies of the first edition published by Paullus Merula in 1598 (LMO 343, 349). The citations from Willeram are considerably less numerous than those from Otfrid, which supports my assumption that the Willeram copies were later acquisitions.⁵⁰

It cannot always be determined with certainty whether citations derive directly from the edition or from Junius's *Observationes in Willerami* (1655), which Van Vliet also used extensively to provide Old High

⁴⁶ Flacius Illyricus, δ7^v-ε1^r.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, ε1^r-ε5^v.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, ε1^r-ε5^v.

⁴⁹ Merula, 169-179. For the title of the glossary, see above, pp. 129-130.

⁵⁰ See also below, p. 299, for additional evidence.

German words, cognates from various other languages, and etymological information. Apart from the specific references to the *Observationes* in MR there are numerous citations and references without a page reference that can also be traced back to it. The book had been an important inspiration to him from the beginning of his Old Germanic studies. No other work among the sources was used to such an extent, and on so many different languages. The extent of Junius's knowledge made it an excellent introductory work for a beginner, and the variety of languages and observations that Van Vliet copied from it reflect its function as a micropaedia of Germanic studies. Not only did Junius's etymologies form an incentive, but the theoretical exposition at the beginning of the book also presented Van Vliet with novel ideas on the distribution and interrelation of the Old Germanic languages.⁵¹

One Old High German text Van Vliet consulted which had not yet been published was the translation of Tatian's *Harmonia evangelica*. Van Vliet made use of Junius's planned edition with the Latin version of Victor, Bishop of Capua, in parallel columns, interspersed with parts of the Old English and Gothic Gospels, and richly annotated by Junius.⁵² The number of references to Tatian, as well as the fact that he used Junius's commentary extensively for the compilation of VO, suggest that Junius lent him his Tatian manuscript, if only for a limited period. The Tatian quotations in MA demonstrate that Van Vliet used not only Junius's philological comments in MS Junius 13, but also the additional notes in MS Junius 42, entitled *Auctarium nostrarum in Tatianum notarum*.⁵³

The Latin hymns with Old High German glosses, also known as the *Murbach Hymnal*, occupy a prominent position among Van Vliet's Old High German sources.⁵⁴ In *'t Vader ons*, which includes the Lord's Prayer from the Hymns (text item 7), he referred to the manuscript as *MS. Voss*, indicating that it was still in Isaac Vossius's possession when he made the excerpt. Moreover, he proudly mentioned that he and Francis Junius had inspected it together at Vossius's house. As some of his citations show that he took remarkable liberties with the material, which may even be seen as amounting to carelessness, it is probable that he had made his own

⁵¹ See below, ch. VI, for the influence of Junius's *Observationes* on Van Vliet's work.

⁵² MS Junius 13, 5–248.

⁵³ The *Auctarium* contains sequels to the annotations to Tatian in MS Junius 13. The annotations have been cross-linked by references.

⁵⁴ Now MS Junius 25, 116–117, 122–129. See Edward Sievers, *Die Murbacher Hymnen...* (Halle, 1874), for an annotated edition and a concise grammar.

transcript.⁵⁵ Junius also owned a transcript of the hymns,⁵⁶ which is followed by an alphabetical index of words. However, MS Junius 74 does not show any sign that Van Vliet used it.

In addition to Old High German texts, Van Vliet made frequent use of Junius's Latin–Old High German glossaries, which were identified by means of the letter Junius gave to each glossary. Most of them had first been copied verbatim by Junius from various sources and were later expanded into revised glossaries in which each lemma was provided with extensive philological commentary. A number of what may well have been Junius's earlier (perhaps original) copies, still without any annotations, were given to Van Vliet.⁵⁷ In the majority of cases these unannotated glossaries were not the sources for Van Vliet's annotations, for he often alluded to Junius's extensive additions to the glossaries, for example: "*frevelhейd a fravaler, procax Gl. A. 15 et ibi Jun*".⁵⁸ Van Vliet referred to and quoted from Glossary A,⁵⁹ B,⁶⁰ C,⁶¹ an appendix to Glossary C,⁶² and Glossary D,⁶³ which Van Vliet also referred to as the "old French Dictionary".⁶⁴

⁵⁵ *Christ uns si muas/ lid joh unser si kalauba* (christ ioh uns MS, referred to by Van Vliet as "hymn vi, 6" but actually hymn iii, 6, in Sievers, *Die Murbacher Hymnen*, 33; *emmazzich* (emmazzic MS); *leoht emmazzig* (leohtes emmaziges MS); *farlaz uns schuldi* (sculdi MS); *lutmarrero stimni* (stimmu sprichit lutmarreru MS); *scinanter scinun emazzigemu* (scinanter scimin clizze emmazzigemu MS); *tago-rod* (tagarod MS); *tagostern* (tagastern MS); *Ther Engel imo hareta* (scinanter haret eingil MS); *uuihemo keiste* (uuihemo MS).

⁵⁶ MS Junius 74, 42–63, 64–76.

⁵⁷ Now LA, 138–239.

⁵⁸ MA, 8.

⁵⁹ MS Junius 116a, 3–93; Junius derived it from a manuscript belonging to Isaac Vossius; now MS Junius 25, 158^f–183^f. Van Vliet possessed a transcript of an unannotated version of this glossary; LA, 138^f–152^f.

⁶⁰ MS Junius 116a, 94–408; Junius derived it from a manuscript in the library of Isaac Vossius; now MS Junius 25, 87^v–107. In four cases Van Vliet referred to Junius's etymological commentary, but for most of the words the possibility cannot be excluded that he used the unannotated transcript of this glossary; LA, 153^f–180^v.

⁶¹ MS Junius 116b, 2–149; Its provenance is similar to the preceding glossary: MS Junius 25, 118–120. Van Vliet also possessed an unannotated transcript; LA, 181^f–198^v.

⁶² MS Junius 116b, 150–163; the provenance of this glossary, which contains Old High German glosses to the Rule of St. Benedict, is similar to Glossary C: MS Junius 25, 121.

⁶³ MS Junius 116c, 2–268; Junius's most substantial Latin–Old High German glossary, copied from a manuscript, headed *Nomenclator* (MS Junius 83, 49^v–71), presumably when it was still in the library of Isaac Vossius. Van Vliet also possessed an unannotated transcript (LA, 199^f–229^v), but in at least two instances it is evident that he used Junius's notes.

⁶⁴ The reference does not specify which of the Old High German glossaries is meant here. However, *uuide*, *salix*, *vimen*... can only pertain to Glossarium D. 33.

Van Vliet also makes references to “Glossary K.”, the so-called Keronian glossary of the Benedictine Rule. Junius’s annotated transcript was based on Melchior Goldast’s published version of this glossary, of which he possessed a copy (now MS Junius 20).⁶⁵ Van Vliet’s citations include Old High German words as well as Latin translations, which he must have derived from MS Junius 116e, for although he knew the Goldast material, there is no evidence that he owned the book.⁶⁶

Less prominent sources of Old High German include Conrad Gesner’s *Mithridates* (1555), to which Van Vliet referred twice in VO. The Swiss version of the *Lord’s Prayer* in VO ultimately derives from Gesner’s *Mithridates*,⁶⁷ but was also published in the second edition, as well as in Mylius’s *Lingua Belgica*.⁶⁸ If Van Vliet consulted a copy of Gesner’s work, it may well have been Junius’s copy of the 1555 edition of *Mithridates*, combined with the 1610 reprint (MS Junius 88). References to the “Psalm book of Notger of St. Gall”⁶⁹ were also copied from Junius.⁷⁰ In BA Van Vliet referred to Charlemagne in relation to the Old High German names of the months. Although these names had originally been published in Count Hermann von Neuenaar’s edition of Einhart’s *De vita et gestis Caroli Magni*—a book Van Vliet possessed (LMQ 162)—he obtained the words from a transcript of these names by Junius.⁷¹ He also copied the accompanying early Middle Dutch health rules from these Junius transcripts. Five references allude to the Old High German *Vita Annonis* or *Annolied*, a verse life of Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, first published by Martinus Opitius (Opitz) (Gdansk, 1639), of which Junius made a transcript.⁷² Of Van Vliet’s five references to the life of Hanno, three were copied from Junius.⁷³

⁶⁵ MS Junius 116e, 3–287. It was falsely attributed to a monk named Kero, and also sometimes named *Abrogans* after its first Latin entry; see De Boor, 16. The glossary was published by Goldast, *Alamannicarum rerum scriptores*, 94 [erroneously numbered 64]–122.

⁶⁶ See for example the note on Old High German *Gatilingon* ‘relatives’ (MR, 172^{bis}), to which Van Vliet added “*katilinga, parentes, ibi Jun.*”, and which Junius had recorded in MS Junius 116e, 194, as “*Parentes, katilinga Parentibus catilingun*”.

⁶⁷ Gesner, 41.

⁶⁸ Waser, 46; Mylius, 258.

⁶⁹ All references concern words from the *Lord’s Prayer*: *belaz, chorunga, erdo, huitu*.

⁷⁰ MS Junius 64, 16–30, at 21^r. See above, p. 154.

⁷¹ LA, 239^r.

⁷² MS Junius 16, 5–77.

⁷³ The reference in MA (6^{bis}) was copied from J109. The note on *winstra* (MA, 40^{bis}) can be found, with the exception of the runes, in MSS Junius 13, 80 (Tatian 33–3), and Junius 42, 64^r (the *Auctarium* to Tatian). Van Vliet may have been put on the track by

In addition to manuscripts, text editions and glossaries of Old High German texts, Van Vliet also derived Old High German words from historical and legal sources such as the Carolingian *Leges Alamannorum*,⁷⁴ the *Salic Laws*,⁷⁵ and/or explanatory glossaries to the *Salic Laws*.⁷⁶ However, it was Lindenbrog's glossary of difficult terms appended to the *Codex legum antiquarum* to which Van Vliet referred most often.⁷⁷ Words cited are mostly vernacular terms in Old Germanic laws such as *Sindschalck*, *Hrefwund*, *Leudes*, and *adelscalc*, as well as Latin loanwords of vernacular origin. The passage in the Germanic laws from which these terms originate was also frequently mentioned. Beside laws, he occasionally used the Franconian annals as a source of Old High German words.⁷⁸

Van Vliet made little use of Middle German dialects, but his awareness of the peculiar qualities of these dialects is testified by his choice of sources. For occasional Middle Low German citations, he used his copy of Eike von Repgow's *Sachsen Spiegel* (Leipzig, 1528) (LMF 006). For a Middle High German form he cited Melchior Goldast's *Paraeneticorum veterum*,⁷⁹ but the reference appears to be part of a larger comment derived from Junius's Glossary D. His study of the *Cologne Chronicle*⁸⁰ at Thomas Marshall's house in 1663 illustrates his interest in the Rhine Franconian dialect of Cologne.

Junius's note in the *Observationes*, 66: "Tat. xxxiii, 3 ubi vide a nobis annotata". The reference to MR (**5^{rbis}) cannot be traced to a secondary source; Junius gave seven longer quotations from the *Annolied* (*Observationes*, 9, 11, 20, 25, 41, 78–9, 169), this is not one of them. Van Vliet's observation in OW that *uuige* occurs frequently in the *Annolied* is probably based on the immediately preceding two attestations mentioned by Junius: "*ungeuuenit zi uuige* §. 8, 20"; *ibid.*, 119. To Old High German *fronisga* Van Vliet added: "*v. not. Opicij in §. 2 Annonis*"; MR, 172^{bis}.

⁷⁴ Published by Friedrich Lindenbrog, *Codex legum antiquarum* (Frankfurt, 359–390).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 311–356, and Wendelinus, 1–52.

⁷⁶ Wendelinus, 125–198; Vredius, *Historia comitum Flandriae*, 241–324. Van Vliet's combined edition of Vredius and Wendelinus is numbered LJF 037 in the auction catalogue. On Vredius, see below, pp. 205–207.

⁷⁷ Lindenbrog, *Codex legum antiquarum*, 1345–1499.

⁷⁸ Van Vliet copied the proper names, *Awin*, *Adhem* (OW, 21) from the *Annales Laurissenses*, or the Franconian annals from 741–829, part of which has been preserved in the *Codex Laureshamensis* (Lorsch), whence the annals derive the name. For an edition, see F. Kurze ed., *Annales regni Francorum...* (Hanover, 1895).

⁷⁹ Junius owned a copy, MS Junius 57.

⁸⁰ See above, pp. 144–145.

3. Gothic

For his Gothic citations Van Vliet depended almost entirely on Francis Junius, who had been the first really to fathom the language, after specimens of it had circulated among scholars for about a century.⁸¹ When Van Vliet and Junius started their regular contacts on Germanic studies in 1659, Junius had been engaged in the study of the Codex Argenteus since the spring of 1654 and had shown an interest in Gothic since 1651.⁸² However, by 1659 he had not yet produced any publications of substance on the subject, apart from a number of words in the *Observationes*, which also included a vindication of Gothic being the most ancient Germanic language. Hence, Gothic was as little known in 1659 as it had been for most of the seventeenth century, and for Van Vliet it must have been a totally novel field.

Whenever Van Vliet documented a Gothic word, he referred to the Codex Argenteus, the original manuscript, which is at present Uppsala University Library, DG 1. In 1654 the manuscript was shipped from Sweden to the Netherlands by Isaac Vossius, who had secured it from Queen Christina as part of a settlement over debts.⁸³ Once in the Netherlands, Vossius entrusted the Codex to Junius, who published the text in 1665. By that time the manuscript had been returned to Sweden, for Vossius had sold it to the Swedish chancellor Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie in 1662. For his edition of the Gospels and the *Gothicum glossarium* Junius made use of a transcript (now MS Junius 55), which contains the full text of the original manuscript.⁸⁴

Van Vliet's studies include a great number of citations and attestations from the Codex Argenteus. Well over a hundred Gothic cognates are included in VO, which can all be traced to Junius's *Gothicum glossarium*, published in 1665. As VO appeared a year earlier than Junius's *Glossarium*, Van Vliet must have used Junius's manuscript of the book instead of the printed version. Unfortunately, this printer's copy was apparently disposed of after the book had been printed, for no trace of it remains. In all likelihood, Van Vliet's two copies of the *Evangelia Gothica & Anglo*

⁸¹ See above, pp. 39–41.

⁸² See above, p. 95.

⁸³ Blok; Von Friesen and Grape. See above, p. 95.

⁸⁴ Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 140–141.

Saxonica, per F. Junium included the *Gothicum glossarium*, to which Van Vliet had contributed the dedication to Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie. In the rest of Van Vliet's studies, which predate the publication of the *Gothicum glossarium*, there are 132 explicit references to the Codex Argenteus, of which 103 are to be found in SO, eleven in PV, five in MA, eleven in FG, two in MR and one in OW.⁸⁵ However, the actual number of Gothic cognates is much greater, since, as a result of the fact that they were recognizable through the distinctive Gothic uncials, most of them were left unreferenced.

Although Van Vliet referred to the original manuscript, it is extremely unlikely that he ever borrowed it, let alone studied it independently. At the time, the precious book belonged to Isaac Vossius, who had entrusted it to his uncle Junius for the edition. Moreover, as it had taken Junius a considerable time to decipher its most complicated language and spelling,⁸⁶ it is utterly impossible that Van Vliet could have grasped the difficult language in a few weeks, or even months. The nature of Van Vliet's references indicate that he used different sources for his Gothic words. 73 of the references relate to the page numbers of the Codex Argenteus, while 45 refer to chapter and verse from the Bible. Only four of the references contain both indications. The source of the words referred to by chapters and verses from the Bible is difficult to pinpoint, for this is how Junius commonly referred to entries from the Gothic Bible in all his philological works. The only instances in which a source of such references can definitely be established are those references in SO which pertain to the Gothic entries in MSS Junius 2 and 3. Junius's autograph Old English dictionary contains a considerable number of Gothic entries with Greek translations, interspersed with the Old English. These formed part of Van Vliet's collation of his copy of Somner's *Dictionarium* with MSS Junius 2 and 3.

A possible source for the remaining references to the Codex Argenteus that has to be ruled out is Junius's transcript of the Codex Argenteus, now MS Junius 55. Van Vliet's remark to Nicholas Heinsius that: "we have the more essential [information] from the Gothic and Franconian Gospels, which the very kind and sincere Junius has generously shared with me!",

⁸⁵ There are four explicit references to Junius's *Gothicum glossarium* in these works.

⁸⁶ Junius himself alluded to this difficult process in his introduction *Lectori benevolo*; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***1-***2'. In his dedication to Magnus, Van Vliet mentioned him spending "tot impensas noctesque diesque labori"; *Ibid.*, *3'. [So many nights and days of work]

led Breuker to suggest that Junius lent it to Van Vliet in the winter of 1661–1662,⁸⁷ which may have coincided with the time when Van Vliet worked on his copy of Somner's *Dictionarium*. However, the page numbers in the transcript do not correspond to those of the manuscript at all.⁸⁸ The original folios in the Codex Argenteus had become partly mixed up,⁸⁹ and Junius had sorted out and pieced together what was preserved of the various Gospels, which he subsequently numbered separately. This numbering was repeated in the transcript, in which a second consecutive numbering is from a later date. Even if Van Vliet had the opportunity to consult this manuscript, it cannot have been the source for his references. The real source for most of Van Vliet's Gothic entries appears to be Junius's Gothic–Greek glossary in LA.⁹⁰ This glossary, which Junius compiled from the original Codex Argenteus before he sorted the folios, consists of eighteen quarto and eighteen octavo folios. It contains words from the Codex Argenteus with Greek translations, and page references to the original manuscript as well as references to the Bible. The eighteen quarto folios were interleaved with the octavo folios so that each large page is preceded or followed by a smaller page. The actual glossary, subdivided into sections referred to by chapters and verses from the Bible, is on the quarto pages, while additions to the main glossary fill the octavo pages. Corresponding sections have been indicated by means of a system of horizontal lines with different heads, giving the impression of pins being stuck between the lines, to be used as markers. By exactly redrawing the pins on the opposite octavo page, Junius was able to recognize immediately the section the additions belonged to, and he could therefore combine them with the original entries with very little trouble. The glossary is the result of Junius's early attempts to master the Gothic language, and

⁸⁷ Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 61. "Solidiora ex Gothicis Francisque habemus Euangeliiis, quae liberaliter mecum communicavit amicissimus & candidissimus Junius!"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 27–01–1662.

⁸⁸ MS Jun. 55 is numbered as follows: i–iii: blank; iv: A copy of James Ussher's letter to Junius; 1–27: {1–27} *Matthew*; 28: blank; 29–70: {1–42} *Mark*; 71–72: blank; 73–124: {1–52} *Luke*; 125–126: blank; 127–158: {1–32} *John*; 159: blank. ({}: Junius's numbering)

⁸⁹ Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 140. Van de Velde's assumption that MS Junius 55 is Junius's original transcript of the Codex Argenteus seems to me incorrect. The transcript is extremely well executed and shows very few erasures, and the whole gives the impression of having been made to serve as exemplar for the final edition. Otherwise, it seems unused. LA (325–334) contains Junius's transcripts of short passages from the Gothic Gospels, most of which he supplied with Greek translations. Erasures in simple words such as *andwairþja* indicate that here we are dealing with much earlier studies by Junius.

⁹⁰ LA, 287–323. See above, pp. 114–115.

must have been given to Jan van Vliet soon after the two engaged in regular correspondence. Junius had supplied all entries with Greek translations, which Van Vliet often reproduced in his annotations. As Junius's transcript (MS Junius 55) does not contain any Greek, it cannot have been Van Vliet's source.⁹¹ The glossary as well as the subsequent passages of Gothic text with Greek translations functioned as a primer and lexicographical tool for Van Vliet, who was hence able to use Gothic in his etymological studies without the difficulty of first having to understand the text.

In only one instance did Van Vliet refer to Jornandes's history of the Goths, which he presumably possessed in two editions: one by Hugo Grotius (Amsterdam, 1655) (LMO 198) and another by Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden, 1597) (LMO 161).⁹² It is almost certain that the latter copy also included Vulcanius's treatise, *De literis et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum*, which, although published as an independent work, was often bound together with Jornandes's history. Vulcanius had included Busbecq's list of Crimean Gothic words, to which Van Vliet made several references.⁹³ Although Busbecq's list was also published by Abrahamus Mylius in *De lingua Belgica*,⁹⁴ the word *schwalth*, which Van Vliet mentioned, does not occur in Mylius's list, but is included in that of Vulcanius. This makes it certain that Van Vliet used Vulcanius's edition, even though it is not mentioned as such in the auction catalogue.⁹⁵

4. Frisian

For most of his Old Frisian, Van Vliet had to resort to the two major texts at his disposal. Naturally, the bulk of his Old Frisian citations derive from

⁹¹ In Junius's manuscripts no other Gothic glossaries or text fragments with Greek translations have been preserved.

⁹² In his *Lexicon gothicum* (iv'), Van Vliet referred to Gothic *Anses*, which he glossed as *semi-dei*, and linked to Dutch *hanse*. See his dedication to Magnus in Junius's *Gothicum glossarium*, 8; Vulcanius, *De literis*, 41, 42.

⁹³ Vulcanius, *De literis*, 51–53. The references pertain to Crimean Gothic *statz*, *schwalth*, *fers*, *mahal*.

⁹⁴ Mylius, 48–49. On early publications of Crimean Gothic, see Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 57–65.

⁹⁵ The catalogue (LMD 161) reads: "Jornandes Epis. Ravennas de Origine Gothorum. &c". The '&c' indicates a combined edition. In most modern publications, the name 'Jordanes' is used; however, to avoid confusion I will retain 'Jornandes'.

the incunable edition of the Old Frisian laws. However, the number of references to the edition is comparatively limited, since he simply denoted material from this source as “Frisian”, without further specification. Sometimes, he specifically referred to the Latin glosses, which provide explanations of Old Frisian words or legal terms and occasionally include variant readings of words in the text. The introduction to the incunable edition, which formed part of his own copy (MA), but not of Junius’s (J109), was also referred to separately. Old Frisian words from MS Aysma were not cited as frequently as those from the edition. However, since they were consistently referred to as *LL. Fris. MS*, the number of references to MS Aysma is greater.

With the “Latin laws of the Frisians” Van Vliet indicated the Carolingian *Lex Frisionum*, published by Lindenbrog⁹⁶ and by Siccama.⁹⁷ That he compared these two editions can be seen from his observation on *thiubda*. Siccama argued in favour of a different spelling for this word, to which Van Vliet objected.⁹⁸ His familiarity with Siccama’s edition appears from the many references to it, even though most of these derived from Junius’s annotations to J109.

In addition to Old Frisian, he also quoted from contemporary Frisian sources, such as the 1641 Franeker edition of the Frisian proverbs. However, most of his Frisian words remain unreferenced.

5. Dutch

Although Dutch is the language Van Vliet used most frequently in his philological works, he hardly ever documented Dutch words with references. Most of the added forms were the product of his own knowledge of his native language and needed no further documentation. The oldest form of the Dutch language, now known as Old Low Franconian, also features in Van Vliet’s philological studies, in the form of citations from the

⁹⁶ Lindenbrog, *Codex legum antiquarum*, 489–508.

⁹⁷ Sibrandus Siccama, *Lex Frisionum sive antiquae Frisiorum leges* (Franeker, 1617).

⁹⁸ “Quod passim est de hisce legibus animadvertere, vitiosissime frisca vocabula,..., sunt expressa, rescribendum itaque thiafta”; Siccama, 38. [What can generally be observed about these laws...is that the Frisian words are very wrongly expressed, and therefore it is to be rewritten as *thiafta*.] Van Vliet reacted: “Tjeef... Hier van komt Thiubda, in de Latijnse wetten der Friesen Titulus III. Het welck by Siccama aldaer t’onrecht verandert werd in Thiafta”; PV, 387'. [Tjeef... is the origin of *Thiubda*, in the Latin laws of the Frisians, title III, which was wrongly changed to *Thiafta* by Siccama.]

Wachtendonk Psalter, to which he had access through several sources. The glosses in Lipsius's letter to Hendricus Schottius were published in 1602 as part of Lipsius's correspondence.⁹⁹ Abrahamus Mylius published Psalm 18,¹⁰⁰ which he claimed to have received from Lipsius himself, but which he probably obtained from Janus Dousa.¹⁰¹ The Flemish lawyer and philologist Olivarius Vredius also published Psalm 18, which he had copied from Mylius, as well as a selection of the glosses from Lipsius's letter.¹⁰² In the same year William Somner published an annotated version of Lipsius's glossary as an attachment with new page numbers (1–72) to Meric Casaubon's *De Quatuor linguis*.¹⁰³ Francis Junius made an elaborately annotated transcript of the glosses, headed: *Glossae veteres Alamannicae ex perantiqua psalmodum versione Theotisca collectae a Justo Lipsio*,¹⁰⁴ to which he referred as *Gl. Lipsii* or *Gl. L.* Although readily available, Old Low Franconian remained unrecognized as such by seventeenth-century philologists. Lipsius himself had originally classified it as *Saxonica* in his letter to Janus Dousa, but referred to these words as *Germanica* in his letter to Schottius,¹⁰⁵ a term William Somner repeated in the title of his glossary. Mylius referred to Psalm 18 from Lipsius's glosses as *vetus Belgica* 'Old Dutch', but his grounds for doing so were speculative. Even Francis Junius classified them as *Theotisca* and *Alamannica*.

The edition of Lipsius's letters does not occur in the auction catalogue of Van Vliet's books, and there are no other indications to suggest that he owned a copy. Although he possessed Mylius's *De Lingua Belgica* (LMQ 164), I have not found any indication of his using words from Mylius's edition of Psalm 18. He derived one reference from Somner's annotations in Casaubon's edition. Four references point to Vredius's edition, and three were demonstrably derived from Junius's annotations to Lipsius's glossary (MS Junius 116f).

For his occasional sources of Middle Dutch words, Van Vliet often used early editions of medieval chronicles and statute books. The most frequently consulted of this group is Melis Stoke's verse Chronicle of

⁹⁹ See Quak, *Studien*, 35–53, for a facsimile of the glosses in Lipsius's correspondence.

¹⁰⁰ Mylius, 152–155.

¹⁰¹ See above, p. 51, Lipsius's letter to Jan van Hout. This possibility was suggested to me by Chris Heesakkers.

¹⁰² Vredius, *Historia comitum Flandriae*, 324, App. xxii–xxviii.

¹⁰³ Entitled: *Guilielmi Somneri, Cantuariensis, ad verba vetera Germanica, a V. Cl. Justo Lipsio, Epist. Cent. iii. ad Belgas, Epist. XLIV collecta*.

¹⁰⁴ MS Junius 116f, 3–116.

¹⁰⁵ Quak, *Studien*, 39.

Holland, but an unspecified chronicle of Zeeland was also used.¹⁰⁶ Citations from medieval statutes and charters were occasionally derived from manuscripts such as the Breda *Houte Boecxke*¹⁰⁷ and a Middle Dutch legal agreement between the towns of Haarlem and Workum in MS Aysma.¹⁰⁸ In addition, he used editions of the statutes of Kennemerland (1652), Zeeland (1625), Amsterdam and Gooiland.¹⁰⁹

By far his most important source of archaic Dutch was Cornelis Kiliaan's *Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae*. Van Vliet possessed two copies (LMO 138, LMO 334), but the auction catalogue does not identify which editions.¹¹⁰ The first copy in the auction catalogue (LMO 138), described as *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum apud Plantinum*, was probably the annotated copy that is now in the Royal Library in The Hague, although the fact that it is not described as *Etymologicum* leaves open the possibility that it was one of the two earlier editions.¹¹¹ Van Vliet's relatively few annotations in it may indicate that he did not acquire it until well into the 1660s. I have not traced the other copy (LMO 334), described as *Diction. Teutonico Latinum*, and am uncertain which edition of Kiliaan's dictionary is meant here. However, since the majority of the information derived

¹⁰⁶ Presumably Van Vliet used Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Chronijck van Zeelandt* (Middelburg, 1644), although this book does not occur in the auction catalogue. Less likely options are: — *Chronijck van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Westvrieslandt* (Leyden, 1650) (LJQ 072); Wouter van Gouthoeven, *D' oude chronijcke ende historien van Hollandt...* (Dordrecht, 1636) (LMF 087).

¹⁰⁷ Breda, GA. Hi. 2.

¹⁰⁸ MS Junius 78, 277–280.

¹⁰⁹ The statutes of the district of Gooiland (North Holland) were published as an appendix to the Amsterdam statutes. There are no separate editions.

¹¹⁰ The *Etymologicum* is the third and last of three successive editions of a Dutch–Latin dictionary compiled by Kiliaan. The quantity of information supplied by Kiliaan's dictionaries increased with the editions. The first edition, entitled *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum* (Antwerp, 1574) contained 232 octavo pages of Dutch words with Latin translations, and with additional French and German cognates to the lemmata. The second, much increased edition (Antwerp, 1588), with the same title, offered 765 pages, which included archaic words and, in addition to French and German cognates, also Italian and Spanish ones. For the third edition (Antwerp, 1599), now entitled *Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae, sive Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, Kiliaan put more emphasis on the etymological aspect of the book. It contained about the same number of pages (764), but contained more text per page. Apart from cognates from a variety of Dutch dialects and modern languages, Kiliaan included in this edition also Old English and Old High German cognates, and even some Gothic ones. Reprints of Kiliaan's *Etymologicum* were produced in Alkmaar (1605, 1613), Amsterdam (1620), Utrecht (1623, 1632), Amsterdam (1642). See Van den Branden *et al.*, 78–128.

¹¹¹ See also above, pp. 122–123.

from Kiliaan in Van Vliet's notes is not to be found in the 1574 edition, this copy was presumably either the 1588 edition of the *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, or, more likely, one of the later reprints of the *Etymologicum*, since the name of Plantin, the original printer, is only mentioned in the first description.

Van Vliet considered Kiliaan an authoritative and valuable source, not only of words, but also of etymological knowledge, for his references to Kiliaan show that he had studied the work well. He also consulted the book for alternative etymologies, second opinions on etymologies, or to find support for his own assumptions by pointing out similar occurrences in Kiliaan. References to entries such as *maerschmalck* and *marck* show that the longer expositions, in which Kiliaan also referred to non-lexicographical sources, were attractive to him.¹¹² The importance of Kiliaan as a source increases once we realize that much of the information derived from this dictionary was left unaccounted for. For example, many of the unacknowledged Dutch names of the months in BA can be traced to Kiliaan: although he referred to Hadrianus Junius's *Nomenclator omnium rerum* as the source of *Horninck*, *Hoerninck* Ελαφηβολιών, in relation to 'February', the source was Kiliaan.¹¹³

6. Scandinavian

For his Old Icelandic and 'Runic' citations Van Vliet referred only to the works of Ole Worm. Besides the first edition of *RUNIR* (Amsterdam, 1636), he possessed *Specimen lexici runici* (1650), a lexicon of Icelandic words compiled by Magnus Olafson to help Worm with his study of Icelandic poetry. It was edited and published by Worm¹¹⁴ with a second edition of *RUNIR* (Copenhagen, 1651) (LMF 093). *RUNIR* also contained enough translated Icelandic to make it interesting as a store of vocabulary, and hence Van Vliet referred mostly to these two works. A single reference to Worm's *Monumentorum Danorum libri VI* was presumably derived from Junius's annotated copy of the book (now MS Junius 8). Apart from Worm's function as source of general information on runes, to which I will return in ch. v, Van Vliet used both books as lexicograph-

¹¹² Kiliaan, *Etymologicum*, 301, 304–305.

¹¹³ BA, 2; Kiliaan, *Etymologicum*, 200.

¹¹⁴ For more information, see Benediktsson, XVIII.

ical sources. In Van Vliet's entire work there are no references to Junius's Icelandic dictionaries in MSS Junius 36 and 120.

7. *Special groups*

If we survey all the works Van Vliet mentioned in his Germanic studies, three extra categories stand out: works on history, on chorography, and on etymology. Of these three, chorographical works are mainly sources of English place-names, and have been mentioned in the section on Old English sources. The historical sources consist of early editions of medieval chronicles and works by Renaissance historians based on such chronicles. The material used includes the *History of the Franks* by Aimoin of Fleury (960–1010),¹¹⁵ a Latin chronicle from the beginning of the world until 1256 by the thirteenth-century German abbot Albert von Stade,¹¹⁶ Lambert of Hersfeld's Latin chronicle, from an excerpt by Junius, headed *Lambertus Schafnaburgensis de rebus Germanorum ad annum MLXXV*,¹¹⁷ the Carolingian Annals of Fulda and Lorsch,¹¹⁸ Saxo Grammaticus's *Gesta Danorum*,¹¹⁹ and also Jornandes's *History of the Goths*. For the history of the Low Countries, he relied on the *Chronicon Belgicum magnum*,¹²⁰ and on Beka's *Historia veterum episcoporum Ultrajectinae sedis et comitum Hollandiae*.¹²¹ He also referred to contemporary works of history such as Janus Doussa's prose annals, published in 1601. All these historical sources

¹¹⁵ First published: Aimonius Floriacensis, *Aimoni Monachi historiae Francorum libri Quinque* (Paris, 1567). Rpt. Paris: 1602, 1613, 1641. Van Vliet owned a copy (LMO 170).

¹¹⁶ It was published by Reinerus Reineccius, *Chronicon Alberti Abbatis Stadensis...* (Helmstadt, 1587). The book does not occur in the auction catalogue.

¹¹⁷ MS Junius 16, 3–4. This concerns the chronicle by the eleventh-century monk Lambert of Asschaffenburg (Schafnaburgensis), also identified as coming from Hirsfeld, who drew up a German chronicle from the beginning of the world until 1077.

¹¹⁸ See above, p. 174, fn. 78, on the *Annales Laurissenses*. The Annals of Fulda were published by Marquard Freher, *Germanicarum rerum scriptores* (Frankfurt, 1600); Johannes Pistorius, *Rerum Germanicarum veteres iam primum publicati scriptores VI* (Frankfurt, 1607); Andre DuChesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores...* (Paris, 1636–1649); See Kurze, *Annales Regni Francorum*.

¹¹⁹ Published by P. Lonicerus, *Saxo Grammaticus...* (Frankfurt, 1576). Van Vliet owned a copy (LMF 036).

¹²⁰ Published by Pistorius.

¹²¹ The medieval Dutch chronicle by Johannes van der Beke (fl. 1350–1370), published by Suffridus Petrus *Historia veterum episcoporum Ultrajectinae* (Franeker, 1612). Van Vliet owned a copy (LMQ 152). The Utrecht historian Arnoldus Buchelius published a second edition, this time in folio, in 1643.

are in Latin and deal at least partly with the Carolingian era. Van Vliet used the information derived from these chronicles mostly to compare it with historical passages from the Old Frisian laws. He tried to match *Wideken*, a figure from the Old Frisian laws, with *Widukind*, the legendary leader of the Saxons,¹²² and attempted to date the occasion of the *Magnus Statutes* with the help of the Annals of Fulda and other medieval chronicles. The *holtena witta*, wooden collars purportedly worn by the Frisians as a sign of their subservience before their liberation by Charlemagne, also touched his imagination, and he consulted chronicles to see what was true of this. Although Van Vliet held that most of the “short historical narratives” in the incunable edition and MS Aysma were “nearly all fables”,¹²³ he still tried to filter from the material what he considered historically accurate. Occasionally, he quoted vernacular words from works of history, but this does not seem to have been the main purpose of their use. This comparison of Old Frisian texts with historical sources suggests that in his Frisian studies he attached greater importance to the contents of the texts than in the rest of his Germanic studies.

The works of Tacitus¹²⁴ constitute a separate category in the field of historical sources. Van Vliet referred to the *Annals*, the *Germania*, and the *Histories*, both for historical information, such as the construction of houses among Germanic tribes, and for the explanation of incidental terms. He applied Tacitus’s account of Germanic kingship to the history of Frisian tribes when he tried to explain Latin *Malorix* by quoting from Tacitus: *Qui nationem regebat*, to which he added *Frisorum* of his own accord.¹²⁵ The number of references to Tacitus is comparatively small, and

¹²² Van Vliet’s gloss was noted by H.D. Meijering, “Widekin thi forma asega”, in *Flecht op ‘e koai...*, T. Hoekema, Y. Poortinga and J. Spahr van der Hoek eds. (Groningen, 1970), 54, who points out that Van Vliet’s identification of Wideken with the Saxon leader Widukind is based on a common misconception, and that Van Vliet’s reference to the *Witkindus Monachus* mentioned by Lindenbrog in his *Prolegomena* to the *Codex Legum Antiquarum* pertains to Widukind of Corvey. Meijering does not mention Van Vliet as such but speaks of the glossator of MA.

¹²³ “historicae narratiunculae omnes fere fabulosae”.

¹²⁴ The large number of Tacitus editions make it very difficult to determine which ones Van Vliet used. The auction catalogue lists six books containing works by Tacitus (LMO 86, LMO 88, LMO 169, LMO 319, LMD 29, LMD 212). These include Justus Lipsius, *C. Cornelii Taciti Historiarum et Annalium libri...* (Antwerp, 1574), and reprinted in 1588, 1599, 1600, 1619, 1621 (it cannot be determined which edition Van Vliet owned); J. Freinsheim, *C. Cornelius Tacitus. Accurante M. Berneggero...* (Strasbourg, 1638); and Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Corn. Tacitus et in eum...observationes* (Leiden, 1643).

¹²⁵ VO, 13.

does not give evidence that Tacitus occupied an important place in his Germanic studies.

Works explicitly quoted for their etymological information include *Geographia sacra*¹²⁶ by the French Biblical scholar Samuel Bochart (Caen, 1646), Gilles Ménage's *Origines de la langue françoise* (Paris, 1650),¹²⁷ Meric Casaubon's *De quatuor linguis commentationis* (London, 1650),¹²⁸ Claudius Salmasius's *De Hellenistica commentarius* (Leiden, 1643)¹²⁹ and his *Plinianae Excercitationes* (Paris, 1629),¹³⁰ and Gerard Vossius's *De arte grammatica libri septem* (Amsterdam, 1635),¹³¹ *De Vitiis Sermonis* (Amsterdam, 1645),¹³² and the *Etymologicon linguae latinae* (London, 1662).¹³³ All but one or two references concern Van Vliet's etymologies of Germanic words, which were linked to etymological discussions in these works. His detailed knowledge of their contents appears from the fact that he managed to adduce minor remarks from random places in these books. The scarcity of references to these books indicates that Van Vliet used them very selectively, even though they were without exception influential contemporary works. Whether this correctly reflects their influence on Van Vliet's studies is an issue to which I will return in chapter v. The fact that, from the vast collection of classical studies at his disposal, he referred to these particular works in his Germanic studies suggests that he considered them of particular significance for the etymology of Germanic languages.

8. Concluding remarks

My survey of Van Vliet's documentation of references and sources reveals a considerable discrepancy between the two. The number of references exceeds the number of identifiable sources by far, creating the impression of a much wider consultation of primary sources than was actually the

¹²⁶ The book does not occur in the auction catalogue, but Isaac Vossius owned a copy, which is now in Leiden University Library.

¹²⁷ The book is not in the auction catalogue, but Isaac Vossius owned a copy, which is now in Leiden University Library.

¹²⁸ Van Vliet owned a copy (LMO 339).

¹²⁹ Van Vliet owned a copy (LMO 090).

¹³⁰ Van Vliet owned a copy (LMF 068).

¹³¹ Van Vliet owned a copy (LMQ 063).

¹³² Van Vliet owned a copy (LMQ 047).

¹³³ Van Vliet owned a copy (LMF 052).

case. This discrepancy is mainly due to his using works which were themselves already a collection of material with references to their own sources. Although this method of documentation is indefensible in modern scholarship, it was perfectly respectable in the seventeenth century. Moreover, we must bear in mind that many of Van Vliet's works were not destined for publication. For Van Vliet personally, the ultimate derivation of a word or phrase counted as more important than the immediate source, because the function of the reference was to identify the word as part of the process of illustrating its origin. Indicating any intermediate stage contributed nothing to this process. Telling examples of this are the collation of SO with MSS Junius 2 and 3, the diverse use of Junius's Old High German glossaries, and the references to the Codex Argenteus for most Gothic words, all of which originate from Francis Junius's library, although this was only recorded in a minority of cases. On the other hand, some sources which he consulted frequently, such as dictionaries, are hardly ever mentioned, perhaps because dictionaries often failed to provide essential information about the ultimate origin of a lemma. To the modern researcher, this method of referencing and documenting sources creates an image of wider orientation and more impressive learning than is actually the case, and must have implications for research into references.

The identification of Van Vliet's sources also reveals that, in a way, he was rather selective in picking his material. His distrust of many of his predecessors and contemporaries, which he voiced repeatedly in his correspondence, is echoed by his selection of works to be used in his studies. There is clearly a predilection for textual sources and lexicographical material, either from his own library or from that of Francis Junius. Not only is the number of remaining sources limited in comparison to what it might have been, there is also a considerable difference in frequency between his use of textual and lexicographical sources and his citations from the works of other scholars. Many of the works of sixteenth-century humanists are never mentioned, and even distinguished scholars such as Gerard Vossius, Claudius Salmasius, and Meric Casaubon, whose works occasionally included Old Germanic languages, were only given scant reference. The criteria which have led to this selection of material were, on the one hand, a desire to stick to original texts (*ad fontes*), and, on the other hand, a high level of dependence on and admiration of Francis Junius.

The degree of dependence on Junius's works and library is generally very high, but varies among the different languages. For his sources of

Old English, Van Vliet relied heavily on Junius: a considerable number of references to Old English texts actually result from his collation of SO with MSS Junius 2 and 3. Even for texts at Van Vliet's disposal, consultation of Junius's dictionary exceeds his independent consultation of these works. The only deviation in this pattern are his citations from his *Ormulum* manuscript. For Old High German, there is no such single lexicographical work from Junius's library from which Van Vliet could benefit. Although he frequently used Junius's Old High German glossaries, there is no evidence to suggest that the majority of citations from Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* and Willeram's paraphrase of the *Song of Songs* are not the result of Van Vliet's own study of the original editions. References to Tatian's *Harmonia Evangelica* naturally derive from Junius's copy, but appear mostly to have been his own work, and this also holds good for his consultation of Junius's annotations to Tatian and the *Auctarium*. Moreover, it seems likely that Van Vliet had his own transcript of the *Murbach Hymns*. Naturally, all Gothic material was supplied by Junius, who initiated him in this language. Although Van Vliet was aware of earlier fragmentary editions of Gothic text samples by Vulcanius, Gruterus and Becanus, these are never referred to, signifying again a conscious choice. Oddly enough, only a small number of his citations of Lipsius's Old Low Franconian glosses was derived from Junius; the rest originates from other sources. Various interesting incunable dictionaries of the Dutch language, to which Junius occasionally referred in, for example, the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, are never mentioned. For his Old Frisian studies, Van Vliet initially depended completely on Junius's library, but this ended when he managed to acquire a copy of the incunable edition for himself. Although he used Junius's etymological remarks in J109, they only form a tiny minority in relation to his own observations on Frisian. Finally, there is very little evidence that Van Vliet relied on Junius's library for his sources of Icelandic, for which he relied almost entirely on the works of Ole Worm. To put it in a nutshell, it can be maintained without exaggeration that Van Vliet depended on the library of Francis Junius for more than 50 per cent of his material for his Old Germanic studies. However, this does not imply that he always merely copied what Junius had written or told him to write.

In my discussion of Van Vliet's references I have made a broad division between textual material from Old Germanic languages, historical sources and etymological sources, of which the first group is clearly the most prominent. This group can be further subdivided into texts, either

editions or manuscripts of complete texts, and lexicographical sources. The references suggest a preference for lexicographical sources. This is clearly visible in his Old English studies, where he predominantly used MSS Junius 2 and 3, Verstegen's glossary, and Somner's *Dictionarium*. In the case of the *Ormulum*, where no lexicographical tool was available, he compiled one himself. Of course, I have to allow for the fact that most of the Old English text editions in Van Vliet's library, Wheelock's edition of *Bede* and the *Archaionomia*, Spelman's *Psalter*, and Junius's Old English *Gospels*, have not been preserved. However, the only Old English text at Van Vliet's disposal that has been traced, Ælfric's *Grammar* in Somner's edition, remains unannotated. He made ample use of Junius's Old High German glossaries as well as Lindenbrog's glossary of terms from the Old Germanic laws, although Old High German texts remained to an important extent the object of his research. His initial knowledge of Gothic was entirely based on a glossary, and to increase his knowledge, Van Vliet himself also started the compilation of a Gothic lexicon. Although he studied Old Frisian from the original manuscripts, and in spite of the apparent emphasis on the contents of Old Frisian texts, he started glossaries of Old Frisian twice over. For archaic Dutch, Kiliaan's dictionary was the most important source. For Icelandic there was the help of Worm's lexicon. Although Van Vliet's references suggest the opposite, quantitatively texts are much less important than lexicographical sources.

The discovery and clarification of references and evaluation of sources provides a great deal of information about the principles and motives of Van Vliet's study of the Old Germanic languages. Nevertheless, it does not account for the entire scholarly background of such a study. In this chapter, I have emphasized the frequency of occurrence and the various applications of certain sources. Although works that occur only once or twice may indicate a conscious choice on the part of the author not to use them, the presence of such a source also indicates that it belonged to Van Vliet's intellectual resources. For any humanist scholar, an assessment of the sources is therefore incomplete without a survey of contemporary scholarly trends and influences.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONTEMPORARY SCHOLARS AND INFLUENCES

The only influence on his work Jan van Vliet fully acknowledged is that of Francis Junius. However, it would be incorrect to attribute the origin of Van Vliet's interest in Old Germanic languages and the rudiments of his knowledge to his contacts with Junius, which only started in 1659. Reading Van Vliet's July 1659 letter to Isaac Vossius,¹ in which he declared he had compared the *Ormulum* with Otfrid von Weissenburg's *Evangelienbuch*, it becomes immediately evident that Van Vliet had already turned his attention to the study both of the vernacular and of Old Germanic languages. This letter proves that, at that time, he knew enough Old English and Old High German to be able to make the comparison, and to understand, as he clearly did, that not only Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* but also the *Ormulum* was in verse. In England, this discovery apparently was not made before Thomas Tyrerwhit (1730–1786) discussed the *Ormulum* in his essay upon the language and versification of Chaucer's language. Even Hickes, who printed an *Ormulum* fragment in his *Thesaurus* failed to notice the significance of the punctuation, which clearly indicates the verse.²

As the beginning of his Germanic studies preceded his acquaintance with Junius, then, the origins of his interests have to be looked for in trends and movements which were current in the scholarly world as Van Vliet knew it. With the above observations in mind, I have divided the influences on Van Vliet's Germanic studies into three components, on a chronological basis. Each component plays a different role in Van Vliet's work, because he regarded some influences as more topical than others. The first component is the general background to Germanic scholarship, which I have described in chapter I. In this chapter, I will discuss the second component, which deals with some of the relevant contemporary trends in scholarship and with scholars who involved Old Germanic languages in their works. Their effect dates mostly from before 1659 and his

¹ See above, p. 132.

² Thomas Tyrerwhit, *The Canterbury Tales of Geoffrey Chaucer* (London, 1775), vol. IV, 64, 98. In the first edition of the *Ormulum*, White (1852) rightly observed that neither Hickes nor Wanley recognized its metrical form, which received little attention from other scholars until Tyrerwhit's discussion; see Holt, lvii–lviii.

collaboration with Junius, although it is not always possible to determine when certain impressions first started to play a part. The third component, the role of Francis Junius, will be treated in the following chapter. For this chapter, I have used not only direct references in Van Vliet's works and correspondence, but also the auction catalogue of his library. In addition, I have examined scholarly currents in the seventeenth century, to see whether there are overt similarities with Van Vliet's work. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a selective chronology of Old Germanic language studies in the middle of the seventeenth century, in which I will start from Van Vliet's perspective. Obviously, within the scope of this book it is impossible to give a complete description of the study of Old Germanic languages and of comparative language studies in this period, nor do I intend to be exhaustive in discussing the achievements of scholars who worked in this field of study.

Evidence for Van Vliet's awareness of the work of contemporaries and predecessors appears from the part of his correspondence in which he defended his preferences for the vernacular and for his Old Germanic studies against Nicholas Heinsius. When, because of Van Vliet's investigations into the origins of the vernacular, Heinsius accused Van Vliet of service to the very barbarians who had once caused the ruin of the Roman Empire, the latter refuted his friend's allegations by reminding him that Varro as well as Greek etymologists had also investigated their mother tongues in their own times. Varro had even been named the wisest of the Romans. In imitation of them, Heinsius's own father had also gained renown by his work on the cultivation of his own native language. To confront his friend with further evidence Van Vliet continued:

What will you say about Vulcanius, Vossius, Pontanus, Mylius, Schottus? (for I will not add Becanus and Schrieckius to them). What about the great Scaliger, the great Casaubon, who were nevertheless immigrants? I expect that what you will say is that these men were not very lucky in their study (because they [still] lacked the gems that we have at our disposal nowadays). For they never even understood the slightest bit of Anglo-Saxon, which our ancestors spoke here, and which they enforced on the subjugated British a thousand years ago, and also little of Franconian or ancient Germanic (I am leaving out the Germans, Goldast, Freher and others) but least of the Gothic language. They had hardly ever heard about Runic and Cambric. However, good man, you cannot deny how much trouble this great

man took to obtain Icelandic, on account of this person's own letters³, which you quoted to me.⁴

In remarks of a similar tone, Van Vliet stated repeatedly that it was not his wish to imitate Boxhorn or Becanus or other such "phantasms or sphinxes", but that he took a different approach under the guidance of Francis Junius.⁵ In his dedication to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, he repeated the argument that many very learned men had tried to do the same as Junius, but that despite their praiseworthy efforts (*nec sine laude*), they had been unsuccessful as a result of their defective methods. As examples of these "unsuccessful" scholars he mentioned "the great" Hugo Grotius, Beatus Rhenanus,⁶ Sigismund Gelenius, and Hadrianus Junius.⁷ Many of the scholars mentioned in Van Vliet's studies and correspondence also occur in the auction catalogue of his books. Of them, Cornelis Kiliaan, Claudius Salmasius, Olivarius Vredius, and Gerard Vossius have to be counted as influential.

1. *The native language*

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century witnessed a tradition of language comparison in the Low Countries which served mainly to enhance the status of Dutch. Authors who aimed to establish the antiquity of Dutch in relation to other languages featured prominently in Van Vliet's arguments in defence of Heinsius's allegations. As usual in almost any contemporary discussion of such studies, Van Vliet brought Johannes

³ In a previous letter Heinsius had referred to Scaliger's correspondence, in reaction to Van Vliet's request for an Icelandic bible; Nicholas Heinsius to Van Vliet, 28-01-1662.

⁴ "Quid de Vulcanio, Vossio, Pontano, Mylio, Scotto? (nam Becanum Schrieckiumque his accensere nolo) quid de ipso Scaligero, ipso Casaubono, qui tamen peregrini erant, dicturus sis, exspecto, idem studium (quia tamen hisce, quae nunc in manibus habemus, cimeliis destituti erant,) infelicius professis. Nam Anglo-Saxonicae, qualem proavi nostri hîc locuti sunt, & Britannis devictis ante M. annos tradidere, ne γρὺ quidem, Francicae sive veteris Teutonicae parum satis (Germanos omitto, Goldastum, Freherum aliosque) Gothicae autem linguae vel minimum intellexerunt. Runicam & Cambricam vix fando audiverunt. Islandicam autem quantopere ὁ δεινὰ expetierit, ex iisdem, quas mihi allegas, epistolis ejus ipse tumet ignorare non potes, bone Vir"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 29-05-1662.

⁵ "Noli credere me Boxhornium, aut Becanum, aut aliasve Chimaeras aut Sphyngas velle imitari"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 27-01-1662; "Noli credere me Boxhornios aut Becanos velle imitari"; Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 25-01-1662.

⁶ See above, pp. 16, 34-36.

⁷ See above, p. 50.

Goropius Becanus on stage as a negative example. Van Vliet was well aware of Becanus's style of etymologising, as he possessed a copy of the *Opera* (Antwerp, 1580) (LMF 086). The first part, *Hermathena*, contains many of Becanus's etymologies of monosyllabic Dutch words, in confirmation of his theories on monosyllabicity and the degree of perfection in language postulated in his *Origines Antwerpianae* (Antwerp, 1569).⁸ In a letter to Gronovius dating from 1646, Van Vliet remarked that the origins of the Dutch language had been investigated by Adrianus Schrieckius,⁹ whose book, *Originum, rerumque Celticarum et Belgicarum libri XIII*, he apparently knew, although it does not occur in the auction catalogue. The reference to Schrieckius indicates that in 1646 he was already aware of the book and of the issues it addressed.

In his assessment of his predecessors, Van Vliet assigned Becanus and Schrieckius to one and the same category, for which, needless to say, he did not have a high regard. It is remarkable that in his repudiation of the "phantasms" of earlier comparative philology, Van Vliet left Abraham Mylius's *De lingua Belgica* (Leiden, 1612) out of account, however much its approach is reminiscent of that of Schrieckius and Becanus. The reason for Van Vliet to raise Mylius above the standards of Becanus and Schrieckius may be that the book was well received by renowned seventeenth-century scholars such as Daniel Heinsius, Bonaventura Vulcanius, and Petrus Scriverius, whose laudatory poems enhanced its authority. It is possible that Van Vliet acquired Mylius's book after he had mentioned Schrieckius in 1646, but it was certainly before 1656, when he referred to it in his annotations to a Middle Dutch book of hours and prayers. Although Van Vliet repudiated the methods of Becanus and Schrieckius, their ideas may well have been conducive to his strong opinions on the Dutch language, which he expressed in 1655.¹⁰

There are no indications from the early part of his career that Van Vliet had any particular interest in his maternal language. The earliest written evidence for his use of Dutch is part of the journal of his tour of Friesland and the eastern Dutch provinces in 1643, in which the events of four days were described in Dutch.¹¹ There is little difference between the quality of his Dutch in the journal and that of his English, French, and

⁸ Van der Wal, "Early Language Typology", 97–99; —, *De moedertaal centraal*, 24, 44–45. See above, pp. 46–47.

⁹ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 31–12–1646.

¹⁰ Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 20–04–1655.

¹¹ LA, 261', 264', 266', published in Brouwer and Campbell, 156, 159.

Italian, which was judged as inaccurate.¹² The syntax is loose and paratactic, and several words display pronunciation spelling.¹³ Even though spelling conventions were unsettled, some of the forms he used would have been spelled differently in contemporary literary writing, which was often looked at for a standard.¹⁴

It is only from 1653 onwards that there are indications that Van Vliet attempted to refine his use of Dutch. He wrote to Heinsius that in order to practise his skills in the vernacular he occasionally composed poetry in Dutch, which had greatly pleased his uncle Jacob Cats: "From time to time I therefore compose poems in the vernacular, one of which pleased our Cats so much, that he has ordered it to be attached to his works, which are collected in one volume".¹⁵ A hitherto unknown Dutch distich by Van Vliet in honour of Constantine Huygens's new mansion, Hofwijck, appeared in a letter to Gronovius.¹⁶ Another demonstration of Van Vliet's vernacular muse was part of his *Parnassus Bredanus* (1653), in the form of a Dutch poem dedicated to Mary Stuart. A further unpublished example is his poem in celebration of Constantine Huygens's book *Coren-Bloemen* (Amsterdam, 1658), which he added to a letter to Huygens's son Lodewijck.¹⁷ Van Vliet himself never provided a reason for his change of interest, but, from his correspondence, it seems evident that Jacob Cats played a role in it. By 1653, Cats had already published a number of books in Dutch, and had become one of the main literary figures in the Republic. That Cats invited his nephew to make a contribution to one of his books demonstrates his awareness of Van Vliet's talents in this field. It is not unlikely that Van Vliet's attempts to write Dutch verse increased his interest in more literary currents in vernacular writing, and made him more aware of the position of Dutch.

¹² *Ibid.*, 148.

¹³ For example *quamp*, *hooffstat*, *afgebroocke*; LA, 261^v, 264^r.

¹⁴ On seventeenth-century spelling, see D.M. Bakker and G. Dibbets, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse taalkunde* (Den Bosch, 1977), 39–42; Weijnen, 12–15.

¹⁵ "Jam enim & poemata subinde vernaculo pango: quorum unum Catsio nostro ita placuit, ut operibus suis, quae in unum nunc colliguntur volumen, praefigi jussuerit"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 22–06–1655. See also Van Vliet to Gronovius, 27–05–1653. The poem was published in Jacob Cats, *Ouderdom, buytenleven, en hofgedachten op Sorghvliet* (Amsterdam, 1656), **1^r–**3^v.

¹⁶ "Wie heeft er ooit een hofte soo net, als dees between? // Wijckt, hoven, voor Hofwijck; Hofwijck en wijckt voor gheen"; Van Vliet to Gronovius, 27–05–1653.

¹⁷ This poem was sent to Huygens's son Lodewijck with a letter; see Van Vliet to Lodewijck Huygens, 29–09–1658.

Van Vliet promulgated his new interest in his mother tongue in his 'Dutch' passage in the letter to Nicholas Heinsius in 1655,¹⁸ in which he defended his step by claiming the "need for more and better practice in his native language".¹⁹ Heinsius's extremely negative reaction to Van Vliet's experiment appears from Van Vliet's reply, in which he put up a more constructive defence of his use of Dutch in his letters. This reply provides a clear illustration of Van Vliet's opinions in 1655. He claimed that he had selected the vernacular despite its inferiority to Latin, and underlined the need for further cultivation of the language, attributing its shortcomings to the fact that cultured Dutchmen often neglected their native language.

And, to be honest with you, it is not so that I should prefer the vernacular, nor will I, albeit to my regret, deny that our language is still scurvy. However, I was of the opinion that this should not be attributed to the defectiveness of the vernacular language, but to us, who, while we cultivate foreign languages, so to speak, neglect our own maternal and indigenous language, and leave it uncared for.²⁰

He then compared the Dutch situation to that of other European nations, which he considered to be well ahead of the Dutch Republic:

About a century ago, the Italians perfected their language to such an extent that in my opinion, it lags only an instant behind the elegance of old Latium. Hence, the great Tasso, imitator of Maro, Guarini, who followed Terence, Ariosto, who successfully imitated your Ovid, and the remaining poets, whom one need not be ashamed of. The French even now still devote themselves zealously to polishing their language. Nor do the English cease to enrich the variety of languages, and, so to speak, the blend, by absorbing into their language those elements which are most refined in each of the separate dialects. Only we consider it beneath our dignity to embellish our masculine indigenous language, which is not in need of foreign frills.²¹

¹⁸ See above, p. 85.

¹⁹ "te weten om eenmaal mijn moederlyke taal wat beter en meer te oefenen"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 20-04-1655.

²⁰ "Nec ego, ut ingenue tecum agam, vernaculas praetulerim; nec scabram adhuc nostram esse linguam, tametsi invitatus, diffitear. Cogitabam nihilominus non sermonis vernaculo id vitio vertendum, sed nobis, dum exoticas linguas excolimus, maternam et indigenam, ut ita loquar, negligimus atque incultam reliquimus"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 22-06-1655.

²¹ "Itali jam ante saeculum fere hodiernum, quo utuntur, idioma suum ita perpolivere, ut vel minimum, meo judicio, absit a prisci Latii nitore. Hinc ille Tasso Maronis aemulus, Guarini Terentium imitatus. Ariosto felix Ovidii tui affectator, & reliqui non poenitendi sane

The quotation formed a reference to the flowering of Renaissance literature in England, France, and Italy, with which Van Vliet was very familiar, as appears from the auction catalogue. In 1653 Van Vliet already read and wrote French, English, Italian, and Spanish, and his awareness of the literature of these countries is reflected by the number of literary works he possessed. These included *Prose della volgar lingua* by Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), which defended the value of the vernacular.²² The idea of using the situation abroad as an example to further the use of the vernacular at home was not original, but Van Vliet's extraordinary knowledge of foreign languages made him a good judge.²³

Van Vliet evidently measured the degree of refinement of a language according to its applicability to poetry. He singled out Jacob Cats²⁴ and Daniel Heinsius as the pioneers of true Renaissance poetry in Holland, because they had tried to catch up with the arrears, by bringing the Dutch language into shape:

It seems clear to me that Cats alone started this with sufficient success. I consider your father to be the next to have used pure language in his minor Dutch works. For the others, (I would say, apart from a few great men [whom Van Vliet apparently did not dare to offend]), have tried to coarsen the language of their ancestors, rather than refine it.²⁵

It is remarkable that Van Vliet deemed Daniel Heinsius second to Jacob Cats, since Heinsius's *Nederduytsche poemata*, a collection of Dutch verse published in 1616, were regarded as a great national achievement. Its editor, the antiquarian Petrus Scriverius (1576–1660), praised the Dutch language exuberantly in his dedication and called for further elevation of

vates. Galli etiamnum linguae suae elimandae studio inhaerent. Nec Angli cessant πολυγλωττίαν linguarumque, ut ita dicam, farraginem augere; quaecunque in unaquaque delicatiora sunt mutata dialecto in suam asciscendo. Nos soli masculam nostram ἀντόχθονα, nec exotici fuci egentem indignam censemus, quam exornemus"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 22–06–1655.

²² Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*, 6. See the auction catalogue (LMO 387).

²³ See Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*, 40, who asserts that the situation in other countries was repeatedly emphasized in Dutch publications.

²⁴ Jacob Cats had been inspired by Stevin's mathematical ideas and advocated their application to literary Dutch; see Jeroen Jansen, *Brevitas...* (Hilversum, 1995), 296.

²⁵ "Unus mihi visus est satis feliciter id inchoasse Catsius. Parentem tuum proximum constituo, qui liquido usus est sermone in παρέργοις suis Belgicis. Nam reliqui (pace magnorum aliquot virorum dixerim) exasperare potius sermonem patrium, quam ut expolirent tentavere"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 22–06–1655.

the language with the help of learning.²⁶ Van Vliet's opinion seems to be inspired by Scriverius's views, and gives evidence of a favourable attitude to Dutch. In the same letter to Nicholas Heinsius, he made this attitude explicit and referred to the journals which Heinsius, as Dutch ambassador in Sweden, had to despatch to the States General, each week.

This motivation recently incited me to write to you in Dutch, as I have also done to others; the more so because I noticed that you had successfully started to carry out the task you had taken upon yourself, and because I was of the opinion that this aim befitted this task. ... And yet it did not seem to me an unworthy compensation for my effort, that I should strive to speak and write properly to a Dutchman [i.e. Heinsius], unlike the common rabble in the Netherlands.²⁷

This final statement, with which Van Vliet concluded his argument, clearly indicates that his aspiration to improve the Dutch language was the reason for writing to Heinsius in the vernacular. An important argument in his motivation is reserved for literature, which could only reach its full bloom when the language was refined enough to express sophisticated thought. It seems, therefore, that his initial interest in Dutch was literary, and resulted from his knowledge of contemporary European languages and literature.

There is no direct evidence to suggest that Van Vliet was inspired by ideas about the status and ideal form of the Dutch language formulated in the last quarter of the sixteenth century by Simon Stevin and Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel, and which lived on in the trivium tradition.²⁸ The auction catalogue of Van Vliet's books lists neither works by Stevin or Spiegel, nor any contemporary Dutch grammars and spelling guides, and we may assume therefore that Van Vliet did not possess such books.²⁹ He

²⁶ See Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*, 38–39, who illustrates the correspondence between Scriverius's text and the *Twe-spraack vande Nederduytsche letterkunst*; and P. Tuynman, "Petrus Scriverius 12 January 1576–30 April 1660", *Quaerendo* 7 (1977), 4–45, on Scriverius. A revised edition of the *Nederduytsche poemata* was published in 1622. Van Vliet owned one of these editions (LMQ 115).

²⁷ "Haec me ratio impulerat, ut nuper Belgice ad te scriberem; ut et alios. Eo magis, quod et felicissime te hanc Sparten, quam nactus es, exornare videbam, & provinciae isti conveniens studium censebam. ... Nec tamen indignum operae pretium videbatur, quod Belgae bene & praeter vulgus Belgice & loqui & scribere anniterer"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 22–06–1655.

²⁸ See above, pp. 52–53; and also Van den Branden, *Het streven naar verheerlijking*.

²⁹ For a survey of seventeenth-century grammars and spelling guides, see Bakker and Dibbets, 39–63.

neither cites nor refers to them in his studies and correspondence. Brevity as a stylistic ideal, which was connected with the aspect of monosyllabicity considered so essential by Stevin and his followers, was never mentioned by Van Vliet.³⁰ The reason for him never even to mention Stevin and Spiegel may well be that they had argued for Dutch to be used in traditional Latin domains, such as university education. This was probably unacceptable to the Latinist Van Vliet, even though he professed to be in favour of the use of Dutch in correspondence. It was certainly sacrilege to his Latinist friends, Heinsius and Gronovius.³¹ Van Vliet's opinions show that a positive attitude to the vernacular need not always involve approval of indiscriminately extending the use of the mother tongue to traditionally Latin domains.³² Van Vliet was undoubtedly aware of current and past efforts to raise the status of Dutch and standardise the language, for his aims and those of the trivium grammarians are too similar to allow for his ignorance of this movement. He shared their wish to improve the Dutch language and elevate it to the level of sophisticated use in polite society, but he differed from them in that he never supported the education of the trivium in Dutch, in writing. Moreover, Van Vliet never explicitly formulated criteria to which the language had to conform in order to arrive at a greater degree of perfection.

Van Vliet's awareness of contemporary trends also appears from his observations on the language in P.C. Hooft's *Hendrik de Grote*, which show an acute awareness of currents and processes within Dutch. However, it was not the stylistic innovation characteristic of Hooft's prose that Van Vliet commented on, but his choice of diction. The use of archaic language was more attractive to him than Hooft's concise eloquence

³⁰ Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*, 43–52, lists criteria that were applied to judge the superiority or inferiority of a language. The age of a language was considered essential, but also the degree of purity (absence of recognizable loanwords) was important. Other, more linguistic criteria listed by Van der Wal include euphony, the presence of a case system, and the capacity to form compounds. How easy it was to learn a language could also determine its status. However, monosyllabicity counted as the most important criterion. See Jansen, 288–310, on the relation between monosyllabicity and literary currents in the seventeenth century.

³¹ See Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*, 36–37; Peeters, "Linguistics and the Trivium", 21, who demonstrate that Spiegel and Stevin argued for education in the vernacular at the University of Leiden. However, not all humanists were opposed to the role of the vernacular in scholarly use. Jansen, 274–275, cites Gerard Johannes Vossius, who was of the opinion that it was useful to practise one's own language.

³² See Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*, 36–38.

which struck a chord with so many of his contemporaries.³³ Increasingly also, a sense of purism emerged in Van Vliet's observations, which, in his analysis of Hooft's language, he expressed in a class of words designated as *Barbara* 'barbarian'. As early as 1655, he had stated that the Dutch language was "not in need of foreign frills".³⁴

Although Van Vliet's positive attitude to Dutch was related to contemporary attempts at standardization of the vernacular, not all of the four characteristics of standardization mentioned by Van der Wal: "selection, codification, elaboration, and acceptance"³⁵ are recognizable in Van Vliet's work. He never aimed at selecting a particular dialect or sociolect, nor did he make his preferences explicit, and he appears only partially in favour of extending the domains in which the Dutch language was to be used. His activities mainly had to do with codification, albeit differently from contemporary grammarians.

2. History and law

Instead of resorting to the trivium tradition, Van Vliet turned to history to contribute to the elevation of his native language. His nomination as town clerk of Breda in 1653 had introduced him to Dutch charters and statutes in the town archives. His predecessor, Adriaan Havermans, had left behind a substantial collection of studies regarding the history of Breda, and Van Vliet set out to continue his work.³⁶ That he wasted no time in becoming acquainted with local historical documents appears from a title-page he made for the *Houte Boeckxke*, on which he wrote his signature followed by "1653", the year of his nomination.³⁷ His remark that the earliest statutes in the manuscript had been entered in 1373 demonstrates that he had already read it. He also signed additional articles copied from loose notes, and rubrics provided to various articles, in 1654. On his sketch of the old seal of the town, which he had copied from an original charter, he commented that its inscription varied from the one in

³³ See Jansen, 202–214, on Hooft's style, which he characterises as *bondige welsprekendheid* 'concise eloquence', and on the impact on his contemporaries.

³⁴ See above, p. 194.

³⁵ See Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*, 1–2, 23–41, who explains these characteristics and applies them to the situation in the Netherlands.

³⁶ Brekelmans, 141.

³⁷ Breda, GA. Hi 02.

the parchment statute-book, in that it was “written in old faded characters, somewhat different in spelling”.³⁸ The remark, which he signed on 19 June 1654, is the first datable example of Van Vliet’s interest in Middle Dutch spelling.

From the above dates it is evident that his occupation with contemporary Dutch coincided with a period of intense antiquarian interests, in which he studied the Breda archives with the ultimate intention to write a history, a chorography, and a statute-book. In his enthusiasm, he wrote to Nicholas Heinsius: “I am entirely taken up by arranging the annals of Breda. I do everything in the vernacular.”³⁹ For Van Vliet, this must have been something relatively new, for I have found no earlier indications of his concern with antiquarian matters. Although antiquarianism had enjoyed a certain popularity in Holland in the first half of the seventeenth century, with the works of, for example, Arnoldus Buchelius (1565–1641) and Petrus Scriverius, the auction catalogue of Van Vliet’s books does not list any such works. Van Vliet’s sudden interest in history is not only important on account of his encounter with Dutch history and involvement with Middle Dutch, but also because it turned his attention to the period preceding that described in local written documents. Writing in a humanist frame of mind, Van Vliet naturally wished to include the Dark Ages and the Carolingian period in his history—the first date mentioned in the *Bredaesche chronijck* is 422 AD—and the sources he consulted include late classical and early medieval chronicles, often available in early humanist editions. The object of his research consequently came to embrace the period of the early Franks and Frisians. Coupled with a chorographic interest involving proper names and place-names, these studies almost inevitably stimulated his curiosity into the languages of the early Germanic period. The use of such sources provides firm evidence that the study of history, which antedated his known work on Old Germanic languages, formed an important prelude to his later activities.

Initially, Van Vliet’s contacts with Middle Dutch were restricted to charters and statutes, and stemmed from the wish to know more about Breda’s history and legal history, but the antiquated language of these documents must soon have encouraged him to further reading and study. It is uncertain whether his acquisition in 1656 of a Middle Dutch book of

³⁸ “zijnde geschreven met oude caducque letteren, wat verschillende in ’t spellen...”; Breda, GA. I, xxxi.

³⁹ See Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 31–01–1655: “Ego interim in annalibus Bredanis concinnandis totus sum. Vernacula omnia agam”.

hours and prayers⁴⁰ constituted his first purchase of a Middle Dutch manuscript. The manuscript shows signs of collation, which may be an indication that he already owned more than one Middle Dutch manuscript at the time.⁴¹ However, the Brussels manuscript is the only one that gives evidence of Van Vliet's vernacular studies. His annotations have to be dated shortly after 1656, a year after his defence of Dutch in his letter to Heinsius. His approach to the language demonstrates his priorities at the time. He searched for words and forms which appeared to him archaic, or which seemed to be spelled differently from contemporary practice, and gave short glosses or explanations. This work preceded any involvement with other Germanic languages, but the first steps into that direction had been taken.

A tradition of Middle Dutch studies was virtually non-existent in the seventeenth century, as most texts were still unknown to contemporary scholars, and those that were known excited little enthusiasm. What interest there was in Middle Dutch is hardly acknowledged in the historiography of Dutch philology, with the exception of the reprints of Kiliaan's *Etymologicum*.⁴² In his survey of Middle Dutch studies in the Netherlands, De Buck remarked that Middle Dutch chronicles were the earliest texts to receive scholarly attention. For the rest, De Buck claimed: "in his *Geschiede der germanischen Philologie*, [Hermann] Paul distinguishes two currents in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: a scholarly antiquarian and a practical current, and this distinction also holds good for the Low Countries. Becanus, Abraham van der Myle, and Franciscus Junius belong to the former; they have been of no significance for Middle Dutch".⁴³ However, in *De lingua Belgica* Mylius quoted a psalm from a Middle Dutch manuscript he owned, and Francis Junius discovered a set of early Middle Dutch health rules in the margins of a medieval manu-

⁴⁰ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, HS 12080; see above, p. 112.

⁴¹ The auction catalogue lists seven Dutch manuscripts, which include three prayer books (LMD 014, 077, 105), a Psalter (LMD 030), a book on *wildernissen* 'waste lands' (1468) (LMQ 173), and two unidentified manuscripts (LMQ 160, 172).

⁴² See Van den Branden *et al.*

⁴³ "Paul onderscheidt in zijn *Geschiede der germanischen Philologie* voor het tijdperk der zestiende en zeventiende eeuw twee richtingen, een geleerde-antiquarische en een praktische, en deze onderscheiding geldt ook voor de Nederlanden. Tot de eerste richting behooren Goropius Becanus, Abraham van der Myle, Franciscus Junius; voor het Middel-nederlands zijn zij van geen betekenis geweest"; Hendrik de Buck, *De studie van het Middel-nederlands...* (Groningen, 1931), 14. Bakker and Dibbets, 67, begin their survey of Dutch studies in a historical perspective with the eighteenth-century scholars, Lambert ten Kate and Balthasar Huydekoper.

script, which he copied for Van Vliet.⁴⁴ Van Vliet's publication of these health rules and the two specimens of the Lord's Prayer in *'t Vader ons*, his study of the book of hours and prayers, and his publication of part of the Breda statutes, in which he specifically directed the attention of the reader to the archaic language of his excerpts, are seventeenth-century examples of genuine philological interest in Middle Dutch.

De Buck's remark that Middle Dutch chronicles were the earliest texts to receive attention applies perfectly to Van Vliet's situation, for he possessed three editions of chronicles,⁴⁵ and quoted repeatedly from the Middle Dutch *Rijmkroniek* 'rhyming chronicle', his oldest text. He knew that the chronicle had been written by Melis Stoke (?1235–?1305), something that neither the first edition (1591) nor the second one (1620) mentioned. Melis Stoke's authorship had been discovered by the historian Petrus Scriverius, who found the name on a piece of parchment containing an unknown part of the chronicle, sown to the back of another manuscript. Scriverius first announced his find in his edition of *Het oude Goudsche kronycxken*, published posthumously in 1663.⁴⁶ However, nearly twenty years earlier Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn had remarked in his *Chronijck van Zeelandt*: "let us here listen to Melis Stock, the poet of the old Rhyming Chronicle...",⁴⁷ which sets 1644 as a *terminus ante quem* for Scriverius's discovery. Boxhorn's observation must have been Van Vliet's source for Melis Stoke's authorship.

The first edition of this chronicle, published in Amsterdam in 1591, had been instigated by the grammarian Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel, who was the author of the *Twe-spraak der Nederduitsche letterkunst*, the first grammar of Dutch ever printed. In his *Ad lectorem*, Spiegel referred to Middle Dutch orthographical conventions by stating that he had consulted two manuscript copies which differed in spelling. He emphasized that the first version had been faithfully copied, not only according to the words, but also according to the spelling, "so that the book might be useful to

⁴⁴ MS Junius 83, 4'-9'.

⁴⁵ Boxhorn, *Chronijck van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Westvrieslandt* (LJQ 072); [Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel], *Hollanische rijm-kroniek...* (Amsterdam, 1591) (LJQ 153); Wouter van Gouthoeven's chronicle (LMF 072) is strictly speaking not medieval, for it is a revised edition of the *Divisie-kroniek* compiled by Cornelis Aurelius in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. See Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 317–320.

⁴⁶ Petrus Scriverius, *Het oude Goudsche kronycxken...* (Amsterdam, 1663), 251.

⁴⁷ "Laet ons hier van Melis Stock, den dichter van de Oude Hollandsche Rhijm-Chronijck, eens hooren spreken..."; Boxhorn 1644, *Chronijck van Zeelandt*, II, 26. See also Hugo Peeters, *De Rijmkroniek van Holland, haar auteur Melis Stoke* (Antwerpen, 1966).

those who attempt to structure the Dutch language”.⁴⁸ Spiegel had requested his friend, the humanist poet and historian Janus Dousa (1545–1604), to write an introduction, which Dousa addressed to Spiegel, suggesting that Spiegel had himself edited the chronicle.⁴⁹ It is significant that when Dousa stated the reasons for the edition, he began with the proposition that the chronicle was meant as a token of honour to the Dutch language, and only secondly as a record of the valiant deeds of the Counts of Holland.⁵⁰ Moreover, Dousa emphasized the absence of hybrid words which tainted the contemporary language, and offered the chronicle as a store of archaic vocabulary. That Van Vliet agreed with the views on Middle Dutch expressed by Spiegel and Dousa appears from his quotations from the *Rijmkroniek*, which concern not only historical information, but also Middle Dutch cognates. In Van Vliet’s interleaved copy of the incunable edition of the Frisian laws, two excerpts of 8 and 6 lines respectively illustrating the role of the Frisians in history were copied almost verbatim from the edition. Most of the other references pertain to the language.⁵¹

⁴⁸ “...en hebben wy maer twee verscheiden af-schriften gesien/ ’t ene voor 202. jaeren ghescreven... T’ ander/ naderhant met veranderinge in ’t spelden/ doch en weet niet wanneer... Maer ’t eerste hebben wy niet alleen na de woorden maer ook na de letteren/ soo veel doenlijk is geweest in alles nageprint. op dat ook die ons tale beginnen te bouwen/ hoedanige speldinge doen gebruiklyk sy geweest/ hier soudén mogen hebben”; [Spiegel], *Hollantsche rijm-kroniek*, vi”.

⁴⁹ See Heesakkers, 45–46, who concludes from the preface to Dousa’s *Annales* that Dousa only wrote the introduction to the *Rijmkroniek*, and that Spiegel was the editor, not Dousa, as others have suggested.

⁵⁰ “Deur u gebracht te sijn; eerst, onse Tael te eeren; // Voorts om de feyten groot van wapenen te leeren // Van onsen graven coen. ... Gheen bastart-Duyts hier speurt // Deur welcke huydensdaechs ons spraeck zo wert besmeurt // ... Veel oude woorden oock ghy in dit Bouck zult vinnen // By ons in wangebruyck, oft onkund deur verloop // Des tijts gecomen”; [Spiegel], *Hollantsche rijm-kroniek*, iii”. [Accomplished by you, first to honour our language; secondly to learn of the noble feats of our brave counts. ... Here, you will not see bastard Dutch, which contaminates our present-day language so much. You will also find many archaic words, which we abuse, or have forgotten altogether through the lapse of time.]

⁵¹ In Van Vliet’s planned edition of Frisian proverbs (PV) two lines are repeated from the passage on the Frisians, but *onschamel* ‘shameless’ is connected to Frisian *onschaemele* ‘shameless’, and *eygen* ‘unfree’ to Frisian *ayn* ‘own, property’; Feitsma, *Oude Friesche spreek-woorden*, 132, 141. In his interleaved copy of Merula’s *Willeram* edition, Van Vliet commented that the *Rijmkroniek* often had *meente* ‘community’ instead of *gemeente* and *bede* ‘prayer, request’ instead of *gebede*; MR, 44^{bis}. In his Frisian glossary in Lambeth Palace MS 783, 32, Old Frisian *armborst* ‘fracture of the arm’ is linked to the chronicle, and in his annotations to Junius’s *Observationes in Willeram* Old High German *uuige*

The earliest editions of Middle Dutch texts include not only chronicles, but also the first publications of Dutch regional statutory law, which were often purely utilitarian editions of statutes still used in local law courts. Nevertheless, the anonymous editor of the *Generale privilegien en handvesten van Kennemerland* (1652) noticed the importance of the text for archaic vocabulary, and emphasized the need for a commentary:

And since the book contains old meaningful words, which in the course of time have vanished from common knowledge, I have investigated them to the best of my ability, and I will continue to do so...as to remove misunderstanding, which is often the result of the similarity of names in incongruous matters, for similar matters are not of one nature or meaning everywhere, although they seem to have the same pronunciation.⁵²

Although the editor may well have referred to the legal interpretation of antiquated terms, the implications of his remarks for a philologist with a general interest in archaic diction are clear.⁵³ Van Vliet, who incidentally referred to the *Keuren van Kennemerland* in *'t Recht van successie* as dating from 1297, also used the book as a source of cognate forms in his glossary of Old Frisian.⁵⁴

The idea of including the vocabulary of statutes in his studies is directly related to Van Vliet's study of the Breda statutes and his plans to publish a comprehensive edition. That he saw the need for such an edition was the result of his view of the legal system in the Netherlands at the

'fight, battle' is said to feature frequently in the *Rijmkroniek*; OW, 119.

⁵² "En aengesien in 't selve oude sin rijke woorden werden bevonden, die door verloop des tijds ghenoeghsaem uyt de kennisse zijn gheraecht, soo hebbe nae vermoghen daerop ondersoek ghedaen, ende noch voorts trachte doen, die ick den Liefhebberen tot verlichtinge met annotatien opte Hantvesten, ende volkomen beschrijvinge des landts (soo 't Godt belieft) niet lange sal onthouden, omme daer door wech te nemen 't mistverstandt, 't welck deckmaels spruyt uyt de gelijckheyt van namen in ongelijcke saken; want overal en zijn de selve niet van eende nature ofte beteyckeninge, al schijnense van eene resonnantie te wesen"; [Van Santen], *4^{r+v}.

⁵³ An international parallel is *De verborum significatione* by John Skene, first published in Edinburgh in 1597, in which the terminology of Scots law was explained. Van Vliet knew of the existence of this book, and in 1662 requested Christiaan Huygens to procure it for him: "Scenæi de Verb. Signif. liber nuper Londini prodiit. Si eum Bruno vel affinis ejus habeat, jube mittat, vel Londino mitti jubeat"; Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 25-01-1662. [*De verborum significatione* by Skene recently appeared in London. If Bruno or his relative should have it, order them to send it, or to order it to be sent from London.] A copy of the book is listed in the auction catalogue (LJQ 139), which must be the 1641 edition printed in London, the only reprint of the book made during Van Vliet's life.

⁵⁴ RS, 16. See above, p. 139.

time, and the fact that he had made an academic study of law. The lectures in Leiden were largely based on the *Mos Gallicus*,⁵⁵ which resulted in a systematic philological study of the legal texts under investigation. However, the law studied was Roman law; the regional laws and statutes did not form part of the university curriculum, and unfamiliarity with these texts as well as with the many different versions of statutes in circulation made law an intricate matter and often gave rise to disputes.⁵⁶ Van Vliet referred explicitly to such disputes in his preface to *'t Recht van successie*, in which he defended the compilation of this work on the grounds that the town's statutes gave rise to differences in interpretation: "... I have seen and experienced many striking inconsistencies and differences (concerning the old bye-laws),..."⁵⁷ In Van Vliet's case the application of the *Mos Gallicus* to vernacular legal texts led to a new edition in which the need to go *ad fontes* induced him to conduct a search for the most authentic version of the statutes, and to explain obscure terminology adequately. The study of *artes* and law, as Van Vliet had completed in Leiden, proved to be the ideal combination for such work.

Although, in principle, this edition of the Breda statutes formed part of his intentions to publish the history, law, and chorography of Breda, the antiquarian nature of Van Vliet's law studies constituted a bridge to his interest in Old Germanic. His explanatory note in a legal treatise on the term *genecht* 'court-day',⁵⁸ illustrates this connection between law studies and language. In the explanation, Van Vliet compared the two differently spelled dialect forms, *genecht* and *genacht*, but also illustrated the meaning of the word from a historical point of view. His sources show that he consulted no fewer than three glossaries on the Salic laws: Lindenbrog (1613), Wendelinus (1649) and Vredius (1650), each of which explained the many terms of vernacular origin that occurred in the Latin text. In *'t Recht van successie*, Van Vliet also provided ample evidence of the value assigned to the Germanic laws.⁵⁹ Moreover, it appeared only

⁵⁵ See above, p. 11.

⁵⁶ M. Ahsmann, *Collegia en colleges...* (Leiden, 1990), gives a survey of the study of law at Leiden in the beginning of the seventeenth century in chapter 3 of her book, and argues, 253–254, that students leaving university were almost entirely unprepared for the practical situation they were to face as lawyers. See also her comments on p. 256, fn. 145.

⁵⁷ "Nadienick indese vijfthien jaren,...,meenighwerven merckelijcke onbestendigheden ende verschillen (...over de oude Stads ende Land-Rechten ontstaen) gesien ende onder-vonden hebbe..."; RS, *1^rν.

⁵⁸ See above, p. 122.

⁵⁹ See below, pp. 323–325.

a very small step from the Latin corpus to the vernacular Frisian and Anglo-Saxon laws. Previous scholars in this field, such as Sibrandus Siccam⁶⁰ and John Selden had already paved the way. Especially Selden, a man of universal learning, had been an example of a lawyer who established truth and authority in both his legal and historical studies by means of philology.⁶¹ Even more than history, it was the study of law, and particularly the involvement of early medieval law, which introduced Van Vliet to Old Germanic languages.

3. Vredius, Boxhorn, and De Laet

That the study of history and law were conducive to an interest in Old Germanic languages is illustrated in the work of the Flemish humanist and lawyer Olivarius Vredius (1596–1652),⁶² to whom Van Vliet frequently referred. Vredius, who was born in Bruges, came from a wealthy family; he initially intended to become a Jesuit, but eventually studied law at Douai. Back in Bruges, Vredius worked as a magistrate, and became alderman and later mayor of the town. In his spare time, he composed poetry in Flemish and studied the history of Flanders. Vredius's studies resulted in the publication of works on the genealogy and seals of the Counts of Flanders in 1639 and 1642, followed, in 1650, by his *Historia comitum Flandriae* in which he sought to prove that the Flemings were the original Franks. The book is divided into two parts: the first dealing with the history of Flanders and the second with what Vredius termed the Flemish language, i.e. Dutch. Vredius explained how the Franks in France gradually adopted Vulgar Latin whereas the original Franks, whom he situated in Flanders—calling it *Francia prima*—had retained the original Franconian language. As an example, he adduced the text of the Salic laws, which he claimed had been written in the vernacular in pagan times, and which had later been translated into Latin. The native origin of the laws was evident from the many vernacular terms, a great number of which he explained in a long glossary. In his attempts to root Franconian firmly in the Germanic language family, Vredius claimed:

⁶⁰ Siccam collated the Carolingian *Lex Frisionum* with a vernacular text from MS Jus Municipale Frisonum.

⁶¹ Fussner, 275–287.

⁶² On Vredius, whose Dutch name was De Wree, see *BNB*, VI, 19–24; *Bibliographie universelle*, II, 580–581.

There is no better way to determine the origin of a people than by means of language. If it is one and the same among several nations, no matter how far these nations are apart, it proves beyond doubt that they are of one and the same true origin.⁶³

In order to support his claims, Vredius quoted a passage from Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*,⁶⁴ some of the Old High German Tatian excerpts as published by Vulcanius (1597),⁶⁵ and Pontanus (1616),⁶⁶ Psalm 18 from the Wachtendonck Psalter glosses and the Lord's Prayer in Old High German, printed previously by Mylius (1612),⁶⁷ a passage from Willeram's Old High German paraphrase of the *Song of songs* from Merula's edition, and Einhart's list of the months and winds in Old High German.⁶⁸ Moreover, he mentioned Bonaventura Vulcanius's work in *De literis* (1597), and the accounts of Johannes Trithemius's first discoveries of Old High German. In an appendix, Vredius gave further evidence of his studies of Old Germanic languages in the form of a number of glossaries. He printed Lipsius's Old Low Franconian Psalter glosses from the letter to Hendrik Schottius,⁶⁹ Merula's *Expositio Alamannica veterum Francicorum...*⁷⁰ and a lengthy glossary to Merula's edition of *Willeram*.⁷¹

Vredius reported that this glossary to Willeram had been supplied to him by a certain Michael Bultelius from Ypres—presumably Étienne-Michel Bulteel (†1658), lord of Nieppe and alderman of Ypres⁷²—who was “not only a scholar of Latin and Greek, but also greatly learned in his mother tongue”. Their cooperation indicates that Vredius himself was not the only scholar in the Southern Netherlands interested in Germanic languages. The glossary shows that Bultelius and Vredius worked on Merula's edition of Willeram more than five years before Junius published his etymological studies in the *Observationes in Willeram*. It is therefore the first extensive philological study of the Leiden Willeram text after its

⁶³ “Gentium originis nullum certius argumentum est linguâ, quæ si inter plures, quovis etiam locorum intervallo disjunctas nationes, una sit, eademque, unam quoque, ac eandem iis genuinam esse originem indubiè convincit”; Vredius, *Historia comitum Flandriae*, 237.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 238.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 328–334.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 334–339.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 339–343.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 346–351.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, xxii–xxviii.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, xxviii–xxx. See above, pp. 129–130.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, xxx–xliii.

⁷² *Biographie nationale*, III, 156.

publication in 1598, with the particular aim to illustrate its relation to the contemporary Dutch language.⁷³

Furthermore, Vredius quoted a passage from Melis Stoke's Middle Dutch *Rijmkroniek*,⁷⁴ and an extract from the Old English version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁷⁵ No book at the time had ever offered such a broad collection of specimens and glossaries of Old Germanic languages. His addition of a passage of Old English with a Dutch translation, and of a substantial Old High German glossary with Dutch cognates, published separately from the text it was based on, were both unprecedented in the Low Countries. This makes Vredius one of the more significant scholars of Old Germanic languages from the Low Countries in the middle of the seventeenth century, a place which up to now he has never been assigned. As a humanist scholar, he has received little attention outside his native Bruges, while his work on Old Germanic languages has rarely been mentioned. These activities, and their possible influence on later scholars, is worthy of a more detailed study than it is possible to offer here.

The correspondences between Vredius's interests and career and that of Van Vliet are remarkable. Both were lawyers by profession, with an interest in classical as well as vernacular languages. Moreover, they both occupied high office in a civic government, and combined this office with a historical antiquarian interest in the town and region they worked in. It is not known when Van Vliet first set eyes on Vredius's book, but it is likely that he used it for his work on the Breda statutes, which dated from before 1660. In 1648 Vredius had written to Isaac Vossius to announce

⁷³ The form of his entries (of which I give an example) shows that Bultelius and Vredius made a detailed study of the text: "Ava, afl/ of/ de, ex, ab. Pessulum ostii mei aperui, sic Francicè transfert Wileramus [sic]: 91. *then grindel miner dure nam ich ava*. Hinc et *ave* quibusdam adhuc Flandriæ locis pro *afl/ avegaen afgaen/ avehangen afhangen*; ut notat Kilianus: & *ave* etiamnum privat, & absonum quid, aut absurdum indicat, & contrarium: ut *averechts/ i. non rectè, sinistrè, sinistrâ manu*: & *avetronc* pro spurio & notho, qui non est e recta stirpe, aut vero familiae trunco"; Vredius, *Historia comitum Flandriae*, xxxi. See also W. Sanders, *Der Leidener Willeram...* (Munich, 1974), 303.

⁷⁴ See above, pp. 201–202.

⁷⁵ The passage is from the Old English Bede, *HE*, v, 12, beginning: "Sona þæm ærestum tidum..." and ending: "ðæt he ðer gearwe hæfde haligra reliquias in to settene"; Wheelock, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, 408–409. Its subject matter, Willibrord's trip to Rome to collect relics from Pope Sergius for the churches he wished to found, is reminiscent of the way Willibrord was used in anti-Protestant polemic by Richard Verstegen, in his *Nederlandsche Antiquiteyten met de bekeeringhe van eenighe der selue landen duer S. Willibrordus*, ..., published in Antwerp in 1613. Vredius, who was also a zealous Catholic, may well have known Verstegen's works.

his book, which increases the possibility that Van Vliet had heard about it, since Isaac Vossius and Van Vliet were on good terms.⁷⁶ Both Vredius and Van Vliet became interested in the earliest stages of the vernacular through a combination of local history and law. However, whereas Vredius seemed mainly inspired by chauvinistic sentiments, and restricted himself mostly to Continental Germanic languages, Van Vliet saw the comparison of a wider field of Germanic languages in support of the etymology of Dutch as an important objective.

The comparison of Dutch with Old Germanic languages, coupled with a strong historical and antiquarian undercurrent, is strongly reminiscent of Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, another seventeenth-century philologist. Boxhorn (1602–1653), who taught at Leiden from 1632 until his death in 1653, had been one of Van Vliet's professors during his university days, so the two men knew each other personally.⁷⁷ In 1645 Van Vliet wrote to Gronovius that he had paid a visit to Daniel Heinsius, on which occasion Boxhorn had also been present.⁷⁸ Originally a professor of rhetoric, Boxhorn included history in his teaching from 1643 onwards, and became a full professor of history in 1648. During his relatively short productive period this philologist-turned-historian managed to publish more than 60 works. Unlike most of his fellow-professors, Boxhorn published not only in Latin but frequently in Dutch, which he did not seem to consider degrading. Although his works are many and varied, three main currents can be distinguished: classical philology, history, and comparative language studies, but often all three of these aspects are combined in one work.

It is evident from Van Vliet's correspondence that he was aware of Boxhorn's participation in the debate to establish the origin of languages in general, and the origin of the Dutch language in particular. In a letter to Gronovius,⁷⁹ Van Vliet reported that Boxhorn was working on the origins of Dutch, which he related to Scythian and other "antiquities". It is remarkable that Van Vliet was already familiar with Boxhorn's work on

⁷⁶ See Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, III F 8, 198, and copies in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Burmannus F 11, Tom. II, 211; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D'Orville 468, 371.

⁷⁷ On Boxhorn, see D. Droixhe, "Boxhorn's Bad Reputation...", in *Speculum historiographiae linguisticae*, Klaus D. Dutz ed. (Münster, 1989), 359–384; E.O.G. Haitzma Mulier et al., *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland* (The Hague, 1990), 65–67, no. 78; *NNBW*, vi, 178–180.

⁷⁸ Van Vliet to Gronovius, 11–10–1645.

⁷⁹ The same letter in which he mentioned Schrieckius; see above, pp. 190–191.

Scythian, for, in 1646, Boxhorn had not yet published anything on this matter, which implies that Van Vliet must have known about these ideas from other sources.

For Boxhorn, the opportunity to publish his ideas concerning the origins of languages came in January 1647. A heavy storm had washed away part of the dunes and beach in the vicinity of the village of Domburg on the island of Walcheren, and revealed the remains of a Gallo-Roman temple devoted to the fertility goddess Nehalennia, who was depicted on a large number of votive tablets with inscriptions. The event caused quite a stir at the time, and Boxhorn immediately composed a treatise in which he set out to throw light upon the name of the goddess, which he explained as being Scythian. In this treatise, Boxhorn not only described the etymology of *Nehalennia*, but also a number of other words, and, in addition, elaborated on his views of language change,⁸⁰ emphasizing the importance of Scythian:

That the Scythians and the Germans once said *ealent* for the shortened word *eilent* is clearly evident, for *Ea* or *Aa* with them means *water*. From the first, French (the French are undoubtedly from Germanic origins) *eau* is derived; from the second, Latin *aqua*.⁸¹

His conjectures were received with interest as well as opposition and Boxhorn was urged to elaborate on his findings.⁸² In the same year, he therefore published a set of questions, followed by a treatise containing his answers to his own questions.⁸³ The questions illustrate the contemporary issues of comparative philology as Boxhorn perceived them.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Bediedinge van...Nehalennia*, (Leiden, 1647), 21, 24, 28.

⁸¹ "Dat Ealent eertydts ghesegt is geweest onder de Scythen ende Duytschen voor het ingekrompen woord eilent, blijft klaerlijck. Ea, of Aa; beteekent by haer, water. Van het eerste comt het Fransche (de Franschen zijn buyten twijfel van Duytsche afcomste) eau; van het andere het Latijnsche aqua"; Boxhorn, *Bediedinge*, 19.

⁸² Th. M. Chotzen, *Primitieve keltistiek in de Nederlanden* (Den Haag, 1931), 30.

⁸³ Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Vragen...over de bediedinge van de tot nocht toe onbekende afgodinne Nehalennia* (Leiden, 1647); —, *Antwoord op de vrage, voorgesteld over de bediedinge van de afgodinne Nehalennia* (Leiden, 1647). During the same year he elaborated on his ideas concerning Scythian and the origins of languages in a letter to his friend, the arabist Nicholas Blankaart (1624–1703) of Steinfurt (*NNBW*, iv, 154–156); see Jacobus Baselius, *Marci Zuerii Boxhornii epistolae et poematae* (Amsterdam, 1662), 224–226.

⁸⁴ Droixhe, "Boxhorn's Bad Reputation", 360–361, also discusses Boxhorn's observations on the similarity of Germanic languages and Persian, and places this in a tradition of Oriental studies which he traces back to Franciscus Raphelengius. He does not mention Bonaventura Vulcanius and Abrahamus Mylius, both of whom also included comparison between Germanic and Persian in their works.

Just like Becanus and Mylius, Boxhorn established the origin of the European languages. The concept of Scythian was an element Boxhorn shared with Becanus, but he deviated from Becanus by separating Dutch from Scythian, which he conceptualised as the primeval extinct language that lay at the basis of modern as well as classical languages. When Boxhorn spoke about Scythian and Dutch as “*ene ende selfde tale*” ‘one and the same language’, he meant that there was a linear relation between the two.⁸⁵ He did not consider contemporary Dutch and Scythian to be the same, which appears from his statement that “*der Griecken, Romeynen ende Duytschen tale, afkomstigh is van de Skythen*” ‘the language of the Greeks, Romans and Dutch derives from the Scythians’.⁸⁶ Scythian was therefore not the same as modern Dutch, but the ancestral language of the Dutch as well as other neighbouring languages.⁸⁷

The issue for Boxhorn was no longer which languages had priority, or which languages changed and which remained the same, but how the change came about:

I. Are the Scythians older than the Greeks and Romans? II. What language did the Scythians speak? Is it one and the same as Dutch? III. How does it become clear that the Greek, Roman and Dutch language derive from the Scythians? IV. What, then, is the reason for the great difference in speech between the Romans, Greeks and Dutch, if they use one and the same language?⁸⁸

In his answers, Boxhorn vehemently repudiated the ideas forwarded by Becanus and Schrieckius, and also rejected Hadrianus Junius’s claim that Dutch derived from Greek. He declared Scythian to be the “mother tongue” and saw Greek, Latin, and Dutch as its parallel descendants:⁸⁹

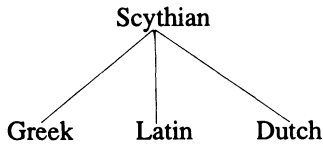
⁸⁵ Boxhorn, *Antwoord op de vrage*, 56.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁸⁷ However, the influence of his predecessors was so pervasive that here and there Boxhorn comes very close to equating Scythian and Dutch; see Chotzen, 35; 50, note 60.

⁸⁸ “I. Sijn de Skythen ouder als Grieken en Romeynen? II. Wat voor taale hebben die Skythen gesproocken? Is het eene ende selfde met de Duytsche? III. Waaruyt blijktt dat der Grieken, Duytschen, en Romeynen taale afkomstich is van de Skythen? IV. Wat reden is dan daar van het soo groote onderscheyt in het spreekken onder de Romeynen, Grieken, ende Duytschen, indien sy eene ende selfde taale ghebruycken?”; Boxhorn, *Vragen*, 8.

⁸⁹ Boxhorn, *Antwoord op de vrage*, 14–15.



Consequently, he tried to infer the nature of Scythian from comparison between these languages, and also took into account the diachronic difference between Greek and Latin on the one hand, and Dutch on the other, which in a very rudimentary way he tried to compensate for by introducing forms from Old English, Old High German, and Crimean Gothic. He attributed the nature of the variation to the change of sounds:

Similarly, in innumerable words from Greek, Latin, and Dutch, there is no other difference but this small divergence, which is sometimes seen as changing one vowel into another: sometimes by changing one consonant for another; also by adding or subtracting a character, be it at the beginning, middle or end; sometimes by moving a character; often also by subtracting or adding aspiration; similarly by shortening or lengthening one and the same word.⁹⁰

Boxhorn illustrated his method by means of short lists of examples, in which he presented related pairs of words. His structural division of the ways in which words could change originated directly from Varro's concept of language change in *De lingua Latina*, and Boxhorn was no different from his predecessors in his rather unrestricted application of these principles. In his *Nehalennia* studies, Boxhorn deployed a method of argumentation in which only a limited number of examples was considered enough to validate his assumptions. The historical hypothesis received more attention than the etymological evidence. His approach is therefore historical rather than philological, and is reminiscent of previous scholars like Becanus. In his work on *Nehalennia*, Boxhorn did not establish a new method, but reached back to the past.

⁹⁰ "Desgelijcx is in eene ontallijcke menichte van woorden tusschen der Grieccken, en Romeynen, ende Duytschen tale geen ander, als dit cleine onderscheit: werdende dit somwijlen gesien in het veranderen van de eene vocael in d'ander; –Somtijdts in het verwisselen van de eene consonant in d'andere; –Oock wel in het by ofte afdoen van een Letter 'tzy in het begin, midden ofte einde; –Somtijts in het verplaetsen ende verstellen van een letter; –Meermael oock in het afdoen, ofte byvoegen van een aspiratie; –Desgelijcx in het verkorten ende verlengen van eene ende het selfde woordt"; Boxhorn, *Antwoord op de vrage*, 78–80.

After 1648 Boxhorn continued to work on his ‘Scythian hypothesis’; however, in his discussions, he increasingly involved Celtic, which he considered to be one of the oldest post-Scythian languages, from which the rest descended. He found his inspiration for this interest in Celtic in the works of predecessors at Leiden, most importantly Joseph Justus Scaliger, whose interest in Celtic is documented in many of his philological observations as well as in his *Diatriba de Europaeorum linguis*. In addition to Scaliger, both Paullus Merula and Bonaventura Vulcanius had also been interested in Celtic, and both published a specimen of the Lord’s Prayer in this language.⁹¹ In his letter to Nicholas Blankaart from 1648, Boxhorn reported having received John Davies’s *Antiquae linguae Britannicae...dictionarium duplex* from the library of Johannes de Laet. He claimed to be able to reconstruct the Scythian language with the help of this book, and he presented etymologies in support of it.⁹² The fruit of his work on Celtic and Scythian was the *Originum Gallicarum liber*, published posthumously by Boxhorn’s friend George Horn in 1654. In it Boxhorn repudiated John Davies’s assumption that Celtic was derived from Hebrew. He also restated arguments from the *Bediedinge*, and raised objections to Hadrianus Junius’s and Ole Worm’s assumptions that the Germanic languages originated from Greek, and to Bernardus Furmerius for relating Frisian and Persian.⁹³ A glossary of the *antiquae linguae Britannicae*,⁹⁴ being an adaptation of the Welsh–Latin lexicon by John Davies, provided evidence for Boxhorn’s arguments in favour of the existence of Scythian.

Although Van Vliet demonstrably derived information from this book for *’t Vader ons*, he was at the same time critical of Boxhorn:

Taiwais ‘heavens’. From this, the late mr. Boxhorn intended to derive *Tansana*, being the name of a famous church of the ancient Germanic people in Tacitus’s *Annals* 1, 51. But this name resembles more the name of Mount *Taunus*, in the same book, ch. 56, that is *daun*, *duijn*, Anglo-Saxon *dun*, *don*, for the Germans often have a *T* for a *D*.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Chotzen, 18–20, 48.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 33–34; Baselius, 224–226.

⁹³ Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Originum Gallicarum liber* (Amsterdam, 1654), 86–88.

⁹⁴ Chotzen, 35–36, 39, considered the *Originum Gallicarum* to be the culmination of seventeenth-century Celtic studies in the Netherlands, and praised Boxhorn for removing Davies’s Hebrew cognates, something he claimed later Welsh lexicographers failed to do.

⁹⁵ “*Taiwais hemelen, d’H’*. Boxhorn sal’ meende hieruijt [sic] *Tansana* te halen, ziinde de naem van een vermaerde Kerck der Oude Theutsen bij Tacitus *Annal.* 1. 51. Maer die naem treckt meer na den naem van den bergh *Taunus*, *ibid.* cap. 56. i.e. *daun/duijn*. A.S.

Boxhorn had discussed the same words, but without the reference to Finnish *taiwais*, which must have been Van Vliet's invention.

Dun, Doun, or Duin means 'hill' or 'mountain'. These hills of sand, which are everywhere along our Dutch coast, commonly have no other name. I find that the Germanic people commonly gave the same name to mountains, in Tacitus's *Annals*, Book I, where, concerning Germanicus's campaign against the Chatti, a Germanic people, he mentioned mount *Taunus*. 'Germanicus', he says, 'having erected a fort over the remains of his father's works on Mount Taunus, swept his army at full speed against the Chatti'. *Taunus* is the same as *Daunus*, or *Duyn*, as it is called today. The letters *D* and *T* are easily changed, *tu* among the Romans is *du* among the Germans.⁹⁶

Van Vliet copied Boxhorn's assertion that ⟨t⟩ and ⟨d⟩ corresponded in various languages, but, whereas Boxhorn applied this to both Germanic and Romance languages, Van Vliet restricted the scope of the changes to the Germanic languages.

Boxhorn's awareness that comparison of languages required information from older stages of these languages increasingly caused him to turn his interests to Old English and Old High German. Precisely to what extent Boxhorn had been working on the history of languages in 1646 is unclear, but in 1644 he was already interested in Old English. In his addition to Reygersberg's chronicle he expressed knowledge of the Old English laws, on which, "health permitting", he intended to publish.⁹⁷ This

dun, don. Want de Theutse hebben dickmaels een T. voor een D"; VO ('t *Vader ons*), 40.

⁹⁶ "Dun, Doun, aut Duyn collem aut montem notat. Colles illi arenarii, qui in Bataviae nostrae littore passim exstant, non aliud vulgo nomen habent. Agnosco, montibus idem illud a Germanis olim tributum apud Tacitum Lib. Annal. I ubi de expeditione Germanici in Cattos, Germaniae populum Montem Taunum vocat. 'Germanicus', inquit, 'posito castello super vestigia paterni vestigii in Monte Tauno, expeditum exercitum in Cattos rapit'. Taunus idem quod Daunus, vel Duyn, ut hodie loquuntur. D & T literae facile mutantur, Romanorum *tu* Germanorum *du*"; Boxhorn, *Originem Gallicarum liber*, 48. The translation of Tacitus *Annals* I, 56 is from Clifford H. Moore, *Tacitus: The Histories* (Cambridge MA, 1925-1937), 337.

⁹⁷ Boxhorn, *Chronijck van Zeelandt* II, 66. In the same book, 170, Boxhorn also quoted from Chaucer's *General Prologue*, which he attributed to John Gower: "Te deser tijdt heeft Middelburch seer gefloreert in koopmanschappe, die van Engelandt op Zeelandt, ende van Zeelandt op Engelandt sterck gedreven wierdt. Dit leert my een Engels schrijver ende Ridder, ghe-naemt Ian Gouwer, die onder Ritsaert den tweeden van dien naeme, Conink van Engellant gheleeft, ende vele aerdige Dichten gheschreven heeft, ghestorven in het jaer 1402... *His reasons spake hee full solemnely // Shewing alway the encrease of his winning // He would the Sea were kept for any thing // Betwixt Middleborough and Orewely*". [In

intention materialised in a number of highly remarkable publications, of which the *Prima religionis Christianae rudimenta* (Leiden, 1650) has hitherto been practically unnoticed.⁹⁸ In it, Boxhorn included the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in Old English, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in Old High German,⁹⁹ and the preface and first four articles of King Alfred's laws with interlinear Latin translations.¹⁰⁰ In his selection of material, Boxhorn may well have been inspired by the sixteenth-century tradition of publishing texts that were relevant to the Reformation. However, there is no evidence to support the theory that Boxhorn still published his material to promote or defend the use of Biblical texts in the vernacular. It is more likely that his selection was determined by the fact that such texts were well-known and could therefore easily be read and understood. The same held good for the preface to King Alfred's laws, which contains a paraphrase of the laws of Moses in Exodus. In addition, the laws were supplied with an interlinear Latin translation that is much closer than the one made by Lambarde and printed by Wheelock. Boxhorn concluded the book with a promise to publish more of the Old English laws, which he considered of interest to scholars of Germanic languages and antiquities.¹⁰¹ His motivation for publishing specimens of Old Germanic text was primarily historical. There are no annotations in this book, which contains the most substantial Old English text printed outside England before Junius's edition of the *Cædmon* poems in 1655.

In 1652, Boxhorn published his *Historia universalis sacra et profana*, in which he again included the Creed in Old English and Old High German. In the same book, he also printed two Latin–Old High German glossaries from medieval manuscripts in his own library, which he dated back to the age of Charlemagne. These manuscripts were later used by Junius for his Glossaries *A* and *B*.¹⁰² In a defence of the importance of the study

these times trade between England and Zeeland, and vice versa, flourished greatly in Middelburg. I have learnt this from an English writer and knight by the name John Gower, who lived under Richard II, died in 1402, and who wrote many agreeable poems...]

⁹⁸ Stanley, "The Continental Contribution", 50, mentions the book.

⁹⁹ Quoted, although unacknowledged, from Freher, *Orationis Dominicae*.

¹⁰⁰ Boxhorn derived the Old English text from Wheelock's edition of Lambarde's *Archæionomia*, 15–24.

¹⁰¹ Boxhorn, *Prima religionis Christianae rudimenta*, 43.

¹⁰² Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Historia universalis sacra et profana* (Leiden, 1652), 452–457, 457–459. The manuscripts are now MSS Junius 25 and 83. In MS Junius 25 Boxhorn's autograph is on f. ii, while in MS Junius 83 it reads *Sum Boxhornii* on p. 1.

of northern languages, Boxhorn stated that he intended to publish more on Germanic languages.¹⁰³ Because the *Prima...rudimenta* and the *Historia universalis* do not occur in the auction catalogue of Van Vliet's books, there is no evidence that Van Vliet possessed either of them. However, it is not improbable that he was aware of their existence, since repeated references in the correspondence¹⁰⁴ indicate that Van Vliet kept track of Boxhorn's work.

Van Vliet knew that Boxhorn worked on Old Germanic languages through Boxhorn's edition of Johan Veldenaer's Chronicle of Holland (1650), of which he owned a copy (LJQ 072). I assume that Van Vliet bought it somewhere in the second half of the 1650s, since his greatest need for Dutch historical works arose when he started work on the history of Breda. In his philological commentary to the chronicle,¹⁰⁵ Boxhorn explained several archaic words from the text with the help of Old English, which he derived from a dictionary of Old English compiled by his friend Johannes de Laet. Speaking about the etymology of 'Holland', which he classified as a "Saxon" word, Boxhorn related:

I learn from an Anglo-Saxon dictionary, compiled and put at my disposal by the right honourable gentleman and excellent scholar of such antiquities Johannes de Laet that the ancient Anglo-Saxons named a low and moreover muddy area, protected by dikes against water surrounding or crossing it, a *Holedene*. *Holedene*, *convalles*. I have found this word expressly used in this sense in the Anglo-Saxon translation of the 59th Psalm. *God sprecede wæs on halgum, his in bliþie en infadæi le byrthen l' byrn en HOLEDENE eærdunge amete* [sic].¹⁰⁶

Both manuscripts were bought at the auction of Boxhorn's books in 1653, in all likelihood by Isaac Vossius, who gave them to Junius after 1664. See Madan *et al.*, II: 969-971, 981-982; Pribsch, 151-155.

¹⁰³ Boxhorn, *Historia universalis*, 368.

¹⁰⁴ "Illustrem parentem, Boxhornium etiam *Ἑκδυτίζοντα*, Wallium, reliquosque amicorum salvere jubeo"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 15-07-1651. [Please, give my regards to your famous father; to Boxhorn, still *skythicizing*; to Wallius; and to the rest of the friends.]

¹⁰⁵ Entitled: "Verscheyden Aenteickeningen ende Biivoechselen Gedaen door Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn".

¹⁰⁶ "Ick leere uyt een Engelsasche woordenboeck, opgemaect ende my ter hande gestelt door den hoogachtbaren Heer ende uytmuntende kender van diergelijke oudtheden Iohan de Laet, dat de oude Engelsaxische een laech ende oversulcx slickrich, ende tegen het geweldt van het om ofte doorlopende water bewaldt ende bedijckt landt noemen *Holedene*. *Holedene*, *convalles*... Dit woordt vinde ick uydruckelyck gebruyckt, in dusdaenige beteckeninge, in de oude Engelssaxische oversettinge van den 59. Psalm *God sprecede wæs on halgum, his in bliþie en infadæi le byrthen l' byrn en HOLEDENE eærdunge amete* [sic]"; Boxhorn, *Chronijck van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Westvrieslandt*, 139-140. The Old

Johannes de Laet (1582–1649),¹⁰⁷ to whom Boxhorn referred in his comments, had been interested in Old English since 1616, presumably as a result of his prolonged stay in England. He was engaged in the compilation of an Old English–Latin dictionary between 1638 and 1649, when the work was announced as finished. However, in 1649, De Laet suddenly died and his heirs gave the manuscript to Boxhorn, whom they presumably considered the most appropriate person to see it through the press. Boxhorn, who did not proceed with the publication immediately, passed it on to a Danish student, Peder Resen,¹⁰⁸ who took it with him to Copenhagen in 1651. Timmer suggested that Boxhorn gave the manuscript to Resen, because Boxhorn was “no doubt more interested in theories about language than in dictionaries”.¹⁰⁹ Bekkers expresses some doubt about the gift and uses the words “gave or lent”.¹¹⁰ Boxhorn’s works show that he made not infrequent use of the dictionary, and it seems therefore improbable to me that he should have given the manuscript away out of lack of interest. Moreover, Resen was from Denmark, and Boxhorn, a man of strong Dutch preferences,¹¹¹ would have been reluctant to give it to a foreigner. It is more likely that he lent it to Resen, and intended to publish it later. Boxhorn’s ill health and death in 1653 might have relieved Resen of the need to return it. Eventually, the manuscript was destroyed in a fire at the Copenhagen University Library, in 1728.

De Laet’s dictionary was the first significant Dutch contribution to Old English studies; indeed, even so significant that Sir Henry Spelman, a British antiquarian and scholar, feared the humiliation caused by an Old English dictionary being printed abroad, and tried to double cross De Laet in order to prevent its publication.¹¹² Boxhorn’s work sometimes allows us specifically to see its nature and extent:

English is a corrupt rendering of Psalm 59: 8, and indicates that Boxhorn had little actual knowledge of Old English.

¹⁰⁷ On De Laet, see Bremmer, “Late Medieval...Opinions”, 178–179; Hetherington, *Beginnings*, 97–101; J.A.F. Bekkers, *The Correspondence of John Morris with Johannes de Laet (1634–1649)* (Assen, 1970), xxv–xxvii; B.J. Timmer, “De Laet’s Anglo-Saxon Dictionary”, *Neophilologus* 41 (1957), 199–202.

¹⁰⁸ Peder Resen (Resenius) (1625–1688) published the Edda poems in four volumes between 1665 and 1673. See *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* 12, 146–148.

¹⁰⁹ Timmer, “De Laet’s Anglo-Saxon Dictionary”, 201.

¹¹⁰ Bekkers, xxv.

¹¹¹ Droixhe, “Boxhorn’s Bad Reputation”, 366.

¹¹² Bremmer, “Late Medieval...Opinions”, 176–178; Bekkers, xxi–xxv; Timmer, “De Laet’s Anglo-Saxon Dictionary”; Adams, 52–53.

Greef, then, is an old Dutch word, meaning, in fact, nothing else but a royal steward and commander, set over the people. We learn this clearly from the aforementioned Anglo-Saxon dictionary, in which I read: *Gerefa, Procurator, Consiliarius, Praepositus. Ælfric. Praepositus, Gerefa ouwe [sic] Provost. Gerefscepe, Consulatus*. What was called in Latin *Vicilli officium* is translated in the Anglo-Saxon translation of the New Testament, *Luke 16: 3*, as *Gerefscepe*. In the old Anglo-Saxon laws of King Edward, I read immediately in the beginning: *Eduæwrd [sic] cyning byt Gerefum eallum*, which is: King Edward summons all his stewards and judges.¹¹³

As De Laet's work clearly formed a vital source of knowledge to Boxhorn in the field of Old Germanic languages, it is likely that Boxhorn also relied on De Laet for the Frisian words in his notes.¹¹⁴ Possibly, De Laet also used Frisian in his dictionary, for he possessed a copy of the incunable edition of the Old Frisian Land-laws.¹¹⁵ De Laet's knowledge of Frisian and Dutch was the reason for the English antiquarians Henry Spelman and John Morris to involve him in a plan to re-edit Lambarde's *Archaionomia*, with a new translation and philological commentary.¹¹⁶ Presumably as part of the project, De Laet translated the laws of King Æthelberht into Latin, and provided them with explanations in which he frequently used Siccama's edition of the *Lex Frisionum* (1617).¹¹⁷ However, due to the De Laet's sudden death in 1649, and Boxhorn passing away in 1653, little materialized of their plans.

¹¹³ "*Greef* dan is een oudt Duytsch woordt, niets anders in der daet beteickenende als een Conincklijke Overste, ende Bevelhebber, gestelt over het volck. Het opgemelte Engelssaxis Woordenboek leert ons dit duydelijck. Ick lese daerin het volgende: *Gerefa, Procurator, Consiliarius, Praepositus. Ælfric. Praepositus, Gerefa ouwe Provost. Gerefscepe, Consulatus*. In de Engelsaxische oversettinge van het Nieuwe Testament werdt Luc. 16.3. het gene in het Latyn genoemt werdt *Vicilli officium* overgeset *Gerefscepe*. In de oude Engelsaxische wetten van Eduward lese ick terstont in het beginsel; *Eduæwrd [sic] cyning byt Gerefum eallum*. Dat is; Eduward de Coningh ontbiet allen sijnen Oversten ende Richters"; Boxhorn, *Chronijck van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Westvrieslandt*, 148.

¹¹⁴ "*Aesdom recht* komende van de Friezen. *Aischa* is een Fries woordt ende wert in haer outste wetten gelesen, ende genomen voor een wetgever ende rechter"; Boxhorn, *Chronijck van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Westvrieslandt*, 138. [*Aesdom recht* coming from the Frisians. *Aischa* is a Frisian word and was read in their oldest laws, and used for a legislator and a judge.] The form *aischa* has not been attested, and is a corrupted form of *asega* 'court official'.

¹¹⁵ I owe this information to Rolf Bremmer. See also Bremmer, "Late Medieval... Opinions", 179; Bekkers, xxvi.

¹¹⁶ Bekkers, xxv-xxvii.

¹¹⁷ London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1742, 137-149.

Together, De Laet, Boxhorn, and Vredius constitute a phase in Germanic scholarship in the Low Countries which reached its culmination around the middle of the seventeenth century, just before they died. There is a certain degree of interdependence among these scholars, which justifies my assigning them to one group. Boxhorn and De Laet were acquainted and Boxhorn depended on his friend for his information about Old English. Vredius also repeatedly referred to Boxhorn in his book. Both Boxhorn and Vredius set out to show in their works that it was possible to explain Dutch words with the help of Old Germanic languages. To what extent De Laet was interested in this aspect I cannot say, because very little of his work on Germanic languages has survived. Boxhorn as well as Vredius made use of Middle Dutch for their etymologies.

Although Van Vliet never spoke with great admiration about Boxhorn and never even mentioned De Laet, the fact that he owned a copy of Veldenaer's *Chronicle* with Boxhorn's notes implies that he was aware of Boxhorn's as well as De Laet's interest in Old English, and knew about De Laet's dictionary, probably before he himself became involved in this field of studies. Eventually, his knowledge of this group of scholars must have expedited his own move towards Germanic studies. Their studies formed a contemporary basis for his own work, and provided a motivation and inspiration for further investigations. Characteristics of their work recur in Van Vliet's studies. Vredius consistently added Dutch cognates to his glossaries, something which Van Vliet also tried to do. De Laet's lexicographical approach to Old English studies was to some extent imitated by Van Vliet in his study of the *Ormulum* manuscript in 1659. Vredius's idea that it is possible to establish the identity of a nation or an ethnic group by finding the origin of their language played a role in Van Vliet's work,¹¹⁸ and the connection between Dutch place-names and Old English, which was forwarded by Boxhorn, also emerged in Van Vliet's studies.

4. Vossius, Grotius, and Salmasius

In his work, Van Vliet mentioned various contemporary scholars who were mainly involved in Latin and traditional humanist disciplines connected with Latin such as history, poetry, theology, and law. Three of them were of special importance for his Germanic studies: Hugo Grotius,

¹¹⁸ See below, pp. 243–244.

Claudius Salmasius and, the most influential of the three, Gerard Johannes Vossius.

The grammarian and polymath Gerard Johannes Vossius was one of the greatest and most eminent scholars of the Dutch Golden Age. Few could compare with the breadth of his knowledge and reading, which made the works he published treasure houses of scholarship. Although a Latin scholar in heart and soul, Vossius's historical and theological interests made him realize the importance of vernacular sources. His interest in Old High German appears from quotations taken from a now lost manuscript of the Old High German paraphrase of the *Song of songs* by Willeram,¹¹⁹ while Abraham Wheelock, in his preface to his 1643 edition of the Old English Bede, praised Vossius for his knowledge of Old English. Vossius himself claimed that he wished to be counted as a friend of the Teutonic languages.¹²⁰ In his Germanic studies, Van Vliet referred to three books by Vossius: *De arte grammatica libri septem* (1635), *De vitiis sermonis* (1645), and the *Etymologicon linguae Latinae* (1662).¹²¹

In *De arte grammatica*, to which Vossius added the name of *Aristarchus*,¹²² Vossius systematically presented his vast knowledge of classical and medieval grammar and grammarians which he had accumulated over the years, in seven books. In the overwhelming quantity of material, Vossius defined certain grammatical principles which are recognizable in Van Vliet's work, one of which is the importance Vossius assigned to words.¹²³ For Vossius, grammar was descriptive and normative rather than speculative, and included all aspects of philology,¹²⁴ and words are of paramount importance in this approach. Vossius considered the word in the Aristotelian sense, as a lexical item with a meaning of its own, which could not be subdivided.¹²⁵ In his definition he did not allow for com-

¹¹⁹ Sanders, *Der Leidener Willeram*, 77–82.

¹²⁰ See Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 132.

¹²¹ According to C.S.M. Rademaker, "Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577–1649) and the Study of Latin Grammar", *HL* 15 (1988), 110, the three have to be considered a trilogy of grammatical works.

¹²² Named after the Greek grammarian Aristarchus of Samothrace (c.217–145 BC).

¹²³ For a description of the book, see Rademaker, *Life and Work of... Vossius*, 293–296, 368, no. 23; —, "Gerardus Joannes Vossius and the Study of Latin Grammar", 111–115. G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory...: The Latin Tradition* (Cambridge, 1976), 118–132, discussed the book in relation to the contemporary tradition of grammatical theory.

¹²⁴ Rademaker, *Life and Work of... Vossius*, 294.

¹²⁵ See Rademaker, "Gerardus Joannes Vossius and the Study of Latin Grammar", 112, who quotes Vossius: "Quod per se aliquid significat, nec tamen partes habet separatim aliquid significantes". [Which has a meaning of its own, but which does not have parts with

pound words, which were always split up into separate entities. Van Vliet assigned similar characteristics to a word in *'t Vader ons*.¹²⁶

As a second important distinction Vossius differentiated between analogy and etymology, by which he created order in the confusion between the workings of morphological construction and the search for the origin of words.¹²⁷ In his division of his grammar, Vossius progressed from the smallest grammatical entity to larger scale phenomena. He dealt with letters in book I, the construction of syllables in book II, morphology in books III–VI and syntax in book VII. The major part of the volume, therefore, is about morphology, the structure of words. Vossius approached morphology by means of the principle of analogy, and hence he named his books III–VI: *liber primus, secundus*, etc., *de analogia*. Analogy for Vossius constituted the principles by which words, or any language phenomena, could be formed into classes, as opposed to anomaly, which embodied the exceptions to such classes:

After I have illustrated what relates to the nature and disposition of characters and syllables, I come to the third part, its grammar, which we named *Methodice*. This describes complete words, and if we make an exception for that which pertains to particles, it almost completely consists of considering the analogy and anomaly of words. Therefore, it is called analogy after the most important part. Ordinarily however, it is called etymology, but this is wrong, because etymology investigates the origins of words while analogy explains the distinction between words. Likewise, we will prove this later on from Varro and others.¹²⁸

For the opposition between analogy and anomaly, as well as the corresponding distinction between analogy and etymology, Vossius based his opinions on the ideas of the Roman scholar Varro, who had made similar distinctions between declinable and indeclinable words and between *decli-*

their own separate meanings.]

¹²⁶ See below, p. 306, for his comparison between Gothic *þiudinassus* and *þiudangardi* in VO.

¹²⁷ In the seventeenth century both notions were named etymology, which had led to an ambiguous use of this term. I will return to this matter in relation to Van Vliet's etymological method in chapter VI.

¹²⁸ "Expositis quae ad literarum syllabarumque naturam, et affectiones pertinent, venio ad Grammatices ejus, quam Methodicen vocabamus, partem tertiam. Haec de vocibus integris tractat, ac si ea, quae ad particulas pertinent exceperimus, pene tota est in consideranda vocum Analogia, et Anomalia. Unde & a potiori parte analogia nuncupatur. Vulgo tamen Etymologiam appellant; sed perperam cum Etymologia vocum origines inquirat, Analogia vocabulorum discrimina exponat. Quemadmodum ex Varrone, & aliis postea comprobabimus"; Gerard Joh. Vossius, *De arte grammatica libri septem* (Amsterdam, 1635, III, 1).

natio voluntaria and *declinatio naturalis* in *De lingua Latina*.¹²⁹ Accordingly, Vossius could find the true meaning and application of a word with the help of etymology, whereas he reconstructed the true forms of words and relations between classes with analogy. Although Vossius concentrated on analogy within Latin in *De arte*, he mentioned the possibility of analogy between different languages in his master's thesis of 1598.¹³⁰ The concrete role of Vossius's principle of analogy in Van Vliet's comparative studies is difficult to assess, since Van Vliet never mentioned the term. However, for scholars who wished to create some sort of order in comparative language studies, the fact that language phenomena, including sounds or letters, could be treated paradigmatically by their analogy, and that this did not need to be restricted to one language, were important axioms. Moreover, Vossius was the quintessential contemporary grammarian in the Netherlands, and especially his dependence on Varro for some of his grammatical principles may well have shaped Van Vliet's opinion. His verse lines comparing Junius and Varro as great scholars of their respective mother tongues are a confirmation of this opinion.¹³¹

Vossius's views on the construction and origins of words also played a prominent role in *De vitiis sermonis* (1645), in which he published his collection of barbarisms in Latin, partly to achieve better use of the language, and partly for a better understanding of post-classical authors.¹³² Van Vliet announced its publication in a letter to Nicholas Heinsius, in which he claimed that Isaac Vossius had told him about the book during a visit.¹³³ In book II, Vossius alphabetically listed words in Latin texts from external origins, including Old Germanic languages. His sources display a remarkably wide reading in the field of Old Germanic languages. Not only did he quote from Lindenbrog's Germanic laws and frequently from the latter's *Glossarium Latino-Theotiscum*,¹³⁴ but also from Lam-

¹²⁹ According to Padley, *Grammatical Theory...: The Latin Tradition*, 123, Vossius distinguished himself from most of his humanist predecessors and contemporaries by applying this ancient principle of analogy versus anomaly. See below, pp. 272–273.

¹³⁰ Rademaker, "Gerardus Joannes Vossius and the Study of Latin Grammar", 116.

¹³¹ See above, p. 103.

¹³² Rademaker, *Life and Work of... Vossius*, 296.

¹³³ "Prodierunt Servius..., Vossii Glossarium Latino-barbarum. Isaacus ejus mihi etiam hodie adfuit"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 01–09–1645. [Servius...[and] Vossius's *Glossarium Latino-barbarum* have appeared. His [son] Isaac was with me today.]

¹³⁴ This *Glossarium Theotiscum*, from which Vossius, *De vitiis sermonis*, 201, listed for example: *euua* and *halsberga*, is not the same glossary as Van Vliet copied from Gronovius in 1659; see above, pp. 133–135.

barde's *Archaionomia*, and the *Sachsenspiegel*.¹³⁵ Vossius often took spelling into account in his etymologies and pointed to correspondences between consonants¹³⁶ as well as vowels,¹³⁷ something Van Vliet also did regularly in '*t Vader ons*'.¹³⁸ Vossius claimed that a considerable number of Medieval Latin words derived from Germanic languages, although, in earlier times, these words had sometimes been borrowed from Latin:

Let me add a few others, of which the immediate origin is also barbarian; but not the more distant origin. *Cupla canum* in the laws of Charlemagne, which is from Germanic *coppel honden*, is of this type. But *coppel* is wholly from *cupola*: In the Salic law there is *raubare* from Germanic *rauben*. But *rauben* is contaminated from Latin *rapere*.¹³⁹

In other instances, he indicated that Germanic words derived from Greek, which he regarded as not uncommon.

For just as Teutons and Scythians have many Greek words, through various causes, but especially through trade with the inhabitants of the colonies at the Black Sea, thus the Romans also received much from the Phrygians, as a result of which these words are more similar to Teutonic than to Greek. Why should we be amazed when the same Thracian [words] are the parents of part of the Teutonic as well as of [part of] the Phrygian [words], as I said before?¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ See also Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 130–132, who discusses Vossius's Gothic quotations, and confirms that Vossius was well-read in Old Germanic texts. His claim that Vossius played a role in Junius's transition from theology to philology is unsubstantiated.

¹³⁶ "Guardia, & guardium, vel vvardia, & vardium...Nempe W in GV, vel G solet converti"; Gerard Johannes Vossius, *De vitiis sermonis* (Amsterdam, 1645), 217. [*Guardia* and *guardium*, or *wardia* and *wardium*...for ⟨w⟩ or ⟨gu⟩, or ⟨g⟩ are prone to change places] See also *ibid.*, 185.

¹³⁷ "Caeterum multi sonum literarum A, O, V, confundunt"; *ibid.*, 265. [Otherwise, many confuse the sound of the letters ⟨a⟩, ⟨o⟩, ⟨v⟩] See also *ibid.*, 190.

¹³⁸ See below, pp. 308–315.

¹³⁹ "Addam paucula alia, quorum propinqua origo itidem à barbaris; remotior non item. Hujusmodi in Constitut. Karoli M. est cupla canum. Quod ex Germanico *coppel honden*. Sed *coppel* omnino est ex *cupola*: In lege Salica est *raubare* à Germanico *rauben*. Sed *rauben* est corruptum ex Latino *rapere*"; Vossius, *De vitiis sermonis*, 6.

¹⁴⁰ "Nam ut Teutones, & Scythæ, multa habent vocabula Græca, idque cum aliis de causis, tum præcipuè ex commercio cum coloniis Pontum accolentibus: ita & Latini accipere multa à Phrygibus, eoque Teutonicis similiora, quàm Græcis. Quid mirum, quando iidem Thraces, ut Teutonum partis, sic Phrygum, sunt parentes; sicut antea dicebamus?"; *ibid.*, **2'. See also *ibid.*, 192, s.v. *cot*: "Imò hæc princeps fuerit significatio; si Saxonibus *cotæ* vox à *κοίτη*...Nec novum sit Saxonice vocem esse à Græcis". [Yes, this would be the principal meaning if the word *cotæ* with the Anglo-Saxons would be from *κοίτη*...It would not be new for a Saxon word to be from Greek.]

Vossius elaborated on the history of Latin in his preface. In his opinions on the origin of languages, the Bible played an important role. Hebrew was the oldest language. The European languages were divided into three different groups: Greek, from which Latin arose, Slavonic, and Germanic. In his preface Vossius also stated his views on the origin of the Germanic languages, which, in line with seventeenth-century tradition, he related to Scythian. Inspired by the discovery of Crimean Gothic, he claimed that the Cimbrians originated from the Cimerians, who lived near the Crimea, in the area called Scythia. However, language contact and corruption in the course of time caused considerable diversity among languages:

For the Scythians and the Celts, that is, the Germanic peoples and the old French, Spanish and Britons, had a common language. But since then they have considerably moved away from the original [language]. For, to speak of the last language first, in the Homeric way, the English language certainly received countless [words], first from the Angles and Frisians, and afterwards from the Normans and the more recent French. Similarly, French first received [words] from Greek through the inhabitants of Marseille, a Greek colony, then from Roman, and subsequently from Franconian, Gothic, Burgundian, and Normannic. Similarly, Spanish degenerated much from Old Celtic, firstly because the Phoenecians occupied them, then the Romans, next the Goths, and then the Saracenes. But truly, we are not speaking now about the more recent European languages, but about these very ancient ones, of which three, if not the only ones, are at least most important: the first is the language of the Macedonians and Greeks. The second is Illyrian, the mother of various languages in Sarmatia and neighbouring places; we now call it Slavonic. The third is the language of the Thracians, Dacians, and other Getes. Not only the language of the Phrygians, of whom it is certain that they were the descendants of the Thracians, comes from this... but also that of the Germanic peoples, and even that of the Scythians. Long ago, this name was sometimes also used to represent the Thracian people. Yes, the Getes and the Goths are also reckoned under the name of Scythians, and these names, as also those of the Jutes and the Jutings, only differ in dialect.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ "Communis verò lingua fuit Scythis, & Celtis; hoc est, Germanis, & veteribus Gallis, Hispanis, Britannis. Sed hi postea multum à primogenia recesserunt. Nam Britannica, ut de postrema primum dicam ὁμηρικῶς, recepit innumera, prius quidem Anglorum, & Frisiorum; postea verò Normannorum, Gallorumque recentiorum. Gallica itidem lingua admisit primum Græca, occasione Massiliensium, coloniæ Græcanicæ; hinc Romana; exinde Francica, Gothica, Burgundica, & Normannica. Hispanica similiter plurimum à veteri Celtica degeneravit; primum Phoenicibus eam obtinentibus, hinc Romanis, postea Gotthis, inde Saracenis. Sed

It is significant that Vossius made a distinction between language contact and true derivation in the search for the origins of modern languages. He suggested that the source of a language should not be looked for in other modern languages, which, although he allows them a certain influence through language contact, are not the true ancestors of the present forms. Instead, the oldest forms, which were genetically the ancestors of the modern tongues, and therefore the true source of our vocabulary, would have to be investigated. This opinion was echoed ten years later by his brother-in-law Francis Junius in his introduction *Ad lectorem* to the *Observationes in Willeramī*, in which Junius described his criteria for a successful study of etymology.¹⁴² This idea was certainly known to Van Vliet, if not directly from Vossius, then certainly through Junius's writings.¹⁴³

The *Etymologicon linguae Latinae* was Vossius's most important publication on etymology, published posthumously by his son Isaac in 1662. It is therefore unlikely that it had much of an effect on the beginnings of Van Vliet's Germanic studies, although the possibility cannot be excluded that information from it reached Van Vliet via Isaac Vossius before its publication. Indirectly, the influence of Vossius's approach may have been felt through Francis Junius's *Observationes in Willeramī*, since Junius made much use of the manuscript. Van Vliet will surely have recognized the significance of Vossius's work when it was published in 1662. The book begins with a treatise entitled *De litterarum permutatione tractatus*,¹⁴⁴ a long survey of possible correlations between characters in words. In the Varronian manner Vossius distinguished *additio*, *abjectio*, and *mutatio*, and illustrated these phenomena in almost endless lists of examples, in which he presented the Latin and corresponding Greek forms. Almost no conceivable form of sound change remains undocumented,¹⁴⁵

non sermo jam est nobis de recentioribus Europæorum linguis; verùm antiquissimis illis: quarum tres sunt, si non solæ, saltem potissimæ: una Macedonum, & Græcorum. Altera Illyrica, variarum in Sarmatia, & vicinis locis, mater; Sclavonicam nunc dicimus. Tertia Thracum, Dacorum, aliorumque Getarum. Unde illa non Phrygum modo, quos Thracum fuisse propaginem constat;...sed Germanorum etiam, atque adeò Scytharum; quo vocabulo quandoque & Thraciæ gens olim fuit nuncupata. Imò Scytharum nomine continentur quoque Getæ, & Gothi: atque appellationes istæ, uti & Iutarum, & Iutingorum, solâ differunt dialecto"; *ibid.*, **1^r.

¹⁴² Junius, *Observationes*, [π^v].

¹⁴³ See below, pp. 265–267, on this issue.

¹⁴⁴ Gerard Johannes Vossius, *Etymologicon linguae latinae*... (London, 1662), A1^r–H1^r.

¹⁴⁵ For example: "A additur in initio, –in medio, –in fine, A abjicitur in initio, –in medio, A mutatur in Æ, –in AU, –in E, –in I, –in O, –in U", etc.

as a result of which the correlations between sounds lack any system whatsoever. In the etymologies proper, Latin is often derived from Greek, which is itself traced from Hebrew whenever possible. Each headword is illustrated with as many examples as possible from a range of authors in various languages, from which Vossius then tried to distil the etymon. His views on the relationship among languages made Vossius extend his etymologies of Latin to Germanic and Romance languages. Vossius's method will have influenced Van Vliet's studies, but is much more clearly recognizable in the work of Junius, especially through the importance both of them assigned to the presentation of examples before a final etymology of a word could be suggested.¹⁴⁶

The reason for Van Vliet to include the great Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) among those who had worked on the elucidation of Gothic and other Germanic languages was Grotius's edition of the history of the Goths, Vandals, and Longobards, published posthumously in 1655. It was essentially a historical work, in which Grotius published the writings of the early medieval historiographers Procopius, Agathias, Jornandes and Isidore, as well as Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*.¹⁴⁷ In conclusion to the first part of his histories, Grotius included two glossaries: one of terms and one of mostly proper names and place-names. Most of the terms were provided not only with a translation, but also with a short etymological explanation, including cognates from other languages.¹⁴⁸ At the end of his *prolegomena* Grotius mentioned his ideas on the language of the Goths, and assigned particular importance to Crimean Gothic:

I have not, like others, made up a language of my choice, which was never there (jokers name it Cimbric), that is, by adapting the measuring-staff to the milestone. I derived either certain or possible explanations of words partly from these laws and histories and partly from other very old books

¹⁴⁶ See below, p. 280.

¹⁴⁷ Van Vliet also possessed a separate edition of Paul the Deacon's history of the Lombards (LMO 164), edited by Friedrich Lindenbrog, *Paulus Warnefridus: De gestis Langobardorum...* (Leiden, 1595). In his etymology of *skalk* 'servant' Lindenbrog also printed Gothic *Fra leitais skalk theinana* from Simeon's Song (p. 273), for which he expressed his indebtedness to Joseph Justus Scaliger, but which Vulcanius, 41, had also published.

¹⁴⁸ Hugo Grotius, *Historia Gothorum Vandalorum et Langobardorum...* (Amsterdam, 1655), 574–582, 583–604. See also Van de Velde, *Studie... Gotisch*, 124–127, who describes Grotius's importance for the study of Gothic, but gives no explanation for his apparent ignorance or conscious disregard of the language of the Codex Argenteus, which he could have known from passages printed by Vulcanius and Gruterus, or from excerpts which circulated among scholars.

by Germans, whose language is the same as that of the Goths; the one which is still used by those who live on the Sea of Azow, and of which Busbecq has given us some words. The language now used in Sweden preserves a clear affinity with that language.¹⁴⁹

Apart from his deliberate and calculated remarks about the affinity between Gothic and Swedish (he was employed by the Swedish court between 1634 and 1644), Grotius emphasized the importance of ancient history and laws for retrieving Old Germanic vocabulary. On the previous pages Grotius had defended his inclusion of these laws by stressing their influence on European law and their importance for the study of law in general: "such are the laws which those who left Scanzia took with them across nearly all of Europe, and even over much of Africa and Asia".¹⁵⁰ For Van Vliet, who possessed no fewer than twelve works by Grotius, it was an important factor that Hugo Grotius, one of the greatest scholars of his time, had occupied himself with Old Germanic languages, a fact which he proudly mentioned in the introduction to *'t Vader ons*:

Mr Grotius, who also applied himself zealously to this language, has partly done so [given an account of the virtues of the Goths] in his preface to the *Histories of the Goths and the Vandals* by Procopius, as well as by their fellow countryman Jornandes, of about 1100 years ago, and by Isidore, of about 1000 years ago, and by others.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ "Non autem ego, ut alii, linguam mihi quae nunquam fuit (Cimbricam faceti nugatores vocant) confinxī meo arbitratu, lapidi nimirum regulam aptaturus. Vocum explicationem aut certam aut probabilem, partim ex ipsis legibus historiisque habeo, partim ex aliis antiquissimis libris hominum germanorum, quibus communis cum Gotthis sermo, is scilicet qui nunc etiam illis ad Maeotim habitantibus manet: cuius nonnulla nobis vocabula Busbequius dedit. Cum eo sermone is qui nunc in Suedia usurpatur manifestam cognitionem servat"; *ibid.*, 69–70.

¹⁵⁰ Tales sunt leges quas è Scanzia profecti per omnem prope Europam, per multa etiam Africae Asiæque circumtulere"; *ibid.*, 67. Grotius's entire passage on Old Germanic law, *ibid.*, 63–69, is quoted by Dovring *et al.*, 395–399, who emphasizes its importance for the study of law, and adds that more evidence for Grotius's interest in Old Germanic law is found in an annotated copy of the *Inleydinge tot de Hollandsche regts-geleertheyd*, preserved in Lund. The notes, which were added by Grotius in 1639, give evidence of Grotius's increasing interest in Germanic law; he had left these laws almost unmentioned when he wrote the *Inleydinge tot de Hollandsche regts-geleertheyd* during his imprisonment in Loevestein Castle in 1620.

¹⁵¹ "De Heer de Groot, mede sijn ijver tot dese taele bethoonende, heeft sulcx ten deele gedaen in sijn Voor-reden op de Gotse en Wandalse Geschiedenissen van Procopius, als oock Jornandes hun Landsman over de 1100. Isidorus omtrent de 1000. jaren en andere"; VO, a2^v.

How uncritically Van Vliet admired Grotius's assumptions appears from Grotius's etymology of the name 'Goths', which he explained as deriving from 'good', a definition which clearly goes back to Becanus.¹⁵² Although, as we have seen, Van Vliet denounced Becanus on various occasions, he repeated Grotius's definition of 'Goths' without any further questioning: "As for the goodness of the Goths, it is expressed by the very name, as the aforesaid Mr Grotius indicates [in his book]. It derives from 'good', as well as from the name of God himself."¹⁵³ Van Vliet frequently referred to Grotius's histories in his dedication to Magnus de la Gardie,¹⁵⁴ and made unacknowledged use of Grotius's *Elogia*, a list of attestations of the Goths in classical literature.¹⁵⁵

Another aspect of Grotius's influence on Van Vliet's Germanic studies is his attitude to Dutch, expressed in the *Inleydinge tot de Hollandsche regts-geleertheit*.¹⁵⁶ In the preface Grotius defended the use of Dutch in the study of law, and stated that he had derived many archaic Dutch words from old laws and statutes:

He [Grotius] also tried to honour our Dutch mother tongue, and to show that this discipline [i.e. laws] can well be discussed in this language; to this end he has made use of many somewhat unusual but good old Dutch words, which are found in the laws and statutes, and also construed some words by compounding, although in such a way that their meaning is easy to understand.¹⁵⁷

The position Grotius attributed to Dutch is reminiscent of the views of Stevin and Spiegel, and their claims that scholarly subjects could just as

¹⁵² Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 127; Grotius, *Historia Gothorum*, 591.

¹⁵³ VO, a2^v: "Aengaende de goedheid der Gotten, brengt sulcx de naem selfs mede. gelijk de opgem* H^r. de Groot aldaer oock aenroert, comende van goed, als insgelijcx de name van God selfs".

¹⁵⁴ See Van Vliet's footnotes in his dedication to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, in Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, *4^r, fn. m; **2^r, fn. 20; **2^v, fnn. 25, 26, 27, 29, 30; **3^r, fn. 31; **4^v, fn. 50.

¹⁵⁵ Grotius, *Historia Gothorum*, 71–148. See Van Vliet's footnote; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, *2^v, fn. a.

¹⁵⁶ See Dovring *et al.*, XI, for summary information on reprints and editions.

¹⁵⁷ "Onze Duytsche moeders tale heeft hy oock gesocht te vereeren, ende te toonen dat oock dese wetenschap inde selve tale wel kan verhandelt werden, waer toe hy hem beholpen heeft met veele nu wat ongebruyckelycke, doch goede oude Duytsche woorden, die inde oude handvesten ende keuren bevonden werden, oock eenighe woorden doort'samen vouginge gemaect, doch soo dat den sin daer van seer licht is te vatten,..."; Grotius, *Inleidinge*, A3^{r+v}. The editor copied this passage from a letter written by Grotius to his children. The letter was written in the first person, which the editor changed in the book to third person.

well be discussed in Dutch as in Latin. Grotius had known Stevin from his youth, when Stevin frequently visited his parents. Afterwards, Grotius occasionally cooperated with Stevin. Apart from his influence in the field of mathematics and logic, Stevin's opinions on the use of Dutch in scholarly works also made an impression on Grotius, who used Stevin's term *wisconsten* 'mathematics' in his *Parallellon rerumpublicarum*.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, his purist attitude with regard to loan-words is also in line with the ideas of the trivium grammarians. In the margins of his book Grotius printed Latin terms and Latinate Dutch terms, which he called bastard words, and included the Dutch equivalents with an asterisk in the text.¹⁵⁹ His idea of using old statutes as a source of genuine Dutch terms to replace many Latin ones in contemporary Dutch legal discourse was a novelty. This philological approach to statutes may have inspired the editor of the *Statutes of Kennemerland* (1652),¹⁶⁰ as well as Van Vliet in his work on the Breda statutes.¹⁶¹

Although Van Vliet had not included Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653) among the scholars with whom he tried to impress Heinsius in his letter of 1662, Salmasius's *De Hellenistica commentarius* (1643), to which Van Vliet referred, has to be considered influential. In *De Hellenistica*, Salmasius attempted to explain the origin of Greek, which he tried to do in a very broad perspective. He elaborated on Scythian as the ancestor of nearly all European languages in Book II. Unlike many other commentators, he located the Scythians in the north,¹⁶² and explained how they had flooded Europe and Asia as far east as India:

¹⁵⁸ See M.J. van der Wal, "Grotius' taalbeschouwing in contemporaine context", *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 2 (1997): 14–34; L. Mok, *Hugo de Groot en Simon Stevin...* (Rotterdam, 1988) on this issue.

¹⁵⁹ See Magda Esch-Pelgroms, "Über die Rechtsterminologie in Hugo de Groots 'Inleiding tot de Hollandsche Rechtsgeleerdheid'", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 93 (1973), 340–345; Dörring *et al.*, 340, 347–349.

¹⁶⁰ See above, p. 203.

¹⁶¹ Van Vliet did not possess Grotius's *De origine gentium Americanarum dissertatio*, published in 1642, in which Grotius argued that the peoples of the new world were akin to the Norwegians, Ethiopians and Chinese. He based this claim on his conviction that their languages were related. The treatise invoked a fierce attack by Johannes de Laet, who had visited the New World as an official of the Dutch West India Company. De Laet's observations, which were again refuted by Grotius, contained interesting observations on Grotius's etymological method; see George J. Metcalf, "A Linguistic Clash in the Seventeenth Century", *German Life and Letters* 23 (1969), 37.

¹⁶² Claudius Salmasius, *De Hellenistica commentarius...* (Leiden, 1643), 366.

There is not a single people from either Europe or Asia that did not spring from the North. From there, the offspring of nations proceeded, and was scattered over most parts of Europe and Asia. Therefore, Scythia, which is to the north, brought forth nearly all peoples with their languages that flooded Europe and Asia. Because the land of the Scythians was extremely wide and stretched far to the east and the west, it brought into the world from this place different nations by spraying them to the south into Europe, and subsequently into Asia. From Asia it penetrated as far as India, and produced Indo-Scythians. It also brought forth Parthians and Persians. For the Parthians, as all agree, are of Scythian origin.¹⁶³

Salmasius also illustrated the principle that names of nations moved from a particular to a more general meaning, in that names such as Teutons, Celts, and Greeks originally denoted a single group, whereas later they came to be used in a more general sense. The same held good for the Scythians.¹⁶⁴ Just like Grotius, Salmasius postulated that the Crimea was the origin of the Germanic peoples. Busbecq's Crimean Gothic glossary provided the evidence for this assumption, which is an indication of the significance of this glossary in seventeenth-century comparative language studies. Using Strabo as his authority, Salmasius stated that the Getes shared one language with the Thracians, which for him was evidence that Germanic and Greek had much in common.

I do not say that the language of the Greeks, Getes or Thracians, and the Teutons or Germans is wholly the same, but that these nations have many words in common, deriving from the same origin.¹⁶⁵

In many of his etymologies in Book II, Salmasius tried to underpin his assumptions with examples, in which he used Old English on more than one

¹⁶³ "Nulla Europae fere gens nec Asiae, quin à Septentrione promanaverit. Inde propagines profectæ populorum, quibus Europæ, Asiæque plerasque partes consitæ fuerunt. Scythia igitur quæ ad Septentrionem, omnes ferme gentes evomuit cum suis linguis quæ Europam et Asiam inundarant. Ut autem vastissima illa Scytharum regio fuit & late porrecta ad Orientem & ad Occidentem, versus Meridiem eructando varias hinc in Europa inde in Asia produxit gentes. Ab Asiæ parte usque in Indiam penetravit, & Indoscythas fecit. Parthos Persasque profudit. Nam Parti, ut inter omnes constat, originis Scythicae"; *Ibid.*, 366. Salmasius's term "Indo-Scythians" is remarkable and, to the best of my knowledge, original.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 373.

¹⁶⁵ "Non dico eandem omnino fuisse linguam Graecorum, Getarum sive Thracum, & Teutonum sive Germanorum, sed multa has tres gentes habuisse vocabula communia & ab eadem origine venientia"; *Ibid.*, 378. See also Van Vliet's footnote 3 in his dedication to Count Magnus de la Gardie, where Van Vliet adduced Strabo to support a similar argument. No doubt he derived the reference to Strabo from Salmasius.

occasion. This may well be the result of Salmasius's friendship with Johannes de Laet, who took care of the eventual publication of the book when Salmasius was on leave in France.

Some Salmasian influence on Van Vliet is probable, if only because Van Vliet knew his work well. He regularly referred to him in his correspondence, and seventeen titles in the auction catalogue are books by Salmasius, which means that Van Vliet owned more works by him than by any other author. Van Vliet referred to *De Hellenistica* in his dedication to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie for his observation that the Greeks learnt their language from the Scythians,¹⁶⁶ something that he had also stated in *'t Vader ons*. In two footnotes to his poem Van Vliet linked Gothic kinship terms and parts of the body to Greek cognates, an issue Salmasius also commented on:

However, if I may skip other [matters], concerning parts of the human body, from what comes Anglo-Saxon *heafod*, Danish *hoffuit*, Dutch *Hoofft*, if not from Latin *caput*? For in most cases they have used aspiration instead of *C*, just as they said *Hallum* for *collum*. But then it is also certain that *oore* with the Danes and the Dutch, and *eare* with the Anglo-Saxons have proceeded from Latin *Auris*.¹⁶⁷

Van Vliet did not adopt Salmasius's beliefs about the origin of languages wholesale, but certain elements are remarkably in tune with Van Vliet's ideas, such as the position of Scythian and the juxtaposition of Germanic and Greek, as stemming from the same ancestor.

Vossius, Grotius, and Salmasius determined the intellectual climate in the Netherlands in the middle of the seventeenth century to an important degree. They shared common ground, in that they were all humanist scholars, who were interested in the origin of languages as part of their scholarly occupations. In relation to this interest, they referred to the older phases of the Germanic languages and supported their claims with etymological speculations to a greater or lesser extent. They considered the ancestor of the Germanic languages to be Scythian, a primaevael language to which Thracian and Greek were linked. For their information, they mostly relied on historical sources from the late classical and early medieval

¹⁶⁶ Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, **1^v.

¹⁶⁷ "Vnde enim, ut alia præteream, in partibus corporis humani, *heafod* Anglo Saxonum, *Hoffuit* Danorum & *hoofft* Belgarum, nisi ex Latino *Caput*? Nam pro *C*. adspirationem in plerisque usurparunt, ut *Hallum* pro *collo* dixerunt. Sed et *Oore*, Danorum et Belgarum, & *Eare* Anglo-saxonum ex Latinorum *aure* fluxisse certum est"; Salmasius, *De Hellenistica*, 382.

periods. In Van Vliet's work, the influence of Vossius, Grotius, and Salmasius comes across as general rather than specific; apart from a few direct references, their works do not feature prominently in his etymological studies. Their influence is more clearly recognizable in the introduction to VO and in Van Vliet's verse dedication to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie. However, their influence on Van Vliet's intellectual behaviour can be measured to some extent by the number of their books that occur in the auction catalogue. Of the ten most popular authors, Salmasius takes first place, Grotius second, and Vossius is in fifth position.

5. Casaubon and *Ménage*

Two contemporary scholars who wrote books specifically on the origin of their respective vernacular languages were the Englishman Meric Casaubon (1591–1677)¹⁶⁸ and the Frenchman Gilles (Aegidius) Ménage (1613–1692). Although both authors intended to shed new light on their languages, they took very different approaches.

Casaubon's *De Quatuor linguis commentationis* was published in 1650, and was meant to be a collection of four essays on the relationship between Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Old English. Only part I, *Pars prior; quae de lingua Hebraica et de lingua Saxonica*, was ever published. This is itself divided into two essays: *De lingua Hebraica*, which deals with Hebrew, and *De lingua Saxonica*, in which Casaubon set out to establish the connection between English and Greek. Casaubon appended Lipsius's Old Low Franconian glossary with annotations by William Somner to the end of the book,¹⁶⁹ of which Van Vliet owned a copy (LMO 339).

As opposed to Van Vliet or Junius, Meric Casaubon described his opinions and method extensively, which makes the book a valuable document of seventeenth-century comparative linguistics in England, and Casaubon the greatest theorist of etymological scholarship at the time. As a result, his work and ideas have attracted scholarly attention.¹⁷⁰ In his paradigm of languages, Casaubon started from the conventional assumption that

¹⁶⁸ On Meric Casaubon, see *DNB*, IX, 261–262.

¹⁶⁹ See above, p. 180.

¹⁷⁰ John F. Eros, *Diachronic Linguistics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Ann Arbor, 1972), gives a detailed analysis of Casaubon's ideas. I am indebted to Eros for most of my observations on Casaubon. See also John F. Eros, "A 17th-Century Demonstration of Language Relationship...", *HL* 3 (1976), 1–13.

Hebrew was the single original language, which he based on the principle of divine inspiration through Adam. To account for the preservation of Hebrew after the confusion Babel, without violating the truth of the Scriptures, he voiced the rather exceptional idea that during the confusion at Babel the connection between word and meaning was lost, which caused Hebrew to continue to exist in one group while in other groups language continued to evolve.¹⁷¹ Casaubon considered a knowledge of Hebrew vitally important for etymological scholarship. In his methodological description of etymology he stated that the lack of knowledge of the original language had been the reason why the ancients in particular had accomplished little in the field of etymology.¹⁷²

To account for the diachronic development of languages, Casaubon recognized that more than one language could be at the basis of another. Influence of one language on another could take place both genetically and through language contact. Casaubon distinguished these two forms of influence by the terms “genuine matrices” and “partial matrices”, respectively. He gave the example of Spanish, in which he recognized four such matrices: Basque, Latin, Gothic and Arabic, of which Latin, genetically the ancestor of Spanish, was the only genuine matrix, and the rest were partial matrices.¹⁷³

As the main principle of his etymological method, Casaubon presented the concept of analogy, by which he meant anything systematic in the formation of words, or the alteration, addition, or subtraction of letters.¹⁷⁴ He juxtaposed analogy with the principle of lexical similarity, which was seen as the main criterion for connecting two languages, and which could be inherited or the result of contact, depending on the type of matrix involved. In keeping lexical similarity and analogy apart, Casaubon drew interesting conclusions:

Just as in things there is not one type of similitude; for one is of face and countenance; another of nature and character, thus in words there is similitude of sound, and of analogy, which is often a more certain criterion.¹⁷⁵

He continued by illustrating this conclusion with an example:

¹⁷¹ Eros, *Diachronic Linguistics*, 173–174, 180–183.

¹⁷² Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis*, 150; Eros, *Diachronic Linguistics*, 191.

¹⁷³ Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis*, 161; Eros, *Diachronic Linguistics*, 197.

¹⁷⁴ Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis*, 164; Eros, *Diachronic Linguistics*, 192.

¹⁷⁵ “Ut autem in rebus, non una similitudinis species; alia enim oris & vultus; alia indolis et ingenii; ita in verbis, alia soni similitudo: alia analogiæ quae plerumque certius est κριτήριον”; Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis*, 181.

As for example, the Spanish word *hijo*, which means son: if we judge by the sound, we decide that its origin is Greek *υἱός*; if we decide by the distinctive analogy of the Spanish language, which we discussed above in relation to the etymology of *house* or *huis*, [*hijo* derives] from Latin *filius*. That this is the more true etymology is shown by the fact (which can also be attributed to analogy) that the Spanish language stems from Latin, as countless words from Latin, inflected in various ways, can make clear to anyone. The Greek language, on the other hand, is rarely found in Spanish, if anywhere at all.¹⁷⁶

Casaubon considered the correlation of different sounds based on quantitative assessment more important than plain similarity. However, he still viewed history as the most important way of establishing a relation between languages.¹⁷⁷ Unfortunately, he spoilt his methodology by stating that any vowel or consonant could correspond, and that discarding any of the four possibilities of change forwarded by Plato would mean the end of etymology.¹⁷⁸

Van Vliet's ideas correspond to those of Casaubon in that both men shared the aim of establishing the origin of their native languages. There is a fundamental difference, however, with regard to the practical implications of this common goal. Eros perceived two main purposes in Casaubon's work: firstly, the establishment of the affinity between English and the three holy languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, to enhance the glory of English, and secondly, to practise etymology in order to find the sources of English words.¹⁷⁹ For the first purpose, Casaubon started from historical convictions about the interrelation between languages, and in an admirable way attempted to construct paradigmatically sound methodological principles, which supported his hypotheses. For the second purpose, Casaubon included a lengthy list of etymologies in alphabetical order, in which he gave the sources of English words with the help of his method.

¹⁷⁶ "Ut ex. gr. verbum Hispanicum *hijo*, quod *filius* significat, si ex sono pronuntiamus, Graecum *υἱός* statuamus originem; si ex analogiâ illâ Hispanicæ linguæ propriâ, de quâ suprâ ubi de etymologiâ verbi *house*, vel *huis*, egimus, Latinum *filius*; quam veriore esse etymologiam & illud suadet, (quod etiam ad analogiam referri potest) quod lingua Hispanica sit Latinæ tradux, ut ex infinitis ejus linguæ verbis ex Latinis variè inflexis, cuivis liquere quæat: Graecæ autem linguae perpauca, si fortè aliqua, in eâ reperiantur"; *Ibid.*, 181. It seems likely that Casaubon drew on Vossius's concept of analogy in *De arte grammatica libri VII*, but Eros presents no possible sources for this principle of analogy.

¹⁷⁷ Eros, *Diachronic Linguistics*, 202–203.

¹⁷⁸ Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis*, 165, 182; Eros, *Diachronic Linguistics*, 210.

¹⁷⁹ Eros, "A 17th-Century Demonstration of Language Relationship", 2.

Like Casaubon, Van Vliet also started from a single original language, although he left Hebrew out of account. Instead, Van Vliet narrowed down his scope to the Germanic languages, and placed Gothic at the head of his paradigm. Casaubon saw the relationship between English and the other Germanic languages as secondary, because he regarded Old English as relatively anterior to the others. Although he occasionally included Old High German in his observations, he left the Germanic component of his studies to his friend William Somner, whose glossary was added as an appendix. Van Vliet's approach to Dutch is different from Casaubon's approach to English, in that he is certain of its ultimate derivation from Gothic, whereas Casaubon leaves open the possibility that English does not derive vertically from Greek but that there might be only a horizontal relationship.¹⁸⁰ Van Vliet is uncertain about the phases between Gothic and Dutch, and tried to find the origins of Dutch words in order to establish its relationship with Old English, Old High German, and other Germanic languages. Casaubon's account of the confusion at Babel is also diametrically opposed to Van Vliet's explanation, which was based on the assumption that mutual understanding disappeared through sudden sound-changes rather than changes of meaning.¹⁸¹

Van Vliet shared Casaubon's idea that more than one language can be at the basis of another. This is clear from his observations on Dutch, in which he recognized Anglo-Saxon as well as Franconian elements. Whether Van Vliet took Casaubon's distinction between partial and full matrices and derivatives into account in his definition of the origins of Dutch is not clear. His remark that Dutch has much in common with other Germanic languages¹⁸² is much less sophisticated than Casaubon's system of matrices, and there is no other evidence of his using these criteria. Moreover, Van Vliet never referred to the difference between plain similarity and what Casaubon termed *analogia* of sounds, although he regularly indicated correlation between letters which were not entirely identical. He never used the word *analogia*, which may indicate that he restricted its meaning to the paradigmatic characteristics of a single language, as explained by Gerard Vossius. Explanations of forms that we know resulted from Grimm's Law or the second Germanic consonant shift are absent from his work. Instead, like Casaubon, he assigned an

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁸¹ See below, p. 313.

¹⁸² See below, pp. 252–253.

important role to history in his model of languages.¹⁸³ In Van Vliet's practical studies, there are indications that he tried to develop methodological principles and ideas, but he made no attempt whatsoever to describe them. Historiographically, Van Vliet's principles are therefore a matter of reconstruction rather than observation. The difference between Casaubon and Van Vliet is one of historical perception, as well as one of theoretical versus practical approach.

In the same year as Casaubon's *De quatuor linguis* appeared, the French philologist Gilles (Aegidius) Ménage (1613–1692) published his *Origines de la langue françoise* (Paris, 1650), an etymological dictionary of the French language, in which Ménage furnished a large number of lemmata with sometimes lengthy etymological observations, and also gave his views on etymological scholarship in his day.¹⁸⁴ In his lengthy introductory epistle to Erycius Puteanus, Ménage claimed that a prerequisite for being a successful etymologist was the command of a great many languages:

In order to succeed in investigating the origin of our language, one needs a perfect knowledge of Latin, from which it derived, and particularly of vulgar Latin, of which books are unending and tedious to read. One needs to have the same knowledge of Greek, from which Latin was formed, and from which we have also borrowed some of our words. And in order to descend to the source, one needs to know both Hebrew and Chaldean, of which many Greek words derive.¹⁸⁵

Ménage also prefaced his work with a section entitled *Exemples de la conversion des lettres*,¹⁸⁶ in which he dealt with the alteration of sounds.

¹⁸³ See below, p. 242.

¹⁸⁴ On Ménage, see *Nouvelle biographie*, xxxiii, 877–898. On Ménage's method, see Wolf Dietrich, "G. Menage, J. G. Eckhart und L. A. Muratori: Zur Entwicklung der etymologischen Forschungen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert", in *In Memoriam Friedrich Diez*, Hans-Josef Niederehe and Harald Haarman eds. (Amsterdam, 1976), 77–92. See W. Ayres-Bennett, "Dangers and Difficulties in Linguistic Historiography: The Case of Gilles Ménage (1613–1692)", in *Understanding the Historiography of Linguistics...*, W. Hülsen ed. (Münster, 1990), 195–206, for a short list of Ménage's works and a selective bibliography.

¹⁸⁵ "Pour reussir en la recherche des Origines de nostre Langue, il faudroit avoir une parfaite connoissance de la Langue Latine dont elle est venue, & particulièrement de la basse Latinité, dont les liures sont infinis & ennuieux à lire. Il faudroit avoir la mesme connoissance de la Langue Grecque, de qui la Latine s'est formée, & de qui nous avons aussi emprunté quelques dictions. Et pour remonter jusques à la source, il faudroit sçavoir & l'Hebreu & le Chaldée, d'où plusieurs mots Grecs sont descendus"; Gilles Ménage, *Les origines de la langue françoise* (Paris, 1650), aiii'–av'.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, i–xxxviii.

He was of the opinion that this phenomenon was independent of specific languages, and illustrated the same correlating sounds in Latin, Greek, Italian, and French. The types of change implemented by Ménage ultimately go back to Varro.

In October 1661, Van Vliet mentioned Ménage's book in a letter to Christiaan Huygens as a work he wished to oppose: "Secondly,...will you borrow Ménage's *Origines* from the library of the great Lodewijck and send it by boat, for I intend to refute it".¹⁸⁷ Even though the letter also indicates that Van Vliet did not possess the book, he knew that Ménage had written extensively on the etymology of his native language, something he himself also intended. Although there is no evidence to support the claim that Ménage's method played a role in Van Vliet's work, his function as an example of a scholar who wrote on the etymology of his native language has to be acknowledged.

6. Ole Worm

The last influential scholar I will discuss is the Danish polymath Ole Worm (1588–1654), who was primarily a natural scientist and a medical scholar,¹⁸⁸ but, in addition, also a passionate antiquarian and a pioneer of runic studies. He was of Dutch origin; his grandfather, Johannes Worm (1520–1601), a Protestant citizen of Arnhem, had fled to Denmark because of Duke Alva's religious persecutions.¹⁸⁹ Ole Worm received part of his education in Leiden, where he met Johannes de Laet, with whom

¹⁸⁷ "Alterum...ut ex bibliotheca τοῦ δεινὸς Ludovici depromas mittasque per nautam Origines Menagii; quas confutare animus est"; Van Vliet to Christiaan Huygens, 05–10–1661.

¹⁸⁸ Several aspects of Ole Worm's work have been described: for his work as a medical scholar, see Ejnar Hovesen, *Lægen Ole Worm 1588–1654. En medicinhistorisk undersøgelse og vurdering* (Aarhus, 1987), for his antiquarian studies see Ole Klindt-Jensen, *A History of Scandinavian Archaeology* (London, 1975); his correspondence with Icelanders was edited with a sizable introduction by Benediktsson, and the collection of antiquarian drawings of runic inscriptions has been published by Erik Moltke, *Jon Skonvig og de andre runetegnere* (Copenhagen, 1956–1958). Bennett, *History of Old English and Old Norse Studies*, 214–215; —, "The Beginnings of Runic Studies", 269–270, mentioned Worm but did not describe his influence on the beginning of Norse studies in England, other than that Worm corresponded with Henry Spelman. Christine E. Fell, "Runes and Semantics", in *Old English Runes and their Continental Background*, Alfred Bammesberger ed. (Heidelberg, 1991), 195–229, briefly discusses Worm's influence on English scholarship.

¹⁸⁹ Hovesen, 30.

he engaged in scholarly correspondence between 1642 and 1648. Worm was a fervent advocate of the great antiquity of the Danish language and one of the first to make an inventory of Danish runic inscriptions.¹⁹⁰

As I have stated above, for his knowledge of runes, Van Vliet relied to a great extent on Worm, whose works include an inventory of runic inscriptions, a history of runes, and a Latin-Icelandic lexicon. Worm himself had based his ideas partly on the works of the Icelanders Arngrímur Jónson (1568–1648) and Þorlákur Skúlason (1597–1656), who had provided him with information and manuscripts.¹⁹¹ Worm attributed great antiquity to the term ‘rune’, and considered runes to be the script of the oldest Scandinavians: the Goths, Geats, and Danes.

I know well that there are men of great fame who argue that the Getes are different from the Goths and Guths, the Cimbrians different from the Cimmerians, the Danes from the Dacians and *Dahae*, etc. Even the noble Johannes Isaac Pontanus fiercely and eruditely promotes this in his description of Danish chorography.¹⁹²

In answer to the question of how many types of runes there were,¹⁹³ Worm began by asserting that the Old Danish characters were named ‘Runic’,¹⁹⁴ which was a term reproduced by Van Vliet to denote what he saw as the oldest Scandinavian language. According to Worm, ‘Runic’ could still be found in its purest form in Iceland, whose inhabitants had been least exposed to outside influences.

It should by no means be overlooked that from these runes the language was traditionally called RUNA MAALI, as can be demonstrated from more than one place in the Eddic and Scaldic manuscripts that have been handed down to us from Iceland.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ Ole Worm, *Monumentorum Danorum libri vi...* (Copenhagen, 1643).

¹⁹¹ Benediktsson, xv–xxi.

¹⁹² “Non me fugit esse magni nominis viros, qui contendunt Getas diversos esse à Gothis & Guthis, Cimbros diversos à Cimmeriis, Danos à Dacis & Dahis, &c. Pro quo etiam acriter & eruditè pugnat vir clarissimus Joh. Isaacius Pontanns [sic] in Chorographica Daniæ descriptione”; Ole Worm, *RUNIR, seu Danica literatura antiquissima...* (Copenhagen, 1651), 30.

¹⁹³ “Quot Literarum Runicarum exstiterint genera”; *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁹⁴ “Prisca elementa Danica quæ Runica vocantur, diligentius perlustrans...” *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁹⁵ “Hoc neutiquam praetereundum videtur, qvòd ab hisce Runis lingua antiquitus RUNA MAALI Runa maali, appellata fuerit, ut ex non uno loco Eddæ & Scaldæ M.S.S. ex Islandia ad nos delatorum, ad oculum demonstrari potest”; *Ibid.*, 32.

Van Vliet's view of 'Runic' as the original Scandinavian language unmistakably originated with Worm. This conviction resulted in his attempts to transliterate older Swedish, Danish and Icelandic text into runes, as Worm himself had done in his editions of the *Hofuðlausn* and *Krakamál*. In all his works, Worm, whose belief in the antiquity of the Danish language was unshakable, considered Danish to be far older than the other Germanic languages. In this last aspect Van Vliet felt differently, and moved Gothic to the top of the ladder. For his explanation of the word 'rune' in his dedication to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie Van Vliet not only referred to Worm, but also to the *Haliurunnæ* 'women sorcerers' in Jornandes's history of the Goths. Although Worm accounted for language-change,¹⁹⁶ he did not write on etymological theory, and therefore did not exercise any influence on Van Vliet's etymological constructions.

7. Concluding remarks

Not all of the names mentioned by Van Vliet in his 1662 letter to Nicholas Heinsius have been discussed here. The identity of "Schottus" is not entirely clear. The most likely candidate is the Antwerp humanist Andreas Schottus (1552–1629), whose interest in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts appears from his annotation to the Brussels Aldhelm manuscript, but who is not known to have worked on the origin of his native language.¹⁹⁷ The Germans Marquard Freher and Melchior Goldast, whom Van Vliet, following Junius, accredited with a good knowledge of Old High German, were probably known to him only through Junius's works and from his library. Another foreign scholar whose influence is not discernible is the German Justus Georgius Schottelius (1612–1676), whose *Ausführliche Arbeit*, an influential work on German, was published in 1663. Van Vliet appears to have been largely unfamiliar with the work of contemporary German scholars. For influence from earlier movements and scholars, including important names such as Richard Verstegen and William Camden, whose books were also used in Van Vliet's studies, I refer to the more general survey in chapter I.

¹⁹⁶ Worm, *RUNIR*, 136.

¹⁹⁷ Brussels, Royal Library, MS 1650 (1520); see Louis Goossens, *The Old English Glosses of MS. Brussels Royal Library, 1650...* (Brussels, 1974), 7. On Schottus, see *BNB*, XXII, 1–14.

It is evident that the intellectual climate in the Low Countries in the middle of the seventeenth century was not unfavourable towards the study of Old Germanic languages. To a greater or lesser extent, scholars from various disciplines incorporated such languages in their work, even though these languages rarely became a topic of study in their own right. Instead, the Old Germanic languages mostly played a role in the study of history, comparison of languages, law, chorography, and grammar, or a combination of these disciplines. The great exception (for the moment leaving Francis Junius out of account) was Johannes de Laet, whose Anglo-Saxon dictionary would have earned him a prominent place in the history of Old English lexicography, had not the Copenhagen fire destroyed it. As runners-up there are Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn and Olivarius Vredius, whose achievements may seem slight in hindsight, but were, at the time, unprecedented. The example of prominent humanist scholars, such as Grotius, Vossius, and Salmasius, made inquiries into the oldest Germanic languages acceptable. Their works tone down the remarkably adverse attitude of Nicholas Heinsius, whose fierce attacks on Van Vliet's Germanic studies seem to suggest that it was considered totally unworthy of the citizens of the 'republic of letters' to turn to barbarisms. Although different attitudes to the study of classical languages and vernacular languages clearly remained, the one did not necessarily exclude the other.

Van Vliet's Germanic studies thus emerge from a variety of seventeenth-century scholarly disciplines. As a philologist trained according to the humanist tradition, he encountered the emerging interest in the vernacular, legal and historical antiquarianism, and the involvement with several Old Germanic languages of a number of well-known scholars. The amalgamation of these interests created the right conditions for his scholarly development into an embryonic Germanic philologist. His contacts with Francis Junius would do the rest.

CHAPTER SIX

VAN VLIET'S GERMANIC STUDIES

In chapter III, I have shown that Van Vliet's work on the Old Germanic languages consists of a heterogeneous set of studies, in which he treated sometimes one, but usually more than one language in a synchronic and/or a diachronic perspective. His synchronic study of these languages consisted of the presentation of excerpts and fragments of text, and simple glossing. In a diachronic perspective his studies were concerned with the comparison of words from different forms of one language and/or more languages. This diachronic comparison of words considered as related in one way or another was carried out to achieve certain objectives—the exact nature of which I will consider in this chapter—which have the search for 'origins' as their common denominator. Viewed from this angle, such an approach may be broadly classified as etymology, although, from a modern point of view, this definition does not apply, and it would be better to speak of comparative studies. However, in a contemporaneous perspective, the term etymology can be applied, and I will therefore make use of it here. Since etymology is, by definition, a procedure for arriving at a certain goal, this procedure can be subjected to analysis. It is my aim in this chapter to provide an analysis of Van Vliet's comparative studies in the broadest possible way. This means that I will not only concentrate on practical examples but also consider the underlying aims and theories.

I will dedicate much space in this chapter to ideas, parallels, and examples from the works of Francis Junius, for it is impossible to assess Van Vliet's achievements without constant reference to Junius's works. Van Vliet's attempts to model his studies on those of Junius led to the large-scale adoption of his master's ideas and methods, which were constantly in the back of his mind. It is therefore often difficult, and sometimes impossible, to determine the precise boundary between Van Vliet's own ideas and those of Junius, especially because so little is known about Van Vliet's studies prior to his contacts with Junius. Consequently, I will also attempt to shed more light on the relation between Van Vliet's Germanic studies and those of Junius.

1. *Scope*

In my discussion of the etymological procedures, I will apply the structural constraints set by Swiggers (1991), who divided the domain of etymology into *largeur*, *profondeur* and *méthode*, which I will present as 'scope or circumference', 'motivation', and 'method'.¹ The first parameter of this theoretical division of the study of etymology, 'scope or circumference', concerns the languages and dialects that are adduced in comparative discussions, and relates to the paradigm of languages that is postulated. The second parameter depends upon motivations that lie at the basis of this study. It involves the questions which the scholar sees himself confronted with, and which are consequently considered to be the reason for the work. The third parameter, 'method', pertains to the way in which the objective of the etymology is arrived at. Although I will refer to the 'method' in relation to Van Vliet's etymological studies, it must be admitted that any attempt at evaluating this method immediately introduces the question whether there was ever such a thing as Van Vliet's, or indeed Junius's method, in the sense of a systematic procedure consistently used for solving sets of related problems, and in relation to this, whether seventeenth-century comparative linguistics can be said to apply any method at all. At this stage, I will therefore limit the meaning of the concept of method to the procedure(s) used by Van Vliet or Junius for a single problem. Taken collectively, these procedures will have to provide the information for a possible rudimentary methodology.

¹ Adapting Swiggers's parameters slightly to the description of seventeenth-century etymology, I translate *largeur* (*ou extension*, '*circonférence*'), by 'scope' because it relates to the working space of etymology. By way of example for the *largeur* of classical etymology Swiggers, "Le travail étymologique", 30, gives: "la langue de l'étymologiste, et éventuellement d'autres langues qu'il connaît". Although it appears from the rest of Swiggers's article that there are other aspects connected with *largeur* (*ibid.*, 37), I will restrict 'scope' to the field of languages selected by the etymologist. I translate *profondeur* by 'motivation' because the concept as presented by Swiggers touches not only on the degree of sophistication of the etymological procedure, but also on the motivation and objectives of etymology, which form the basis for the etymologist's approach. His example concerning Renaissance etymology illustrates this: "la comparaison des langues sert (en général) à préciser l'identité de la langue primitive, qui peut être l'hébreu..., le néerlandais/ teuto-nique..., le suédois, voire le scythique ou le scytho-celtique"; *ibid.*, 31.

1.1. Languages and names

Unlike present-day etymologists, who try to establish relationships between words and languages from empirical observations, their Renaissance counterparts worked from pre-conceived notions, based on Biblical and secular historical traditions. Scholars did not construct a paradigm of languages with the help of etymological evidence from comparative studies. Rather, it was the other way round: etymology served to provide evidence for notions that were mostly preconceived, and based upon general impressions or scholarly tradition. Hence, Van Vliet explained most of his ideas about the interrelationship between languages in the introduction to *'t Vader ons* (VO), rather than in the conclusion, and the main part of the book served, as he himself put it, to illustrate what he considered to be the truth. Other works, including the dedication to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie provide additional theoretical information. A second important source is his nomenclature: the names he gave to language variants. However, this was not free from ambiguity: sometimes he applied different names to a single language variant, while at other times he classified different language variants by the same name. Furthermore, regional (synchronic) differentiation both between languages and between dialects, or between a particular language and its dialects, are not always unambiguously reflected by a common denominator. The same holds good for diachronic distinctions between languages and between forms of the same language. Diachronic phases recognized today may not have been represented by a specific name in the past, or may have been related to a different period. For historiographical reconstruction it is therefore essential to know what the representatives of Germanic philological scholarship understood by the names they used for the languages they encountered.

1.2. Gothic

Van Vliet presented his ideas on the paradigm of languages as something revolutionary. Both national and international scholars, he claimed, tried to find the origins of the Dutch language:

However, they have mostly searched in the darkness, as a blind man fumbles for an egg. One turning here, another there, they wandered off from the straight road, because they had no lodestar, which could illuminate or guide them to their target. This means that they have not been able to see

or know where our language is originally from. Here and there, many have been able to find something that corresponded to our [language], in Greek and other old languages, but they have neither seen, nor been able to see, how and by which way.²

For the sudden change in the rate of success, Van Vliet gave full credit to the work of Francis Junius. The revolution had been caused by the discovery of the Codex Argenteus, which contained the precious language of the ancient Goths. Van Vliet took Gothic to be the oldest Germanic language, and, at the same time, the one from which all others derive, comparable in present-day terms to Common Germanic.

...the original mother-tongue of these Northern countries, that is the Gothic, which, in the Gospels, (the only treasure left of that language, about twelve hundred years old)...³

The supposed antiquity of Gothic was not based on its linguistic features, but on the role and the place of the Goths in history, of which Van Vliet gave a short survey in his introduction to VO. In contrast with many of his predecessors, he no longer assigned a place to the Batavians in his rudimentary ethnography of the Dutch. Instead, he traced the origins of all remaining Germanic peoples back to the Goths:

Long ago, some of the forenamed Goths settled in Germany, and left the seeds there for the ancient German peoples and languages, from which ours has also sprung, as well as the other Northern [languages], such as in Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Frisia, and other places.⁴

² "doch hebben daer meest, als een blinde na het eij, getast, ende in't duijster, d'een hier d'ander daer sich keerende, van den rechten wegh afgedwaelt, om dat sij geen leijdtsterre en hadde, die hun oogh-gemerck verlichten, of bestieren konde. Dat is, sij hebben niet connen sien of weten, waer onse tael oorspronghkelijck van daen comt. Vele hebben wel hier en daer wat in't Griecs en andere oude spraecken kunnen vinden, dat met de onse over een quam, maer hoe en waer langhs en hebben sij niet gesien of connen sien"; VO, a1^{r-v}.

³ "...de oorspronckelijcke Moedertael deser Noordsche Landen, dat was de Gotische, hebbende in die Evangelien (d'eenighste schat, die daer van overigh is, omtrent twaelf hondert Jaren oudt)..."; RS, 9. See also "*Heytte*]...Comende naest de moeder-tale: *Atta unsar*..."; PV, 379^r. [*heytte*] coming next to the mother tongue: *Atta unsar*]; *Sleeck*]...Alle comende van het Goth. *slain*; PV, 382^r. [*Sleeck*]...all deriving from Gothic *slain*]; *oun*] Dit comt mede naest aen de moeder-taele, Gotisch *Auhn*; PV, 385^v. [*oun*] this also resembles the mother tongue, Gothic *Auhn*] "Mother tongue" here means 'language from which others spring'.

⁴ "Eenige der voorsz. Gotten hebben in Duijtsland hun langh nedergeset, en aldaer het saet van de oude Duijtse volckeren en taelen gelaten, daer d'onse oock uijt gesproten is; behalven d'andere Noordse, soo in Sweden, Deenmerck, Iisland, Friesland, en andere oorden"; VO, a2^v.

Van Vliet, then, started from a pattern of migration of tribes as well as of languages, which had its origins in Scandinavia, and of which the Goths were the sole agent. He described the resulting stemma in the form of a family tree. Gothic was depicted as the ‘mother tongue’, which had produced a triple offspring: ‘Runic’, Anglo-Saxon, and ancient German, each of which in turn formed the basis for a branch of the Germanic languages.

1.3. ‘Runic’

Identification of the separate off-shoots of each of the three branches proved more problematic. First of all, there was the question as to which group certain languages belonged, and secondly, the geographical situation of a nation and its language had to be accounted for. This question was easiest to answer for the Northern group, which showed many mutual similarities, while it was also quite distinct from the other two branches. In relation to the geographical situation of nations and languages, Van Vliet stated that “Runic and ancient German had been born in their own countries”, by which he meant that these languages had first originated in the regions where their modern descendants were still spoken. He continued to explain that “from Runic, Icelandic, Swedish and Danish branched off, which together can be named the Northern languages, and grandchildren of Gothic”.⁵

The notion of ‘Runic’, which, from a modern point of view, can be compared to Common Scandinavian,⁶ was created by the Danish scholar Ole Worm. Van Vliet did not possess a detailed knowledge of the synchronic and diachronic diversity of the Scandinavian languages, but their close relationship was nevertheless often noted in his work.⁷ His presupposition of a Runic language was based only on Ole Worm’s depictions of stones with runes and speculative reports on manuscripts containing runes.⁸ As a result of his belief that the oldest Scandinavian texts had been originally written in runes, Van Vliet often transliterated back and forth. One of his specimens of the Lord’s Prayer in VO was presented in “Old

⁵ “Van de Runisse zijn gesprooten de Iislandse, Sweedse, en Deense, die men te samen de Noordse taelen, en kinds-kinderen van de Gotse kan noemen”; VO, a3’.

⁶ Cf. Einar Haugen, *The Scandinavian Languages...* (London, 1976), 198–199.

⁷ For example: “Barn. Sued. Isl. et Dan.”; SO, D2’. When Junius illustrated the negative prefix *a-*, Van Vliet added: “Islandis Sued. Dan. O, ut Oven, ohilligh, etc”; OW, 301.

⁸ At the beginning of the fourteenth century there were some Danish attempts to apply runes as a book hand, but these were inspired by antiquarian motives. See Haugen, *The Scandinavian Languages*, 191–194.

Swedish in Runic characters”, and concerns a transliteration of a Swedish text into runes of mixed Danish and Norwegian origins.⁹ Contemporary Scandinavian languages also featured in his Germanic studies. Danish was most prominent, as he probably knew more about Danish than about any other Scandinavian language. Swedish was used less frequently than Danish. Worm’s works and Junius’s studies had made him aware of the importance of Icelandic as a very conservative language, and therefore of its value to the study of Germanic philology.

1.4. Ancient German

The exact status of ancient German (*oud Teuts*) was less clear. Van Vliet identified Franconian and Alamanic as its offspring, as well as *Theotisc*. These terms were derived from the terminology used in historical sources, or sometimes in earlier works on the ancient remnants of the German language. Each of the terms has its specific historical connotation. Franconian and Alamanic were based on the names of certain tribes, and although the modern reflexes of the dialects derived from these regions were known to seventeenth-century scholars, the dialectal idiosyncrasies of the various Old High German dialects were unknown to Van Vliet and his contemporaries. *Theotisc* derives from Medieval Latin *theodiscus*, the earliest Carolingian word for the vernacular language. It was first attested in a report by the Papal legate George of Ostia on the resolutions of a Synod held in Corbridge, England, in 786 AD, which read *tam Latine quam theodisce* “both in Latin and in the vernacular”; *theodisce*, being a derivation from Old English *þeod* ‘people’ (Old High German *theud*).¹⁰ A proclamation of the Synod of Tours in 813 directed that sermons should be preached *in rusticam romanam linguam aut theodiscam*, referring to the two vernaculars in the Carolingian empire, ‘Vulgar’ Latin and Germanic.¹¹

⁹ VO, 14–15. The types are Junius’s pica-runic. Junius had modelled his font types on Worm, RUNIR, 58. See also Lucas.

¹⁰ R.E. Keller, *The German Language* (London and Boston, 1978), 139.

¹¹ In his discussion on polylingualism in the Carolingian empire, Ernst Hellgart, “Zur Mehrsprachigkeit im Karolingerreich”, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 118 (1996), 11–13, applies this statement to the region that is now the West of France, and therefore indicates that the Germanic dialect referred to has to be Western Franconian. In the *Annolied* (1100) *diutisch* not only refers to the vernacular but also to the area in which this vernacular was spoken; see A.A. van Raad and N. Voorwinden, *Die historischen Entwicklung des Deutschen...* (Culemborg, 1973), 43. Towards the end of the ninth century, probably as a result of the Carolingian Renaissance, Medieval Latin *Theodisca* was replaced by Classical Latin *Teutonica*, already used by Julius Caesar, *De*

Only rarely did medieval authors give information on the nature of their particular dialects. Otfrid von Weissenburg, who wrote in South Rhenish Franconian,¹² stated that he wrote the Gospels in *Frenkiszagen* ‘Frankish tongues’, but in the preface by Abbot Willeram of Ebersberg to his Franconian paraphrase of the *Song of Songs*, the language is named *Teutonica*.¹³ Matthias Flacius Illyricus observed that Otfrid had written in Alamania,¹⁴ but he called the language Franconian. Bearing this in mind, Paullus Merula named his Otfrid glossary: *Expositio Alamannica, veterum Francicorum vocabulorum, in lib. evangeliorum Otfridi usitatorum*... ‘Alamanic exposition, of ancient Franconian words that occur in Otfrid’s book of Gospels’, while in the same glossary Merula added to *amiuzzi*, *aengesicht* from Otfrid: “I still think it will have to be read as Franconian *anluzzi*, as our Willeram writes”,¹⁵ thus classifying Willeram’s language as Franconian.

Van Vliet used various terms for Old High German indiscriminately. In Latin and Dutch respectively he used *Francica/Francks*, *Theotisc/Theotisce*, *Alamannica/Alamansche*. Furthermore, he sometimes employed *Salli* and *Teutonicus* in Latin, and *Teuts* and *oud Duijtsch* in Dutch. *Oud Duijtsch* and *oud Teuts* may refer to any Old High German text, e.g. “*de oude Duijtschen Tat. Notger en andere*”,¹⁶ while the *Murbach Hymns* were named the “*lofzangen in ’t oude Duijts*”.¹⁷ He also wrote “*De oude Teutse ... van Tatianus heeft ’costunge*”, *Die van Notker ’chorunga*”,¹⁸ and “*Otfrid in Oud Teuts*”.¹⁹ *Theotisc* has an equally wide connotation but is used less frequently: the *Murbach Hymns* were referred to as *hymn. Theot.*,²⁰ but he described words not attributed to the Hymns in a similar fashion. Although Van Vliet applied *Theotisc* predominantly to Old High German, he was aware of its original meaning ‘vernacular Germanic language’. When the glossator of the incunable edition of the Frisian laws introduced a piece of Old Frisian by: “*Sic inchoat voce Teutonica*”,²¹ Van

bello Gallico 7, 77.

¹² Van Raad and Voorwinden, 49.

¹³ Junius, *Observationes*, 3.

¹⁴ Flacius Illyricus, γ3^r.

¹⁵ “putem tamen legend. Franc. *anluzzi*, ut noster Willeramus scribit”; Merula, 169.

¹⁶ VO, 23.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁰ SO, O3^r, Oo4^v, Rr1^v, Ss4^v.

²¹ MA, 85.

Vliet remarked on the interleaf that this used to be *Theotisca*, “from *deode* or *dhiot*, i.e. vernacular language of the people”.²² He employed the term Alamanic only once, in relation to two words that he had earlier identified as “*oud Duijtsch*”.²³ In this case he had borrowed the term from Junius, who defined some texts, including Kero’s glosses of the *Benedictine Rule* and the works of Notker of St. Gallen, as Alamanic.²⁴ Junius, in turn, based his terminology on Melchior Goldast (1606), but at the same time he included Goldast’s Alamanic texts under the heading *Francica* in the *Lectori benevolo* to his *Gothicum glossarium*. He also described the Old High German dialects in his *Observationes in Willeram* as “*ipsam Francicam (quae Alamannica quoque vel Theotisca dicebatur)*”.²⁵

Van Vliet also used *Teutonica* for Old High German. The *Murbach Hymns* are referred to as *Hymn. Teuton.*, and so is Lipsius’s Old Low Franconian glossary.²⁶ He also mentioned Otfrid and Willeram in conjunction with a reference to *Teut. Hym.*,²⁷ without any distinction. Historically and etymologically, the term *Teutonica* stood for the entire Germanic nation, but its most commonly acknowledged use in the Low Countries in the second half of the sixteenth century was as a term for Low German or Dutch, as used by Kiliaan, who spoke of “*Germanicis inferioribus sive Teutonicis*”.²⁸ Although Van Vliet knew Kiliaan’s work well, he sometimes used *Teutonica* as a collective term for the continental Germanic dialects, i.e. for Dutch, Low German, and High German, and did not adopt Kiliaan’s meaning. The *lingua Teutonica* was not the same as ‘Germanic’, for it included neither the Scandinavian languages nor Gothic.

There is similar ambiguity in Van Vliet’s use of *Francica* or *Francks*. He referred to the *Murbach Hymns*, which had been variously named, as *Hymn. Franc.*, and called Tatian’s *Harmonia evangelica* the “*Franckse Oversettinge*” ‘the Franconian translation’.²⁹ He also regarded Junius’s glossary *D* and the *Willeram* as “*Francks*”.³⁰ Lipsius’s glossary is also

²² “N. Frisicam linguam Teutonicam vocat Gl. quae olim Theotisca, a *Deode* vel *dhiot*, q.d. popularis vernacula”; MA, 85^{bis}.

²³ VO, 5, 35.

²⁴ “Keronis Monachi S. Galli interpretatio vocabulorum Barbarorum id est Alamannicorum in Regulam S. Benedicti Abbatis”; Goldast, *Alamannicarum rerum scriptores*, 94–122.

²⁵ Junius, *Observationes*, [π6^v].

²⁶ SO, E4^r, I3^v.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Mm4^v.

²⁸ Kiliaan, *Etymologicum*, *3^r; Claes, “De benaming van onze taal”, 289.

²⁹ SO, Ff2^v; VO, 30, 46.

³⁰ RS, 16.

referred to as Franconian, but this does not imply that Van Vliet was aware that the *Wachtendonk Psalter* was a specimen of Old Low Franconian.³¹ In his planned edition of Frisian proverbs, Van Vliet consistently used *Francks* for Old High German, perhaps in line with Junius, who used *Francica* when he wished to indicate Old High German, both in the *Observationes*,³² and in the *Gothicum glossarium*.³³

In addition, the term *Frank(isch)* was also used for French, which is a direct result of Van Vliet's perception of the history of the Frankish empire and the languages that played a role in it.³⁴ Since the Franks were known to have been a Germanic speaking tribe, the idea had come about that the French language had been the result of contamination of the Franconian language through the influence of Vulgar Latin. From a historical point of view, therefore, there was no real difference between the French and the Franks, and Van Vliet sometimes used the terms indiscriminately. Thus, he named Kero's Old High German glosses "the old French dictionary of Kero",³⁵ and referred to French as "the mixed language of the Franks, who had still retained countless Germanic words, although mostly either changed through spelling or in meaning".³⁶ His great example for this notion must have been Olivarius Vredius.³⁷

1.5. Anglo-Saxon

According to Van Vliet, the Anglo-Saxon language, the third "daughter" of Gothic, was the ancestor of Modern English, Frisian, and partly of Dutch. He described it as a language on the move, "which had been shipped to England in the year 449 with *Horsus* and *Hengistus*". His account was based on Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, I, 15, which describes the migration of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, from Northern Germany to Britain, and which was almost universally quoted by anyone who touched on this topic. Van Vliet sometimes referred to the Anglo-Saxon

³¹ "De oude Francken noemden 't *Kuosmeer*, in het woordenboek van Lips"; PV, 380^r; Feitsma, *Oude Friesche spreek-woorden*, 122.

³² Junius, *Observationes*, [π3^r, π6^r].

³³ Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***4^{r+v}.

³⁴ The French connection with Charlemagne's Franconian became part of French historiography in the sixteenth century; see above, p. 16.

³⁵ "Het oude Fransche woordboek van Kero"; RS, 53.

³⁶ "Waer van de Francken noch in hun gemengelde spraek behouden *huy*, *au jour d'huy*, gelijk sij noch ontallicke Duijtse woorden hebben, doch meest, of door spellinge, of in bediedinge, verandert..."; VO, 38.

³⁷ See above, pp. 205–206.

tribes as 'Saxons' or 'ancient Saxons', in line with numerous writers discussing the *adventus Saxonum*.³⁸ In his planned edition of Frisian proverbs (PV), he reiterated the connection between Anglo-Saxons and Frisians by stating that "The ancient Saxons on the other hand (which amazes me because they were one people with the Frisians before their crossing) only used ⟨c⟩ without ⟨k⟩ or ⟨q⟩".³⁹ and he referred to the Old English laws as "the old laws of the Saxons".⁴⁰ However, for Van Vliet, who considered the history of the Germanic tribes in a wider perspective than was generally done in England, Continental Saxons continued to play a role in history, and this made matters more complicated.

In the introduction to VO, Van Vliet simply ignored the continental Saxons, but elsewhere he struggled to assign them a place. His use of the terms 'ancient Saxon' and 'Saxon' is ambiguous, in that not only Germanic tribes in England, but also the people from Northern Germany and the Netherlands were referred to as ancient Saxons, especially in his comments to words specified by Kiliaan as Saxon.⁴¹ He considered the Frisians and the Saxons to be still part of the same tribe around 800 AD, three and a half centuries after the migration of the Anglo-Saxons had taken place. Van Vliet was clearly influenced here by the repeated references to Widukind in the Old Frisian laws. Widukind, the legendary leader of the Saxons, and a notorious antagonist of Charlemagne, was repeatedly mentioned as the first *asega* (legal official) in the Old Frisian laws, for which Van Vliet had found confirmation in Lindenbrog (1613).⁴² The connection between Charlemagne and Widukind increased his conviction that some of the Frisian laws had been stipulated by Charlemagne, who was also considered responsible for the spread of the Frisian language and laws to other regions. Van Vliet concluded that it had been Charlemagne "who transplanted the rebellious Saxons, among whom the Frisians are to be included, to these regions [Breda] around the year 800".⁴³ Van Vliet presumed that Anglo-Saxons, Saxons and Frisians were initially of one and the same stock. However, the language of the *Sachsenspiegel*, a codex of

³⁸ The name of Saxon for Anglo-Saxon was current in England until well into the nineteenth century; see *OED*, IX, 148–149.

³⁹ "De oude Saxen daer en tegen (dat mij verwondert, dewijl sij een volck mette Friesen geweest zijn, eer sy overscheepten) gebruijcken de C. alleen sonder K. ofte Q"; PV, 124.

⁴⁰ "de oude wetten der Saxen"; RS, 4.

⁴¹ PV, 123, 141.

⁴² Lindenbrog, *Codex legum antiquarum*, b3^r; MA, 42, 42^{bis}. See above, p. 184.

⁴³ "door den welcke de wederstrevige Saxen daeronder de Friezen te reecken en zijn, in dese quartieren, omtrent den jare 800. overgeplant waren"; RS, 11.

Low German laws, differed so much from Anglo-Saxon and Frisian that it necessitated a split between later Saxons and Frisians; from a single tribe, they evolved into neighbours: “the old Saxons, neighbours of the Frisians and of these lands, have also used this law...in the *Sachsenspiegel*”.⁴⁴ His presentation of the Saxon language as ranging from Old English to Frisian and Low German shows once again that the distribution of languages was preconceived and largely based on historical grounds, and, if historical sources were unclear or incompatible, this was reflected in the paradigm of languages. Although the comparison of languages was added in support of the paradigm, in the cases where there were difficult problems—and the true nature of the Saxons and the Saxon language was, and still is, a difficult problem⁴⁵—linguistic incompatibility was still overruled by popular historical tradition.

Van Vliet’s seventeenth-century view of Old English differed considerably from the modern concept in that he did not notice synchronic diversity between regional dialects, but pictured it as the homogeneous language of the Anglo-Saxons. Moreover, he perceived no difference between Old English and the Middle English language of the *Ormulum*; at the most the language was distinguished by the source.⁴⁶ In his introduction to VO Van Vliet stated that Old English had been polluted by the influence of the Romance language after the Norman conquest, which he seemed to consider a breach in the continuity of the language. Elsewhere, he characterized the language of the *Ormulum* as Old English, because it had not been mixed with the Romance or contemporary French language.⁴⁷ On the basis of such remarks it seems that he divided the English language into Anglo-Saxon, i.e. before the influence of French, and English, i.e. after the influence of French. He made no further formal subdivision, although

⁴⁴ “De oude Saxen nabuijren van de Friesen, ende deser landen hebben dit recht mede gebruijckt...in de *Sachsenspiegel*”; RS, 12.

⁴⁵ See E. Seebold, “Wer waren die Friesen—sprachlich gesehen?”, in *Friesische Studien II...*, Volkert F. Faltings *et al.* eds. (Odense, 1994), 1–18.

⁴⁶ See for example: “[*Herne*] AS. *Hern*, en *hyrn*, en in mijn geschreven boeck, *hirne*”; PV, 380’. [*Herne*] AS. *Hern*, and *hyrn*, and in my manuscript, *hirne*.] Seventeenth-century English scholars did not recognize the difference between Old English and Middle English either, as appears for example from Sir Thomas Browne’s *Certain Miscellany Tracts*, published posthumously in 1783. In an essay entitled “Of Languages and particularly of the Saxon Tongue”, Browne gave examples of Old English which were actually Middle English; see Adams, 81–82. George Hickes typified the language of the *Ormulum* as “Semi-Saxon”, as distinct from earlier “Dani-Saxon” and pure “Saxon”; see George Hickes, *Antiquae literaturae septentrionalis libri duo...* (Oxford, 1707), 87–88, 134–137; Adams, 89.

⁴⁷ Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 22–07–1659.

he was aware of the archaic nature of earlier English. In his work on Chaucer's English, Van Vliet analyzed the differences between Chaucer's language and contemporary English through spelling changes. In addition, he noticed that Chaucer's language contained many words of French origin, a number of which he grouped under the heading *Gellica*.⁴⁸ However, these observations did not result in an explicit classification of Chaucer's language as a distinct diachronic phase of English.

1.6. Frisian

Van Vliet did not describe various chronological stages in Frisian, as he had done for English. Dividing the Frisian language into periods is even today a disputed issue,⁴⁹ but it was not seen as an issue in the seventeenth century. Feitsma observes that when Junius referred to "the ancient Frisian language" he could mean both medieval written Frisian and contemporary spoken Frisian.⁵⁰ In Van Vliet's work, the contrast between 'written' and 'spoken' is made very explicit and operates side by side with the distinction 'in use' versus 'out of use', which is also apparent in Van Vliet's views on (Chaucerian) Middle English. When he referred to Old Frisian, he nearly always indicated the source. For contemporary Frisian, we often find the expression *sij seggen* 'they say', or a phrase of similar meaning, to indicate that this form of Frisian was still used,⁵¹ something found frequently in PV. Although the proverbs derived from a written source, Van Vliet's deliberate use of *seggen* 'to say' indicates that he considered this type of Frisian to be still part of the spoken language. In one instance he made a direct remark on an opposition between ancient and contemporary Frisian when he commented on *famne*, derived from MS Aysma,⁵²

⁴⁸ LA, 275'.

⁴⁹ H.T.J. Miedema, "Oud-, Middel- en Nieuwfries...", *Handelingen van het 30ste Nederlandse filologencongres te Leiden* (Groningen, 1968), 121–123, proposed a division between Old Frisian (c. 700–c. 1500) and Modern Frisian (c. 1500–now). A tripartite division between Old (–1550), Middle (1550–1800) and Modern Frisian (1800–) is suggested by Bo Sjölin, "Zur Gliederung des Altfriesischen", *Us Wurk* 16 (1969), 6–7. T.L. Markey, *Frisian* (The Hague, Paris, and New York, 1981), 187–202, sums up the main developments between Old West Frisian and Modern West Frisian, but does not distinguish a Middle Frisian phase. For early ideas on the division of Frisian into periods, see P. Breuker, "Mieningen oant 1844 oer de Periodisearring fan it Frysk", *Us Wurk* 30 (1981), 1–26, 78.

⁵⁰ Feitsma, *Tussen volkstaal en schrijftaal*, 13.

⁵¹ For instance: VO, 27. Van Vliet's contemporary Frisian from BA and VO was edited by Feitsma, *Frysk út de 17de ieu*, 113–116.

⁵² MS Junius 78, 142.

to which he assigned the meaning *ancilla* ‘servant girl’: “*Hodie Fris. famka vel famke est puella*” ‘the present-day meaning of Frisian *famka* or *famke* is “girl”’.⁵³ He also realized that real Frisian was a language spoken in the country rather than by the urban population: in his comment on *ward*, *warda* he stated that the town of *Leeuwarden* was named *Lieuward* by the farmers according to the ancient language. However, there are no indications that Van Vliet studied the differences between contemporary Frisian and ancient Frisian.⁵⁴

1.7. Dutch

For various reasons, Dutch posed the greatest problem in Van Vliet’s paradigm of Germanic languages. There were no vernacular texts from the early Middle Ages in which anything like ‘Old Dutch’ could be identified in the same way as Old English or Old High German. Historically, matters were equally complicated, as there had been no identifiable ‘Dutch’ tribe during the early Middle Ages. Traditionally, the legendary Batavians had been regarded as the ancestors, first of the people of Holland, and later on of other Dutch regions as well. According to Tacitus, the Batavians lived in an island, but its true location had never been unambiguously determined, and was a moot point among historians.⁵⁵ Nothing was known about the language of either the Batavians or most of the neighbouring tribes mentioned by Tacitus. The earliest Latin chronicles located the Frisians as the occupants of what later became the County of Holland. The same chronicles recorded that, in the course of history, the Frisians were expelled from the greater part of their territories by Viking attacks and Carolingian Franks. The most interesting and important problem for Van Vliet to solve in his Germanic studies was therefore the question as to where the Dutch language came from. Basically, the answer was simple, since it was clear for Van Vliet that all Germanic languages ultimately derived from Gothic. However, if considered from a more detailed context, the solution he proposed was unusually vague in comparison with his predecessors:

⁵³ SO, M2’.

⁵⁴ VO, 10. There is no evidence that Van Vliet knew the opinion of Johannes de Laet, who distinguished between an almost unintelligible rural dialect and a more civilised form of Frisian spoken in the towns; see Feitsma, *Tussen volkstaal en schrijftaal*, 22.

⁵⁵ The antiquarian Johannes Smetius, *Oppidum Batavorum seu Noviomagum liber singularis* (Amsterdam, 1645), for example, attempted to argue that his native town Nijmegen had been the true dwelling-place of the Batavians.

From Anglo-Saxon [came] ancient Frisian, English, and part of our [language]; it [our language] partly also shares much with [the language] of the old Franks, Theotisc [sic], and Alamanic (together sprung from ancient German), and it nevertheless has quite a lot in common with all aforementioned 9 languages as well.⁵⁶

Dutch, then, unlike all other Germanic languages in Van Vliet's paradigm, was presented as a composite language, which derived its words partly from Old English and partly from Old Franconian, while it shared characteristics with all other Germanic languages. He held the pre-Carolingian Frisian rule responsible for the Anglo-Saxon component in the Dutch language: "*Anglo-Saxon* has been conveyed to us by the Frisians (when they ruled our provinces from the Elbe and Lauwers down to the Rhine)".⁵⁷ So as not to exclude the southern part of the Netherlands, which had never been under Frisian domination, Van Vliet claimed that Frisians and Saxons had been forced to move to Brabant by Charlemagne.⁵⁸ He tried to prove this migration with the help of toponymical evidence:

Therefore, they called it [their enclosures] their *heym* or *heem*, Anglo-Saxon *ham*, *hæm*. A small village near Dongen in the Breda district, and more of such or similar names, like *Hæmstede* in Zeeland, *Heemstede* in Holland, as well as *Sacsen-heem*, now *Sassem*, both near Haarlem, demonstrate that here the ancient Frisian language was common everywhere.⁵⁹

Van Vliet emphasized the Anglo-Saxon impact on the Dutch language once again by demonstrating that Frisian *firde* and Old English *forde* formed part of contemporary place-names. He thereupon concluded that

⁵⁶ "Van de Engels-Saxe, de oude Friese, Engelse, en onse ten deele; die deels oock veel met die van de oude Francken, Theotiske, en Alamannise (gesamentlijk uijt het oude Teuts gesprooten) over een comt, ende niettemin oock met alle de voorz. 9. taelen vrij veel gemeens heeft"; VO, a3^v.

⁵⁷ "...de Engels-Saxe, is door de Friesen (doen sij over dese gewesten van den Elve en Lauwers aen tot op den Rijn geheerst hebben) ons aengekomen"; VO, A3^v. Van Vliet's remark is reminiscent of Merula's edition of the Leiden *Willeram*, 2-3, where Castricomius explained that the Frisians once ruled the coastal areas of Northern Germany and Holland, and that Frisians and Saxons lived on the estuaries of the great rivers.

⁵⁸ See above, p. 249.

⁵⁹ "Daer om noemdense dat hun Heym, ofte Heem, Angel-Saxisch ham, hæm. Een gehucht onder Dongen in t land van Breda, ende andere meer van die ofte diergelycke naem, als Hæmstede in Zeeland, Heemstede in Holland, daer oock Sacsen-heem, nu Sassem, beyde by Haarlem gelegen, getuijgen dat de Oude Friesche tael hier overal gemeen geweest is"; PV, 383^r.

the Saxons had been responsible for many place-names, both in High and Low Germany as well as in England.⁶⁰

Van Vliet adduced similar evidence to illustrate the role of the Franks. Unlike the Frisians, the history of the Franks was well-documented in classical and early medieval sources. Early chronicles related that the Franks crossed the Rhine and settled in Northern France, Flanders, and Brabant. As evidence for Frankish influence on Dutch, Van Vliet quoted a number of place-names from the Salic laws, which he regarded as the oldest documents relating to the area of Frankish settlement.

The oldest testimony of this region that I can find is in the *Lex Salica*, or the laws which the Franks began to institute after they had left their homeland in Germany, and progressed across the Rhine in or about the year 422. Therefore, they held meetings or *Mael-Steden* (Latin *Mallos*) in several places mentioned in these laws, which are still known under the same names. The most important of these are *Streona*, now Strijen, *Baurgh*, now Bergen, *Turnhal*, *Scoten*, *Etten*, *Cham*, and more such have been identified in these laws by Canon Wendelijn.⁶¹

In three instances he referred to Franconian words from the Salic Laws by means of *LL. Sal.*, which indicates that he attributed a special value to this source.⁶²

Van Vliet's opinion that Dutch derived its vocabulary from two identifiably older sources constituted an important deviation from contemporaneous language attitudes, which held that the quality of a language could be measured by its degree of purity and antiquity. These criteria had been applied to Dutch by Becanus in the sixteenth century, but were still alive in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶³ Van Vliet's historical-philological approach considered the fact that Dutch was a purely Germanic language more important than the purity and antiquity of Dutch itself.

⁶⁰ "Hiervan hebben veele steden soo in Engeland als in beyde Duytslanden vande Saxen hun namen gecregen ende behouden"; PV, 384^v.

⁶¹ "De oudste geheughnisse, die ick van dese Land-Streecke vinden kan, geeft ons de *Lex Salica*, ofte de Wetten, die de Francken, nae dat sij hun Vaderland in Duytsland verlaten, ende den tocht over den Rijn geavanceert hadden, in ofte omtrent den Jaere onses Heere 422. in ende omtrent dese quartieren begonnen hebben op te rechten; ende ten dien eijnde hun Vergaderingen ofte *Mael-Steden* (Lat. *Mallos*) gehouden in verscheijdene plaetsen aldaer genoemt, ende welcker naemen heden noch soo bekend zijn. Onder de welcke de voornaemste wel zijn, *Streona*, nu Strijen, *Baurgh*, nu Bergen, *Turnhal*, *Scoten*, *Etten*, *Cham*, ende meer andere bij de Heer Can. Wendelijn op de gedachte Wetten aangewesen"; BC, 13.

⁶² SO, L1^v, M4^r, Ff2^r.

⁶³ Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal*, 23–24, 43–48.

In the seventeenth century, Middle Dutch was not yet recognized as a separate stage in the history of the Dutch language. Van Vliet distinguished between contemporary Dutch (still used) and archaic Dutch (out of general use), in much the same way that Kiliaan classified some words as *vetus* in his *Etymologicum*.

To identify Dutch in his works, Van Vliet used the Dutch terms *Duijts*, *Nederduijts* and *Nederlandsch*, as well as Latin *Belgica*.⁶⁴ The use of *Duyts* dated from the Middle Ages, when it served to indicate the entire Continental Germanic continuum. In the Low Countries in the first half of the sixteenth century, the term *Duijts* was still regularly used as a term for the contemporary Dutch language.⁶⁵ However, as it was gradually replaced by *Nederlandsch* and *Nederduijts*, *Duijts* survived as a collective denominator for both High and Low German. In this sense it continued to be used by grammarians until well into the seventeenth century.⁶⁶

Van Vliet employed the term *Duijts* very ambiguously. Occasionally, he used it simply to indicate Dutch, which appears somewhat old-fashioned from a contemporary point of view. In his annotations to his Middle Dutch book of hours and prayers⁶⁷ he referred to Middle Dutch words as “*Oude Duijtse Woorden*”, meaning archaic Dutch. Similarly, he specified the language of the early Middle Dutch health rules in the *Bredaesche almanac* (BA) as “*t oude Duijts*”, and in “*t Recht van successie*” he named an archaic Dutch proverb “*het oude Duijtsche spreekwoord*”.⁶⁸ It seems therefore that he tried to reserve the term *Duijts* for archaic language, which we would classify as Middle Dutch. However, he was not consistent in this. In many instances, archaic Dutch was not distinguished at all. Neither the language of the Breda Statutes, which he characterized

⁶⁴ The most exhaustive survey of the nomenclature of Dutch was published by Willem de Vreese, “Over de benaming onzer taal inzonderheid over Nederlandsch”, *Verslagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde* (1909), 417–592. See also Luc de Grauwe, “Das historische Verhältnis deutsch–niederländisch ‘Revisited’...”, *ABaG* 35 (1992), 191–205; G.R.W. Dobbets, “Dutch Philology in the 16th and 17th Century”, *HL* 15 (1988), 39–61; Claes, “De benaming van onze taal”.

⁶⁵ Claes, “De benaming van onze taal”, 289–292, shows that in dictionaries *Duytsch* rapidly lost ground after 1550, to be replaced by *Nederduytsch*. Claes found no more new attestations of this word in the sense of Dutch in dictionaries after 1580.

⁶⁶ G.R.W. Dobbets, “‘Duits’ und Hochdeutsch bei niederländischen Grammatikern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts”, *BGS* 2 (1992), 19–27, analyzes the use of the term *Duytsch* with a number of Dutch grammarians between the second half of the sixteenth and the second half of the seventeenth centuries.

⁶⁷ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 12080.

⁶⁸ RS, 30.

as 'old',⁶⁹ nor his quotations from Melis Stoke's Middle Dutch *Rijmkroniek* are ever termed *Duijts*. In the title of VO, *in oude Duijtse en noordse taelen*, Van Vliet used *Duijtse* in the sense of Continental Germanic, a meaning it also has in other places. When he compared Gothic *ubilin* to High and Low German *teuvel*, *tufel*, *duvel*, and *duevel*, he called these four forms *Duijts*.⁷⁰ He named the Germanic tribes of Tacitus *oude Duijtsen*, a term he applied just as easily to writers like Otfrid and Wileram, who lived much later.⁷¹ Without the predicate 'old' the contemporary High German language was also termed *Duijts*.⁷² It is evident that *Duijts* could also have approximately the same meaning as Latin *Teutonica*;⁷³ it was used for any language from the Continental Germanic continuum, in relation to which it emphasized the quality of being Germanic.

Van Vliet employed the terms *Nederduijts* and *Nederlandsch* exclusively to denote Dutch. Both terms had originally been coined to distinguish between High German and Low German. *Nederduijts*, first attested in 1457,⁷⁴ was usually applied by Van Vliet in VO to contemporary Dutch, although it could also stand for medieval forms.⁷⁵ *Nederlandsch* was exclusively used for contemporary Dutch in PV. He referred to the dialect of Groningen and the surrounding area, which he encountered in Schotanus's Low German extracts of the Old Frisian Laws, as 'Saxon'.⁷⁶ Latin *Belgica* was universally applied to Dutch. Peripheral variants such as the Rhine-Franconian dialect of the Cologne Chronicle were not specified as *Belgica*.⁷⁷

⁶⁹ "De taal van dese Keure...wijst de oudheijt derselve uijt"; RS, 11.

⁷⁰ VO, 9.

⁷¹ VO, 5, 13, 23.

⁷² VO, 23.

⁷³ See Dibbets, "Dutch Philology in the 16th and 17th Century", 22; Claes, "De benaming van onze taal", 289–292.

⁷⁴ De Grauwe, 191–192, referred to a Middle Dutch breviary, now in the Royal Library in The Hague, in which *neder duutsche* occurs in opposition to *hoghen duutsche*. The term *nederlantsche* occurs in a similar situation in opposition to *overlantsche* in an incunable from 1482. Interestingly, this means that *Nederduits* antedates *Nederlands*, something which was presented in the reverse order by De Vreese, "Over de benaming onzer taal", 423–424, who based his chronology on the traditional first attestations, as presented in the *WNT*, which gives 1518 for *Nederlandsch* and 1551 for *Nederduitsch*; see *WNT*, IX, 1717, 1741.

⁷⁵ VO, a1', 31.

⁷⁶ MA, 45^{bis}. See Agathe Lasch, "'Sassesche sprake' ...", in *Agathe Lasch: Ausgewählte Schriften zur niederdeutschen Philologie*, Robert Peters and Timothy Sodmann eds. (Neumünster, 1979), 218–231, for a discussion of the nomenclature of the Low German dialects.

⁷⁷ In Van Vliet's correspondence, there is never any ambiguity between *Belgica*, 'the Low Countries', and *Germania* 'Germany'.

Van Vliet was well aware of the regional diversity of the Dutch language. But then, his parents were Flemish, and he was raised first in Zeeland and then in The Hague. His tour of Friesland in 1643 brought him via Holland and Friesland to Groningen, Drenthe, Overijssel and Gelderland, and made him even more aware of this. His life in Breda and the errands to Limburg, Brussels and Antwerp on behalf of the Princesses of Orange and the Breda Council meant that he had traversed nearly the entire Dutch-speaking area. Occasionally, he considered regional dialects significant enough to specify, something he probably derived from Kiliaan's *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, but which was by no means common practice at the time.⁷⁸ By doing this, Van Vliet was among the first to include Dutch dialect-forms in Germanic studies. The dialect of Brabant, the region in which he had developed his taste for Dutch, received most attention. In his notes to Somner's *Dictionarium* (SO) he listed sixteen cognates from the Brabant dialect, which is also mentioned in his notes to the *Observationes in Willeram* (OW) and to Merula's edition of *Willeram* (MR).⁷⁹ Other dialects considered worthy of mention are those of Holland, Zeeland and the eastern Dutch provinces.⁸⁰ Flemish is also mentioned in SO, and in RS *avetronk* is classified as 'ancient Flemish'.⁸¹

1.8. Comparison with Junius

Van Vliet concluded his paradigm of the Germanic languages with a short remark on their place and origin. Because of certain features, he earmarked Gothic as an "elder brother" of Greek. Together they stemmed from a common ancestor, which, according to Van Vliet, must have been *Scythian*. For this last assumption he referred to Jornandes⁸² as his authority, in line with contemporary philological opinions, which commonly assumed a Scythian origin for the European languages.

The idea to include a stemma of languages in a work on comparative philology was well established in the tradition of philological scholarship. Van Vliet's stemma is therefore not an innovation in itself. Its contents, however, demonstrating the changes in contemporary scholarship as a re-

⁷⁸ F. Claes sj., "Dialectlexicografie bij Kiliaan", *Dialectlexicografie*, J.B. Berns ed., in *Taal en Tongval* 4 (1991), 161.

⁷⁹ MR, 81^{bis}.

⁸⁰ SO, P1^v, S2^v, Bb4^v.

⁸¹ SO, H4^v, Y2ⁱ, Dd3^v; RS, 16.

⁸² See above, p. 178.

sult of the discovery of the Gothic language, had only one precedent. In the *Observationes in Willeramii*, Junius had also listed the interrelation between the Germanic languages as he saw it. However, his paradigm is less clear-cut than Van Vliet's model in VO. In the dedicatory letter to the trustees of Leiden University, Junius asserted: "the Franconian language is certainly old, the Anglo-Saxon is older, but the Gothic is by far the oldest".⁸³ In his preface *Ad lectorem* Junius is much more specific:

From Gothic, the old Cimbric has sprung, transmitted by later Runic monuments, and also modern Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic. But from Anglo-Saxon a major part of English and Scottish has emerged, and also the entire Dutch [language], particularly the old Frisian, hardly understood by the rest of the inhabitants of the entire Netherlands, because until today it has retained very clear traces of Anglo-Saxon, in very many words, and in the pronunciation and orthography of such words. Finally, High German came from Franconian, and it can be immediately clear to anyone who has only superficially tasted Gothic and Anglo-Saxon that this Franconian (which is also called Alamanic or Theotisc) has come from Gothic and Anglo-Saxon.⁸⁴

Junius's 1655 conception of the paradigm of languages is not entirely clear. He believed in a close linear relationship between Gothic and Cimbric which was the ancestor of the Scandinavian languages. However, if, and if so, how, Gothic and Anglo-Saxon are linked is not explained, nor do we know whether he postulated a common original Germanic language. The Dutch language, called *Belgica*, together with Frisian, which is seen as an old but venerable dialect of Dutch,⁸⁵ is said to derive completely from Anglo-Saxon. High German is considered a mixture of Gothic and Anglo-Saxon. A Franconian component within the Dutch language, as Van Vliet assumed, is not in Junius's paradigm.

⁸³ "Antiqua certè est lingua Francica, antiquior Anglo-Saxonica, longè verò antiquissima est Gothica"; Junius, *Observationes*, [π3'].

⁸⁴ "Ex Gothicâ certè profluxit vetus Cimbrica, monumentis Runarum posteris tradita, nec non moderna Suecica, Danica, Norvagica, Islandica. Ex Anglo-Saxonica verò promanavit magna pars Anglicæ & Scoticæ, tota quoque Belgica, præcipuè tamen Frisica illa vetus, reliquis universi Belgii incolis vix intellecta, propterea quòd in plurimis vocibus, atque in ipsâ quoque plurimorum vocabulorum orthographiâ & pronuntiatione manifestissima Anglo-Saxonica vestigia usque in hunc diem retinuerit. Ex Francicâ denique derivata est superior Germanica; atque adeò cuius, qui vel ἀκροθιγῶς Gothicam Anglo-Saxonicamque delibavit, statim liquere potest ipsam Francicam (quæ Alamannica quoque vel Theotisca dicebatur) ex Gothicâ Anglo-Saxonicaque desumtam"; Junius, *Observationes*, [π6'].

⁸⁵ See Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 52–53; Feitsma, *Tussen volkstaal en schrijftaal*, 9–10.

His use of *Teutonica* is rather confusing. It pertains to Dutch in the list of *monosyllaba Teutonica*, consisting of mostly Dutch and Frisian entries, while, in other instances, it seems to have a wider significance. The term occurs occasionally in the introduction to the *Observationes*, but is not often found in his other studies, where Dutch is regularly denoted as *Belgica*. Where *Teutonica* is used, it may qualify High German as well as Low German words. Junius referred to the *Murbach Hymns* as the “*rhythmos Teutonicos*”, something which Van Vliet translated in VO as “*Latijnse Lof-zangen in 't oud Duijts*” ‘Latin hymns in ancient German’.⁸⁶ In a letter to the German scholar Johannes Clauberg, dated 13–08–1660, Junius classified the Dutch words *lichaem* ‘body’, and *pans vel pens* ‘cow’s stomach’ as *Teutonicum*, as well as *odebore* ‘stork’ taken from the Old High German glossary D, and High German *arbeiten* ‘to work’.⁸⁷ The origin of this ambiguity seems to stem from its original significance of ‘Continental Germanic’ in general versus the significance propagated by the very influential Kiliaan.⁸⁸ It appears, then, that Junius employed *Teutonica* if the Germanic character of the word or language needed to be stressed. This also accounts for the occasional predicate *nostrum* if it was to be made unambiguously clear that Dutch was under discussion.⁸⁹

Junius’s ideas on the interrelation of the Germanic languages had not always been the same. In his dedicatory letter to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (1665),⁹⁰ he referred back to the time when he first studied Gothic from the work of Bonaventura Vulcanius.⁹¹ He confessed that he once believed Gothic to be the source of all Northern languages:

...for I judged that Franconian and Anglo-Saxon had emanated from ancient Gothic, but that Gothic itself (as [a language] which only differed from ancient Greek in dialect) had sprung from the same origin as Greek.⁹²

⁸⁶ MS Junius 115b, 102–103; VO, 22.

⁸⁷ Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 293b.

⁸⁸ See above, p. 247. On Kiliaan’s influence on the *Observationes*, see Marijke J. van der Wal, review of “F. Junius, *Observationes in Willeramii...*”, Norbert Voorwinden (ed.), *Early Studies in Germanic Philology* 1, Amsterdam and Atlanta, in *TNTL* 110 (1994), 327–328; Dekker, “‘Vide Kilian’”, 524–529.

⁸⁹ Junius, *Observat.*, 50, translated *verduitschen* as *In linguam Teutonicam transferre*.

⁹⁰ Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, *2^r–**2^v.

⁹¹ Junius probably meant 1651, soon after he had been informed about Gothic by Archbishop James Ussher; see Ussher’s letter to Junius, of which a transcript is in MS Junius 55, and which he added to the *Gothicum glossarium*; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, 14–17.

⁹² “Francicam enim Anglo-Saxonicamque ex vetere Gothica promanasse, ipsam vero Gothicam (ut quae sola dialecto differat a Graeca vetere) ab eadem origine cum Graecam profluxisse iudicabam”; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, *3^v.

Such a grouping is much closer to Van Vliet's model, which also postulated that 'Runic', Anglo-Saxon, and ancient German all stemmed from Gothic. My quotation from the *Observationes* shows that Junius's ideas on this issue had changed by 1655. Ten years later, in 1665, Junius returned to this issue in his introduction *Ad lectorem* to his *Gothicum glossarium*.⁹³ To explain the function of the Greek roots in his etymologies (to which I will return later) Junius argued:

because it was more in keeping with the truth that ancient Greek and Scythian, as well as Gothic itself, which also emanated from ancient Scythian, have sprung from some common root; and especially because also many learned scholars are of the opinion that the first [Greek] would have derived more from the second [Scythian] than the second from the first.⁹⁴

Elsewhere, Junius observed that Anglo-Saxon initial ⟨e⟩ corresponded to Gothic initial ⟨a⟩ or ⟨ai⟩, from which it is possible to infer that he considered this ⟨e⟩ to be a development from a pre-Wulfilan Gothic vowel, possibly ⟨e⟩, which had changed to ⟨a⟩ or ⟨ai⟩ in Gothic, but which had remained ⟨e⟩ in Anglo-Saxon.

But although the most ancient Goths fairly elegantly ended numerous words in *o* (Later, the *Theotisci* [Germans] retained these endings from them, and the Spanish and Italians followed). However, they seem to have used this very *o* very rarely at the beginning of words because it is too indistinct, and they had a strong aversion against initial *o* as well as against *e*. For, as we have indicated above, almost all Anglo-Saxon words beginning in *e* begin with *a* or *ai* in Gothic.⁹⁵

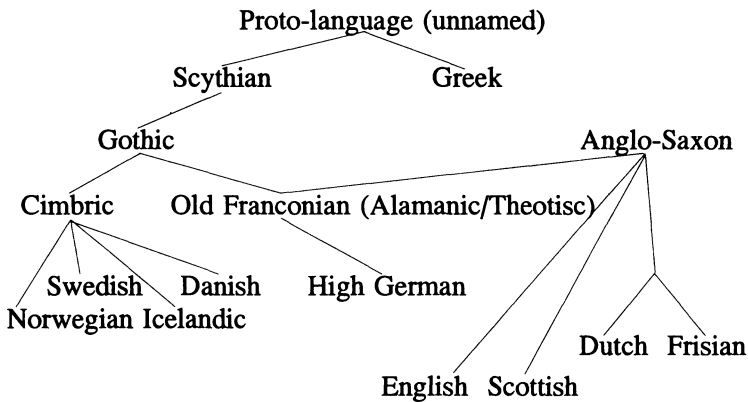
It appears from his examples that Junius based his conclusion on words which had short ⟨a⟩ in Gothic, from older Germanic ⟨a⟩, but which had

⁹³ *Ibid.*, ***1^r–***2^r.

⁹⁴ "cùm veritati magis videatur consentaneum veterem Græcam Scythicamque, nec non ipsam quoque Gothicam ex vetere Scythicâ proventientem, à communi aliquâ origine promanasse, multique adeò viri longè doctissimi illam potiùs ex hac, quàm hanc ex illâ desumptam censeant"; *ibid.*, ***2^r.

⁹⁵ "Ut ut verò vetustissimi Gothorum innumeras voces concinnè satis in O terminaverint (quam eorum terminationem exinde retinuerunt Theotisci, ac secuti sunt Hispani atque Itali) videntur tamen ipsum illud O, ut obscurum nimis, rarissimè in vocabulorum initiis adhibuisse, & initiale O juxta aversati atque E. nam, sicuti supra monuimus, omnia ferè vocabula Anglo-Saxonica, E initiale habentia, Gothis ut plurimùm ab A vel AI inchoari"; *ibid.*, 7. Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 162, made this observation in his comments on Junius's observations on the Gothic alphabet, and concluded that in 1665 Junius considered Old English and Gothic to have developed side by side from a pre-Wulfilan Germanic language.

been subject to i-mutation in Old English.⁹⁶ In 1665, Junius's paradigm of the Germanic languages, then, began with an unnamed proto-language, from which both Scythian and Greek descended. Gothic derived from Scythian but had much in common with Greek, because Scythian had exercised considerable influence on Greek. Junius left the precise origin of Anglo-Saxon open. Either it derived from Scythian or from the unnamed proto-language. Combined with the data from the *Observationes* Junius's entire paradigm is as follows:

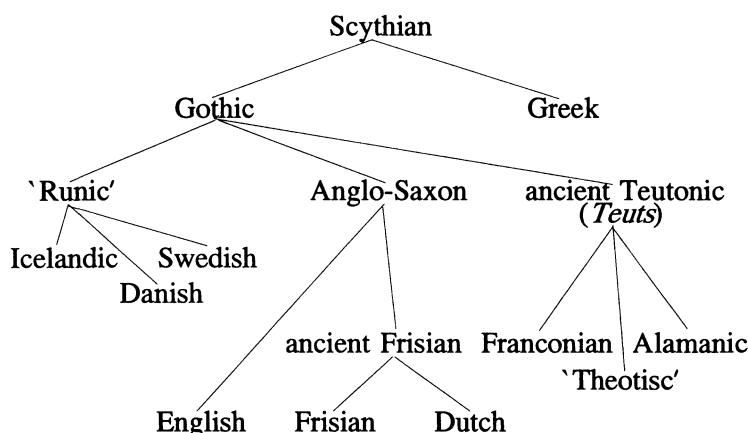


It is clear, then, that Van Vliet's paradigm in VO does not completely reflect Junius's 1665 ideas. Taking the above into consideration, the influence of Junius's ideas of the paradigm of Germanic languages had influenced Van Vliet's opinions in that they both considered Greek and Scythian to be related. Van Vliet echoed Junius's assumption that Greek was influenced by Scythian, and not vice versa, in his dedication to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, in which he stated: "Anacharsis, the royal offspring of Gnurus, the Scythian, was the teacher of your customs, Greece. However mendacious, you never dare to deny that you have learned a great deal from the neighbouring Getes."⁹⁷ However, Van Vliet considered Gothic "the elder brother" of Greek, and claimed that both Gothic and Greek stemmed from Scythian, "their common father". Junius, on the other hand, positioned Scythian and Greek on the same level

⁹⁶ Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 161–162.

⁹⁷ "Et Scythia Gnuriades Anacharsis, Regia proles // Ille tuus morum, Græcia, doctor, erat // Quamlibet & mendax, nunquam tamen ausa negare es // Multum a finitimis te didicisse Getis"; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, **1'.

—brother and sister in Van Vliet's terms—and postulated a common ancestor, which remains unnamed. Gothic stemmed from Scythian (but not Greek), and was only related to Greek via the Scythian connection. A diagram presentation shows that the major differences are in the positions of Old English, Old High German, and Dutch.



As might be expected, Junius's model is more sophisticated than Van Vliet's and seems closer to what is nowadays considered to be the Indo-European paradigm. The position of Gothic as the most ancient Germanic language known was established once and for all by Junius. Van Vliet, who owed practically all his knowledge of Gothic to Junius, followed him in this. The same holds good for the position of 'Runic' or Cimbric. In contrast with Ole Worm's ideas, Junius had come to see 'Runic' as a more recent form of Gothic, in which he was likewise followed by Van Vliet. However, Van Vliet did not accept the position of Anglo-Saxon as a second Germanic language, which evolved alongside Gothic, nor did he have the same views as Junius on the nature of Old High German, which, for Van Vliet, had emanated from Gothic, but was separate from Anglo-Saxon. Junius rightly conjectured that High and Low German are of one and the same origin, although his assertion that both stemmed from Anglo-Saxon, which he presumably based on the fact that the Anglo-Saxons also originated in Germany, was off the mark as we see it. Junius's conjecture of a pre-Gothic Germanic dialect, which he supported by pointing to the correspondence between Gothic ⟨a⟩ and Old English ⟨e⟩,

is indicative of an open and inquiring mind. Although it is incongruent with modern philological insights, it was partly based on linguistic observation and generalization. Van Vliet's model is more systematic, and therefore appears more plausible. However, much more than Junius, he relied on Gothic history for his information, although he deserves praise for his propositions about the nature of Dutch as a mixed language.

2. *Motivation*

2.1. Attitude to the Germanic languages

Van Vliet's etymological scholarship was partly determined by his aim to establish the origin of Dutch. In his reactions to Nicholas Heinsius's repeated accusations that he neglected his classical studies in favour of his investigations into the vernacular, Van Vliet defended himself by arguing that the search for the origin of Dutch was his very motivation:

You know I love exotic,¹ and especially Northern, languages, in order to derive the origins of the vernacular from them.²

The dispute between Van Vliet and Heinsius over Van Vliet's attitude to the vernacular had lasted for seven years, ever since Van Vliet's audacious attempt to write in Dutch to his friend in 1655.³ Since then, he had added the wish to find the origin of Dutch—the result, no doubt, of Francis Junius's influence—to his desire to make more and better use of this language.

For Van Vliet, the idea that Junius shared his attitude to Dutch must have been a welcome corroboration of his notions and his determination to raise its status to that of a fully developed language in its own right. The status of Dutch, an important aspect of Junius's work, played a significant role at the onset of his Germanic studies, and had occasioned the compilation of his now lost *Etymologicum Teutonicum*. In his *Observationes*, Junius appealed to the patriotic sentiments of the trustees of Leiden University, by stressing the need to restore the Dutch language to its former glory, and by referring to the public support such an endeavour would enjoy. He formulated the key issue of his work—although he related it to the activities of his predecessors—as “the amelioration of our Teutonic language [i.e. Dutch] with an enormous increase of excellent words that are rich in meaning”.⁴ The elevation of Dutch to a standard

¹ Languages other than Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

² “Scis me vehementer amare exoticas, praecipue septentrionales linguas, ut vernaculae origines inde haurire possim”; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 27–01–1662.

³ See above, p. 85.

⁴ “...ad Teutonicam nostram immensâ præstantissimorum significantissimorumque vocabulorum accessione locupletandam”; Junius, *Observationes*, [π2^v–π3^r].

comparable with Latin pivoted on the apparent variation in mode of expression that scholars had found to be absent in the vernacular. The aim of many talented Dutchmen had been, in the words of Junius, "to restore the former splendour, riches, and power of expression of the vernacular",⁵ a purpose he wholeheartedly supported. With reference to this need to elevate the vernacular to former standards, Junius called into mind the lack of a proper dictionary, or *exegeticum*, as he named it, to record the results of proper studies and form a compendium of correct speech for young people. He explicitly referred to the 1642 reprint of Kiliaan's *Etymologicum Teutónico-Latinum*,⁶ in which all etymological information had been left out in favour of French translations, as a typical example of the greed of printers to the disadvantage of genuine learning.⁷

Junius's subsequent plea to the trustees for measures to counter such movements, and promote a genuine study of Dutch, must have appealed to Van Vliet's attitude towards Dutch, which, incidentally, he had been voicing since 1655, the year of the publication of the *Observationes*. As Breuker suggests, there is a possibility that the final passage of the introductory letter to the trustees of Leiden University was intended as an application for Junius to be given a commission to compile a dictionary himself.⁸ It is not unlikely that Van Vliet, when reading this passage in 1659, may have seen himself as the person to carry out such an undertaking, since Junius, advanced in years, was engaged in so many other projects. This would explain Van Vliet's emphasis on Dutch in his annotations to Somner's *Dictionarium*.

In relation to his efforts to re-establish the supposed former splendour of the vernacular, Junius emphasized two points about the study of Old Germanic languages. First and foremost, he explained that the true origin of the "Teutonic" (Dutch) language had best be derived from the ancient Germanic languages: "it is impossible to seek the true origins of Germanic words from anywhere more certain than from the ancient spelling of such documents".⁹ This point of view is reminiscent of Gerard Vossius's observations in his preface to *De vitiis sermonis*.¹⁰ This implies that Junius

⁵ "tot præclara illustrium Belgarum ingenia, quæ...linguæ nostræ pristinum splendorem, copiam, emphasin conata sunt reddere"; *ibid.*, [π4^v].

⁶ See Van den Branden *et al.*, 78–124, who discusses all editions of Kiliaan's dictionary.

⁷ See Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 58–58, 67–68.

⁸ Breuker, "Junius's Germanic Studies", 57–58; Junius, *Observationes*, [π4^v–π5^r].

⁹ "neque aliunde veras Teutonicarum vocum origines certius peti posse, quam ex priscâ istiusmodi monumentorum orthographiâ"; Junius, *Observationes*, [π3^r].

¹⁰ See above, pp. 223–224.

considered the study of modern European languages inadequate for his purpose; instead, the oldest remnants would have to be studied in order to be able to determine the true origin of words.¹¹ It is not unlikely that this conclusion made him discard the earlier fruits of his Germanic scholarship, the *Etymologicum Teutonicum*, in which he had not only used Old English but also contemporary English and Frisian, to arrive at his etymological conclusions. By being the first to apply these specific principles as the basic condition for a successful reconstruction of the vernacular, Junius made an important step forward in the development of comparative Germanic scholarship.

Although Van Vliet knew of this pre-condition, it does not seem to play much of a role in his work, for he freely referred to the modern Scandinavian languages, as well as English and Frisian, in his etymological discussions. Moreover, he was not consistent enough to adhere to such rigid principles.

The second aspect of the study of Old Germanic languages which Junius introduced pertained expressly to his wish to illustrate the vernacular and raise its status. He stated: "yet, it is certain that a mutual collation of these three [Gothic, Franconian and Anglo-Saxon] with our [language] contributes particularly to embellishing and enhancing the dignity of High and Low German".¹² This aspect of the dignity of the language returned more strongly in his observations on Gothic, which possessed, in his terms, "the flower of speech":

thus a natural and by no means beautified splendour shines forth in the highly exalted style of the whole Evangelic narration, because great matters are seriously and elegantly elucidated by an admirable splendour of the choicest words, and a proper weight of authority and grandeur suitable to the venerable codex is observed everywhere. If anyone directs his attention now to these things with me, well, he will, even unwillingly, surely acknowledge the extraordinary strength and capabilities of this language in prose, which dared by no means unfortunately aspire to the qualities, richness and power of expression of the Greek language.¹³

¹¹ See his letter to Johannes Clauberg; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 293b, 151^v.

¹² "constat tamen mutuam trium istarum cū nostrā collationem praecipuè facere ad exornandum atque amplificandum superioris inferiorisque Germanicae decus"; Junius, *Observationes*, [π3⁷].

¹³ "...ita in totius Evangelicae historiae altius quasi exaggerata dictione naturalis quidam ac minime fucatus nitor emicat, dum res magnae admirabili electissimorum verborum splendore graviter ornateque illustrantur, ac iustum ubique servatur pondus autoritatis maiestatisque Sacrosancto codici congruae. Ad haec si quis nunc mihi advertat animum, nae

The argument produced here by Junius reflects typically humanist views on language projected on the earliest known specimen of a vernacular Germanic language. By stressing the highly exalted style, he alluded to the *genera dicendi*,¹⁴ the classical levels of style, each of which was considered fit for a particular type of writing. The system formed an important aspect of classical literary theory, and was widely applied in rhetorical and poetical stylistics.¹⁵ By attributing to Gothic the “exalted style of evangelical narration” as well as the rhetorical qualities of Greek, Junius first of all measured the quality and capacity of Gothic according to criteria normally applied to classical poetry and other literary expressions. His views thus concur with Van Vliet’s opinions, who related the degree of refinement of a language to its applicability to poetry.¹⁶ However, where in 1655 Van Vliet aimed his remarks at contemporary European languages, Junius applied this criterion to Gothic. There is little doubt that Van Vliet agreed with Junius’s concept of Gothic as a language fit to be used for purposes reserved for the higher forms of style, as he praised it extensively in his introduction to VO. In itself, this point of view expressed by Junius, supported, I believe, by Van Vliet, is a major breakthrough in the evolution of opinions on Gothic as a language, and it must have contributed significantly to the views on Gothic by later scholars.¹⁷

Furthermore, Junius gave reasons for adding the Gothic language, and with it the Germanic vernacular in general, to the three so-called *linguae sacrae*, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as a suitable language to express the Word of God. This, of course, was nothing new, since the earliest discoveries of vernacular Germanic texts had functioned as important supporting evidence in defence of translating Biblical texts into the vernacular during

is profecto vel invitius agnoscet singularem illius linguae in libera oratione vim ac facultatem, quae ad sermonis Graeci proprietates, ubertatem, emphasisin haud improspere ausa est adspirare”; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, **1’.

¹⁴ The *genus grande*, *genus medium*, *genus humile*. See Franz Quadt Bauer, *Die antike Theorie der Genera Dicendi im Lateinischen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1962), 7–17, for a survey of classical and early medieval sources on the *genera dicendi*.

¹⁵ See Jansen, who discusses these aspects of style in his study of the concept of *brevitas*, and gives extensive references.

¹⁶ See above, pp. 194–195.

¹⁷ In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries it became important to demonstrate the affiliation of one’s own language with Gothic. After the Codex Argenteus had returned to Sweden, Olof Rudbeck (1630–1702) used it for nationalist purposes (Van Bree, 24). In England George Hickes coupled Gothic and Old English studies, and in the Netherlands the connection between Dutch and Gothic was studied by Lambert ten Kate. See below, pp. 339–346.

the Reformation. Junius attributed the fact that the Codex Argenteus fell into his hands to divine providence. It seems, therefore, that he considered the discovery of the Codex Argenteus and the fact he was able to attribute an exalted style to the Gothic language to be the final vindication for the argument put forward by, for instance, Luther, Beatus Rhenanus, and Matthias Flacius Illyricus that the Germanic languages were fit for Biblical texts. Van Vliet echoes Junius's reference to divine providence:

In our day and age, it has pleased the omniscient God to raise this light, which for so long was covered as if under a bushel, to the chandelier of truth, by the appearance of the Gothic (or the Goths') Gospels.¹⁸

Junius's exhaustive study of the Codex Argenteus and the fact that he recognized qualities in Gothic that were normally reserved for Latin and Greek influenced Van Vliet by convincing him that it was possible to illustrate and elevate contemporary Germanic languages with the help of their oldest stages.

The implications of these ideas for Van Vliet, in combination with the scope of his studies, meant that the origins of the vernacular were to be looked for within the paradigm of Germanic languages as he knew it. Just like Junius, but unlike other predecessors and contemporaries who had tried to find the origins of Dutch, Van Vliet also included the other "Northern" languages in his investigations. His approach may therefore be called Germanic-centred. This Germanic-centred approach was supported by the assumption that the Goths were the ancestors of all Germanic peoples. The origin of Dutch within a Germanic framework, then, was predetermined and needed only to be supported by examples. Junius's unravelling of the Codex Argenteus put Van Vliet into the very comfortable position that he knew exactly which Germanic language formed the ultimate ancestor of all Germanic languages. Therefore, the origin of Dutch as investigated by Van Vliet was chronologically restricted to the phase between the Gothic "mother tongue" and the contemporary language, although he had no specific ideas about the amount of time this transition had taken. Moreover, he was uncertain about the precise derivation of Dutch words within the group of Germanic languages that were situated between Gothic and contemporary Dutch. These uncertainties, coupled

¹⁸ "Het heeft den Alwijsen God gelieft dat licht, soo langh als onder een corenmate gestolpt geweest zijnde, in onse dagen op den Kandelaer der waerheijt te doen verheffen door het te voorschijn comen van de Gotse ofte der Gotten Evangelien"; VO, al^v. Cf. above, p. 152, my discussion of the engraving on the title-page of *'t Vader ons*.

with a strong interest in the Germanic languages proper, created this approach, which may be called wide-ranging, but remained within the bounds of the Germanic languages. Although Van Vliet also took non-Germanic languages into consideration in his etymological studies, they mainly functioned as additional illustrations to his observations but were never studied as an aim in their own right.

Although Dutch and the various Germanic languages formed the prime object of Van Vliet's studies, an additional aspect of this desire to trace the origins of the vernacular was ethnogeny, the origins of peoples.¹⁹ Languages and groups of speakers of such languages were considered to be connected, and hence the question of the origin of a language is as much the question of the origin of a group of speakers of that language, or a nation. The origins of nations had been a traditional problem raised by the Biblical principle of monogenetic derivation of peoples and languages, as opposed to the diversity perceived in the contemporary world. This essentially historical problem had been widely treated in humanist world histories, where authors attempted to provide a comprehensive picture of the history of mankind.²⁰ In such histories, support from 'linguistic' evidence was added to other historical proof, which had made language not only important as a collection of words and meanings, but also as an ethnic determiner.

Unlike many of his predecessors and contemporaries, Van Vliet was not searching for the identity of the original *primaeval* language, and, as such, stands outside the mainstream of comparative scholarship in the seventeenth century.²¹ Presumably, he did not feel attracted to this widely addressed issue, for he neither mentioned the concept, nor did he ever raise any suggestions about it. He never even gave any clue as to which language he considered closest to the oldest language. Since he believed in a monogenetic origin of languages he probably expected as many traces of it to remain in Gothic as in Hebrew, for example. Van Vliet was a Calvinist, so one might have expected him to abide by the Scriptures; he gave credence to the confusion of languages at the tower of Babel,²²

¹⁹ See above, pp. 242–244.

²⁰ See e.g. Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Thesaurus temporum...* (Leiden, 1606); Boxhorn, *Historia universalis*.

²¹ See Swiggers, "Le travail étymologique", 31; D. Droixhe, *Le prototype défiguré de l'origine du langage aux langues du monde* (Tübingen, 1987), 65–80; Metcalf, "Abrahamus Mylius on Historical Linguistics"; —, "The Indo-European Hypothesis".

²² VO, 35.

which he tried to explain with the help of his etymological method. Although he may have accepted Hebrew as the original language,²³ he never made this explicit, and very little Hebrew occurs in his Germanic studies.²⁴ The statement that Gothic and Greek both descended from Scythian is, at most, an attempt to tie up the loose ends of his paradigm of languages rather than a deliberate attempt to raise his discussion of the paradigm of Germanic languages to a higher, supra-Germanic, level.

2.2. *Cognatio verborum*, or *origo* versus *etymologia*

In defence of his studies, Van Vliet connected the study of the vernacular with the achievements of both Greek and Roman etymologists, who, according to Van Vliet, had devoted themselves to exactly the same study:

And did not the great Varro, the most learned of the Romans,²⁵ not to mention the Greek etymologists..., pursue the same study, to investigate and indicate the origins of the vernacular?²⁶

²³ On the position of Hebrew as the original language in the seventeenth century, see D. Droixhe, "La crise de l'hébreu langue-mère au XVII^e siècle", in *La république des lettres...*, Chantal Grell and François Laplanche eds. (Paris, 1992), 65–99, who discusses the growing detachment from the idea that Hebrew was the original tongue.

²⁴ Hebrew did not form part of Van Vliet's university studies. The amount of Hebrew in his works is also very limited. In his additional notes to OW ([x2^y]) two Hebrew words occur and three more are in VO, of which the first two are in Hebrew characters (35, 37) and the third transliterated in Roman characters (41). However, this does not imply that he never studied it in private. Many humanists knew at least some Hebrew. In his letters pertaining to his study of the Antichrist in 1645–1646, Hebrew words and quotations occur several times; Van Vliet to Gronovius, 01–01–1646. Van Vliet owned two Hebrew grammars, including the famous *Grammatica Hebraeae linguae* by Franciscus Junius the Elder, as well as a Hebrew Bible (LMO 053), which might have served for practice. His connections with the family of Gerard Vossius must have made him aware of the widespread historical and philological interest in Hebrew and rabbinic learning; see Aaron L. Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis...* (Cambridge MA and London, 1984), 15–100, for a survey of Hebraism in the Dutch Republic, in which the roles of Gerard Vossius and his son Dionysius are discussed. On the study of Hebrew in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, see Irene E. Zwiep, "The Unbearable Lightness of Hebrew...", in *Five Hundred Years of Foreign Language Teaching in the Netherlands, 1450–1950*, Jan Noordegraaf and Frank Vonk eds. (Amsterdam, 1993), 27–55. W.M.C. Juynbol, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefeningen van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1931), discusses seventeenth-century interest in Arabic, which was also a widely studied subject, considered important for the study of Hebrew.

²⁵ Varro was first named wisest of the Romans by Quintilian, *Inst. Or.*, x, i, 95.

²⁶ "An non doctissimus ille Romanorum Varro, ut Graecos Etymologos omittam..., idem studium habuit, ut vernaculae origines indagaret, atque indicaret?"; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 27–01–1662.

In the introduction to VO, he supported his apology for the publication of the book with a similar argument, by claiming that the ancients, always an example to humanists, had preceded them in the pursuit of these studies:

Subsequently, the Jews, as well as the Greeks and Romans, were very meticulous in investigating the origins of their languages, and wrote many books about it. The wisest and most learned of the Romans, Varro, also wrote many books about the origin of the Latin language. And so did Cato, Julius Caesar, Cicero, Festus Pompey, Nonius Marcellus, and finally Bishop Isidore, not to mention many others.²⁷

The name that takes precedence over all others, not only in Van Vliet's correspondence, but also in VO, is that of Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BC), whose *De lingua Latina* is the only classical Roman work on etymology that has been preserved.²⁸ Van Vliet repeatedly referred to Varro as the greatest scholar of all the Romans, and owned the Estienne edition (LMO 074). Direct influence from Varro's work is difficult to pinpoint. Although Van Vliet acknowledged Varro's great scholarship, he never explicitly discussed his ideas. However, some of Varro's principles were important in etymological scholarship, and have to be noted for their relevance to Van Vliet's etymological studies and method.²⁹ At the beginning of Book V of *De lingua Latina*, Varro recapitulated the aims of his work, and, as it were, provided insight into his own etymological scholarship.

Varro began by postulating a distinction between form and meaning in a word, a principle he derived from the Greek etymological tradition:

²⁷ "De Joden dien volgende, als oock de Griecken en Romeijnen, hebben seer naeuwkeurigh geweest, om den oorsprongh van hun spraecken te ondersoecken, en veel boecken daer van geschreven.... De Wijste en geleerste der Romeijnen Varro heeft insgelijck veel boecken van d'oorsprongh der Latijnsche taele geschreven. Gelijck mede Cato, Julius Caesar, Cicero, Festus Pompejus, Nonius Marcellus, ende eijndelijck den Bisschop Isidorus, om andere meer te swijgen"; VO, a1'.

²⁸ Wilhelm Pfaffel, "Wie modern war die varronische Etymologie?", *HL* 13 (1986), 388; Varro has been widely written on. For the purpose of this study it will suffice to refer to Roland G. Kent, *Varro: On the Latin Language* (Cambridge MA, 1938). For analyses of Varro's method I rely on Pfaffel; Daniel J. Taylor, *Declinatio: A Study of the Linguistic Theory of Marcus Terentius Varro* (Amsterdam, 1975).

²⁹ Varro based his etymological scholarship largely on the Greek tradition, especially on the etymology of the Stoic school. The etymological principles of Plato and the Stoa have been dealt with elsewhere, and do not seem to be directly relevant for Van Vliet's studies beyond their influence on Varro's work.

Inasmuch as each and every word has two innate features, from what thing and to what thing the name is applied (...), that former part, where they examine why and whence words are is what the Greeks call etymology, that other part they call semantics.³⁰

Subsequently, he set out what he considered the aim of the work of an etymologist. The relation between a word and the denotations and connotations of that word could be blurred by the lapse of time, inaccurate use, change of meaning, and/or change of form. Moreover, a word could be borrowed from another language. Varro considered it the task of the etymologist to provide a reconstruction of words, so as to make the true form and meaning recognizable once again.³¹ In order to systematize the processes by which the form of words could change, Varro gave two related sets of four causes, the one pertaining to characters and the other to syllables. On the level of single characters, he listed *deceptio* 'loss', *additio* 'addition', *trajectio* 'transposition', and *commutatio* 'change'. On the level of syllables he proposed *productio* 'lengthening', *correptio* 'shortening', *adjectio* 'addition', and *detrectio* [sic] 'loss'.³² This system is recognizable in many sixteenth and seventeenth-century works on etymology. It was firmly anchored in humanist grammar, not in the least as a result of Joseph Justus Scaliger's edition, which first proposed the last three terms, as emendations.

Although many of Varro's etymological suggestions for his Latin examples are not unfounded, any awareness of genetic relationship between languages is virtually absent.³³ This lack of a language-genetic perspective had caused Varro to consider etymology the immediate result of relations between words within the Latin language. To describe the nature of these relations, he distinguished between inflectional morphology

³⁰ "Cum unius cuiusque verbi naturae sint duae. a qua re et in qua re sit impositum... priorem illam partem, ubi cur et unde sint verba scrutantur Graeci vocant *ἐτυμολογίαν*, illam alteram *περ(ι) σημασινομένων*"; Varro, *De LL.*, v, 2; Kent, 2–5.

³¹ Kent, 4–5. See Pfaffel, 384, who assigns most importance to the diachronic aspect: "Genau an dieser Stelle expliziert Varro, was die Arbeit der Etymologen bedeutet: Die Diachronie (uetustas: *LL.* v. 3, 5; vi. 2; eigentlich das Hauptthema der Proömien) kann die ursprüngliche, korrekte form eines Wortes verdunkeln, so daß seine Motiviertheit (quid sub ea voce subsit) verschleiert ist, die zum Zeitpunkt seiner Bildung noch deutlich erkennbar war. Der Etymologe kann jedoch die Prozesse rückgängig machen, die ein Wort diachron verändert haben, indem er bei seiner Untersuchung einen Laut hinzufügt oder abzieht; der Etymologe eruiert also die alten Wortformen durch ein rekonstruktives Verfahren".

³² Varro, *De LL.*, v, 6; Kent, 6–9.

³³ Taylor, 66–67.

or *declinatio naturalis*, and derivational morphology or *declinatio voluntaria*.³⁴ The former, which dealt with the inflectional system, could be treated in a systematic grammar, and was therefore considered an *ars*. It was the second aspect, *declinatio voluntaria*, treating the way in which new words are constructed from older ones, which Varro associated with etymology.³⁵ This process depended on the intentions of the language user, and was hence considered arbitrary. For Varro, it was a *historia*, of which he tried to list his findings and the principles that played a role in it, but which could not be captured in a method. The only linguistic factor he recognised was the *cognatio verborum*, 'kinship among words', which he regarded as his most important aspect of etymology.³⁶

As a result of the beginnings of comparative language studies, Varro's etymological principles take a different turn in the sixteenth century,³⁷ when etymology became a multi-lingual discipline. The dawning of a more sophisticated historical awareness in the attempts to reconstruct the paradigm of world-languages changed the questions that were at the basis of philological and etymological scholarship. Consequently, the wish to understand the construction of such a paradigm caused differences between languages to take precedence over the variation within one language. As a result of these developments, the meaning of the word 'etymology' had become extremely wide, ranging from the declension of nouns and verbs within a single language to the establishment of analogical phenomena between words from different languages.³⁸ Varro's etymological procedures were not only applied to Latin grammar, but also to vernacular grammars. Varro's example was followed in the section on etymology in many grammars of Dutch. The grammarian Christiaen van Heule, for example, listed in his *Nederduytsche grammatica* under 'etymology' the accidence of the nouns, pronouns and verbs.³⁹ However, Varro's idea of *cognatio verborum*, 'kinship among words', remained the common denominator among the different interpretations of the concept of etymology.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 65–67.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 65: "The grammatical procedure which corresponds to derivational morphology and which is the practical application of the theory is etymology..."

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

³⁷ See above, p. 46.

³⁸ See above, p. 221, for Vossius's reference to this problem in *De arte grammatica*.

³⁹ See Caron, *Christiaen van Heule*, II, 7. Van Heule's contemporary Allardus L. Kok defined etymology as "teaching the distinction between words"; see G.R.W. Dibbets, *Allardus L. Kok: Ontwerp der Nederduitsche letter-konst* (Assen, 1981), 12.

As Varro had done for Latin, Van Vliet basically intended to investigate words of his vernacular Dutch language from an etymological as well as a semantic point of view. Nonetheless, he did not use the term *etymologia*, either for semantic explanations or for comparisons based on sounds. Instead, he adopted the term *origo* or its Dutch equivalent *oorsprongh* ‘origin’, based on Varro’s *origo verborum*.⁴⁰ Like Varro, Van Vliet considered etymology a *historia* and not an *ars*, for he never raised the question whether his work could be reduced to a systematic, methodological framework. Etymology was a matter of dictionaries and not of grammars, and was not about particles, declensions or inflections, but basically about words. Establishing kinship between words remained his central aim, and determined Van Vliet’s etymological studies to a major extent.

Under the influence of Isidore of Seville, Varro’s classical interpretation of etymology as a formal reconstruction of original forms and meanings of words had shifted to a more interpretative process documenting the original meanings of words.⁴¹ This interpretation influenced both Gerard Vossius and Francis Junius. Junius’s concept of etymology owes much to that of Isidore of Seville, whose famous definition *Etymologia est origo vocabulorum, cum vis verbi vel nominis per interpretationem colligitur* ‘etymology is the origin of words, when the meaning of a verb or noun is constructed by interpretation’ contains aspects which are particularly apposite for Junius’s work. In my interpretation of this definition, I follow Schweickard, who explains that Isidore’s concept of *etymologia* is a dynamic process, and not a static definition. Schweickard proposes replacing the meaning of *est* by that of *inquiri*, to match the dynamic meaning of *colligitur*. At the same time, this interpretation creates a distinction between the concepts of *etymologia* and *origo*. In his comparative studies, Junius made a clear distinction between tracing the origin of words and finding the different meanings of a word in the hope, ultimately, of finding the original meaning. To distinguish between these two aspects Junius spoke of *origo* and of *etymologia*. To him, the *origo* is the form which the word derived from. This may be a morphological variant from the same language, such as Old High German *uuande*, of which Junius remarked: “*Origo vocis est ex uuintan*”.⁴² However, more often, he traced a word from a language that is considered older, for instance Greek. In Junius’s work, *etymologia* inquires into the original meaning of

⁴⁰ W. Sanders, *Leidener Humanisten und die Anfang der Germanistik* (Bonn, 1977), 13.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 22–23.

⁴² Junius, *Observationes*, 72–73.

a word, and tries to arrive at this original meaning by interpretation and combination.⁴³

In the *Observationes*, Junius's distinction between *origo* and *etymologia* becomes clear from his comments on Old High German *faran*. He stated that it drew its origin from *φέρειν* 'to carry', and that his annotations elsewhere (in his comments to p. 51) would explain the etymology.⁴⁴ At the place referred to, Junius explained at length the possible meanings of Latin *ferre*, which he concluded by stating that "*faran*, therefore (...), perhaps equally well-fitting, can be derived from *φέρειν*, *Ferre*, and *coman* from *κομίζειν* ['to bring along'], according to the preceding etymological explanation".⁴⁵ From this example it is also evident that for Junius the *etymologia* preceded, and was often necessary for establishing, the *origo*. In the *Gothicum glossarium* he described the order of his work on the Gothic language:

Any [lexicographer] will acknowledge in the first place that it is burdensome to restore languages, combatting pollution and neglect, from dark, worn out, and even half-torn leaves of parchment; to collect the enormous heap of old words into the apparatus of the entire work, to separate them, to group them under one denominator, to arrange them, to trace their initial meaning through almost certain conjecture, to discover the true orthography, and subsequently, to fish out the probable origin from the explanation of the old meaning and spelling.⁴⁶

The origin of a word was for Junius, in most cases, the final, but also the least certain, aspect of his comparative studies. At the same time he gave it a certain philosophical significance, which, in the *Gothicum glossarium*, seemed to make up for the lack of clarity and certainty he was able to provide: "yes and when tracing etymologies, I also very often include an origin, certainly less well proven, but containing something moral for the

⁴³ The word *etymologicum* used in titles of etymological dictionaries did not have any direct relation with the distinction between *origo* and *etymologia*, but was conventional.

⁴⁴ "Videtur interim faran hoc originem traxisse ex *φέρειν*, *Ferre*. cujus etymologiæ rationem reddunt annotata nostra ad pag. 51, in *cuman*, *Venire*"; Junius, *Observationes*, 29.

⁴⁵ "*faran* denique (...) æquè fortè commodè, secundum præcedentis etymologiæ rationem, deduci poterit à *φέρειν*, *Ferre*, atquè *coman* à *κομίζειν*"; *ibid.*, 103.

⁴⁶ "Fatebitur is imprimis arduum esse linguas cum situ & squallore luctantes ex obscuris, attritis, ac semilaceris etiam membranis restituere; immensam priscarum vocum congeriem in operis totius apparatus conquirere, excerpere, in unum comportare, digerere; primam earum significationem verisimili conjecturâ indagare, genuinam orthographiam eruere, probabilem denique originationem ex hac priscæ acceptionis scriptionisque ratione expiscari"; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***1^v.

use in general life".⁴⁷ In sum, it can be maintained that for Junius *etymologia* is the method or procedure by which the *origo* is determined.

In his discussion of the paradigm of languages, Junius left his tendency to trace words to a Greek root entirely out of account, but, in his philological commentary, there are numerous cases in which he attached a Greek root to a Germanic word. In the *Observationes* it remains unclear what place Junius assigned to Greek, for he never commented on this issue. However, that he considered it to be an important source for many other languages is evident. He stated in his first comment on p. 4: "it can be clear to anyone that Franconian or Alamanic *kusse* is of Greek origin," and reacted to John Davies's attempt to link Celtic *cusanu* to Hebrew: "I am of the opinion that the old Britons took over their *cusanu* from the Greeks, because many [words] occur everywhere in this entire very old language, which clearly show a Greek origin".⁴⁸ The terminology he used to describe the process of derivation includes *desumere* 'to take out from', *prodire originem* 'to show the origin', *ortum trahere* 'to draw the source from', *derivari* 'to be derived from', *detruncare* 'to cut a part from', and *abrumper* 'to tear off'. The lists of *monosyllaba* were specifically adduced to demonstrate the affinity between Greek and monosyllabic Germanic and Celtic roots.

In order to make the Germanic words compatible with the Greek roots, he applied sound-changes originating from Varro's *De lingua Latina*: for example, mutation occurs when he showed that the Greek *spriritus asper* changed to ⟨s⟩;⁴⁹ addition is found in his deriving the origin of *schirman* 'to fight' from Greek γάρμη 'eagerness for battle' with preposition of ⟨s⟩;⁵⁰ elision of ⟨n⟩ is used to explain the link between Old English *feax* 'hair' and Greek φενάκη 'false hair';⁵¹ and metathesis occurs in the etymology of Old High German *krud* 'herb' (for which Junius followed Andreas Helvigius), which he derived by way of metathesis from Greek χόρτος 'grass, hay'.⁵² His observations on the correlations between

⁴⁷ "Immo & in etymologiarum indagatione persæpè amplector originationem, minùs quidem probatam, sed morale quid ad communis vitæ usum comprehendentem"; *ibid.*, ***2'.

⁴⁸ "Cuiusliquire potest Francicum sive Alamannicum cussan esse originis Græcæ. Ego sanè priscos quoque Britannos hoc suum cusanu à Græcis desumpsisse puto, cùm plurima passim in totâ hac antiquissimâ linguâ occurrant quæ manifestè Græcam produunt originem:..." ; Junius, *Observationes*, 4.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 25; another example on p. 104.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 134; another example on p. 58.

different sounds are presented almost as a matter of course, for he was of the opinion that generalizations were to be made by the reader on the basis of the large number of examples offered. Generalizations of other grammatical phenomena could be made in the same way. Sometimes Junius offered a helping hand, when for example he indicated the frequent correlation between Greek ⟨κ⟩ and Germanic ⟨h⟩:

It therefore appears clearly from *halm*, from *καλάμη*, and *hennep*, from *κάνναβις* that ⟨κ⟩ often changes into an aspirate.⁵³

His remarks not only concerned the correspondences between English and Greek, but also touched on correlations between Germanic languages. He observed that “the Franks often change Anglo-Saxon ⟨a⟩ into ⟨ei⟩”, and he illustrated this change with no fewer than ten examples.⁵⁴ Because his conclusions are often the result of his observing many examples, some of his correspondences are strikingly accurate. It is the adherence to the pre-conceived paradigm of languages, which dissuaded scholars such as Junius from applying more structure to their generalizations.

Van Vliet noticed Junius’s inclination to trace Germanic words to a Greek root in the *Observationes*. In a somewhat presumptuous remark he observed:

Although I cannot confirm everything which this most diligent man, who knows more languages than anyone I have ever seen or read, has brought into the public eye from every direction, least of all the matters which he claims to be derived from Greek, I nevertheless confess openly that in this way he captured the leading prize from all who hitherto played almost a guessing game in the first attempts relating to the obscure ancestors of the Teutonic languages, so that at the same time he showed a clear light to all who will attempt the same.⁵⁵

⁵³ “K etenim frequenter in aspiratam transire manifeste paret in *halm*/ ex *καλάμη*. *hennep*/ ex *κάνναβις*”; Junius, *Observationes*, 19. Junius may well have derived such observations from Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis*, as Voorwinden, xi, fn. 13; xvii, claims.

⁵⁴ Junius, *Observationes*, 124; Junius’s examples include: *an-ein*, *ban-bein*, *dal-deil*, *gast-geist*, *had-heit*.

⁵⁵ “Quanquam non omnia probare possum, quae Vir sane curiosissimus, omniumque, quos novi aut legi *πολυγλώττατος* undique in medium protulit, et minime illa, quae Graecis accepta fert, hoc tamen ingenue fateor illum omnibus, qui hactenus in rudimentis illis et tenebrosis originibus linguarum Teutonicarum quasi digitis micaverunt, ita palmam praeripuisse, ut simul omnibus idem tentaturis splendidam faciem praetulerit”; Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 29-07-1659.

That Van Vliet regarded Junius's derivations from Greek as extraordinary appears not only from his remark in a letter to Isaac Vossius, but also from the considerable number of small arrows which he added in the margins of his copy of Junius's *Observationes in Willeramum*, in places where Junius traced Germanic words to Greek.⁵⁶ There are no such arrows in the lists of *monosyllaba*, which is only natural, since these lists were specifically meant to illustrate the connection with Greek. The number of arrows—there are sometimes more than one on a page—shows that Van Vliet conducted a deliberate search for connections between Germanic and Greek, although he missed more than a few occurrences. The reason why he did not follow Junius's reasoning with respect to Greek may be that he wished to assign precedence to the Germanic languages over Greek.

It seems from his other philological works that Junius reconsidered his opinions on the affinity between the Germanic languages and Greek in the course of the ten years that lay between the publication of the *Observationes* and that of the *Gothicum glossarium*. In his philological comments to the Old High German–Latin glossaries⁵⁷ and in the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* (1743), he still more or less regularly traced Old High German roots to Greek, but there is a marked change in the *Gothicum glossarium*, where he commented on this issue in the introduction *Ad lectorem*:

Although it seems that I have derived most origins from Greek sources, I do not wish this to be understood as if our ancestors derived the principal part of their language from Greek, because it is more in keeping with the truth that ancient Greek and Scythian, as well as Gothic itself, which also emanated from ancient Scythian, have sprung from some common root; and especially because also many learned scholars are of the opinion that the first [Greek] would have derived more from the second [Scythian] than the second from the first.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ These arrows occur on pp. 15, 19, 21, 25, 30, 33, 52, 59, 60, 69, 70, 71, 75, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 90, 91, 105, 110, 114, 115, 118, 119, 123, 124, 128, 139, 163, 175. Arrows on pp. 73, 81, 93, 116, 148, 301 do not refer to a connection with Greek, but highlight other origins of words.

⁵⁷ See e.g. MS Junius 116a, 96, s.v. *Animadvertit, Kaumum nam*], which he linked to Old English *gyman*, Danish *gieme*, ancient Dutch *goomen*, and Icelandic *geimsla*. He then added: “Omnia sunt à κομέω vel κομίζω, curo, curam gero”.

⁵⁸ “Licet verò plurimas originationes videar ad fontes Græcos retulisse, non tamen hoc ita velim accipi, quasi potissimam linguæ suæ partem Patres nostri hauserint à Græcis; cùm veritati magis videatur consentaneum veterem Græcam Scythicamque, nec non ipsam quoque Gothicam ex vetere Scythicâ provenientem, à communi aliquâ origine promanasse,

Junius supported his claim by a slight alteration in terminology. He frequently referred to the relation between Greek and the Germanic languages in terms of 'affinity' and 'seems related to', although terms such as *detruncata* still occur. It seems doubtful that this comment by Junius contains anything of a reaction to Van Vliet's objections to deriving Germanic words from Greek roots, which he had voiced in 1659. Nor is there any reason to believe that Junius reacted to Van Vliet's remarks on the place of Greek within his paradigm of Germanic languages, in which he pictured Greek as the younger sister of Gothic. Nonetheless, Van Vliet apparently held different opinions on this issue, and he may well have voiced his objections. Although there is no evidence for any actual influence by Van Vliet on Junius, there are at least indications that there may have been contact on this matter. The passage immediately following Junius's comment suggests that he considered the question whether Greek derived more from Scythian, or vice versa, less significant.⁵⁹ He does not seem to include himself among the "very learned men" who had deliberated on this. The reason for this apparent relativization of the interdependence among languages stems from the goal Junius had set himself: to contribute to the increase of the power of expression of the vernacular.

To this end, the aspect of his comparative studies that Junius had termed '*etymologia*' was much more relevant, because this included collecting a word's meanings and determining its development. In this respect he spoke of the *ratio etymologiae* or the 'etymological method'. First of all, he presented as many examples as he could of the use of a certain word, combinations with the lemma, and its cognates in other languages, with the different shades of meaning listed.⁶⁰ Junius applied this method, not only in the *Observationes*, but also in the Old High German glossaries, the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, and in the *Gothicum glossarium*.⁶¹ He explained his procedure as follows:

We have been very elaborate in adducing places from the Codex Argenteus, so that from the great variety of citations the reader may fully understand

multique adeò viri longè doctissimi illam potius ex hac, quàm ex illâ desumptam censeant"; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***2^r.

⁵⁹ Voorwinden, xvi, fn. 24, also noticed that Junius's took a different approach to the derivation of Germanic words from Greek in the *Gothicum glossarium*.

⁶⁰ See for example *Eerlich, Decorus*, to which Junius added seventeen examples from Old High German texts alone; Junius, *Observationes*, 56.

⁶¹ He worked according to similar principles in his Latin-Old English dictionary (MSS Junius 2, 3). Thus, his lexicographical investigations served his etymological speculations.

the ancient spelling of the first language in the inflection of verbs and noun, and so that he may perceive with the same effort some method of the Gothic syntax.⁶²

This method allowed Junius to demonstrate the different shades of meaning as well as spelling variations and even morphological differences and corresponding sounds.⁶³ By reasoning with the various options, Junius tried to arrive at the best possible description of the meaning, and, if possible, the original meaning. Gerard Vossius's *Etymologicon linguae Latinae* was presumably an important inspiration for this method, and though it was not published until 1662, Junius had been familiar with the manuscript for some time. In the *Observationes*, he reported to his readers: "Shortly, Gerard Johannes Vossius's *Etymologicum linguae Latinae* will be printed, a posthumous work in which, after all the efforts of everybody, not only the essence and the origin, but also the use and meanings of every single word are elaborately and copiously demonstrated and explained".⁶⁴ Junius was presumably the first to profit from Vossius's *Etymologicon*. Inspiration from this book made the role of Gerard Vossius's ideas, which I have also pointed out in relation to the principle that the oldest languages were the most suitable instruments for etymological investigations, even more important.

Unlike Junius, Van Vliet was, especially in the beginning of the 1660s, much more interested in the origin of words than in the variety of meaning words could express. This may be attributed to the influence of earlier seventeenth-century comparative scholarship, in which the search for the original language was the most prominent issue, and Varro's system of mutations the most frequently used strategy for arriving at a solution concerning the origin of words. Although this influence demonstrably continued to play a role throughout Van Vliet's career, it was the effect of Francis Junius's work that made Van Vliet aware of this further degree of sophistication in etymological scholarship. Its results can be observed in

⁶² "In allegandis quoque Argentei codicis locis oppidò quàm sumus copiosi, ut ex multâ citationum varietate Lector plenius deprehendat antiquam principis linguæ ortographiam in Verborum Nominumque inflexionibus, atque eâdem quoque operâ qualemcunque syntaxeos Gothicæ rationem observet"; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***1^v.

⁶³ See also Junius's letter to Johannes Clauberg of 13-08-1660; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 293b, 151^v.

⁶⁴ "Propediemenim (...) prælo subijcitur Gerardi Joannis Vossii etymologicum linguæ Latinæ, opus posthumum, in quo post omnes omnium labores, non tantum natura & origines, verum etiam usus & significationes singulorum vocabulorum fusè copioseque ostenduntur atque explicantur"; Junius, *Observationes*, 135.

the increasing complexity of Van Vliet's etymological speculations, visible in for instance VO, PV, and MR, in which exemplification and semantic argumentation played a much more substantial role than in OW, SO and the earlier glossaries. This shift of emphasis was reinforced by an alteration in the questions that were at the basis of his actions; an alteration that caused Van Vliet's work to move closer to that of Junius.

2.3. Universal language

In his introduction *Ad lectorem* to the *Observationes*, Junius, with his characteristic magnanimous modesty, defended his work against all manner of adversaries. Although such apologies are conventional, it is also another reminder that this type of scholarship was far from universally accepted in the seventeenth century. Junius warned against those who looked down on Germanic studies because they were either ignorant of, or malicious towards "Northern antiquities", an attitude he still referred to ten years later in the *Gothicum glossarium*.⁶⁵ He refuted such allegations by saying that the study of these languages could facilitate a mutual understanding between nations in the world, adducing a quotation from Pliny's *Natural History*, in support:

I know there will be people who disapprove of my work; who consider it typical of someone grossly abusing his spare time and scholarship to waste his life and their intellect on such matters; but especially those who are either ignorant of or hateful to Northern antiquities will scorn my project. But, as it is no less easy for me to hold the latter in contempt than it is for them to hate proper scholarship, I will only give the following answer to the former: that I cannot see how they are able to avoid the accusation of being of a slow and ungrateful disposition, they who consider it superfluous "to concentrate the mutually different barbarous languages of so many nations to mutual communication through exchange of language, and to give humanity to mankind, and in short to create one nation for all peoples in the entire world", as I have slightly adapted the words of Pliny's *Natural History*, book 3, ch. 5, to my plan.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***1'.

⁶⁶ "...reprehendent, scio, hanc nostram operam, qui putant hominis esse intemperanter abutentis & otio & literis, ætatem atque ingenium in talibus conterere, præcipuè tamen huic nostro instituto oggiant, qui Arctoas antiquitates aut ignorant, aut oderunt. Sed quemadmodum non minùs mihi facile est posteriores hos contemnere, quàm illis proclive est bonas litteras odisse atque adversari; ita prioribus unum hoc respondeo, Me non videre quomodo segnis vel ingrati animi crimen à se amoliri queant, qui supervacuum putant tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas, ut leviter atque huic nostro proposito accomodem verba Plinii

Although Junius did not make this explicit, his statement suggests that he felt attracted to contemporary grammarians' aims to arrive at a universal grammar or language. Junius does not refer explicitly to philosophical currents arguing for the search for a universal grammar and language, but he is equally suggestive of the idea that language contains inherent characteristics, which could lead to simpler means of crossing language barriers.

You see, therefore, my reader, how considerable the affinity between many languages is, and how, with the help of the three oldest, the most important European languages can be taught, or at least understood, without much trouble.⁶⁷

His statement that languages can be fully comprehended with the help of his comparative studies suggests that he not only recognized the possibility, but also saw the need for universal intelligibility. These concepts echo seventeenth-century ideas on the role of language in society as the cause of discord and disorder.⁶⁸ His experiences of the religious controversies which plagued his native Netherlands in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and of which he himself had become a victim, will have made him aware of such notions, and perhaps, although this has not yet been demonstrated, susceptible to philosophical ideas circulating in England, which aimed at overcoming ambiguity in language.⁶⁹

nat. hist. lib. III, cap. 5, sermonis commercio contrahere ad colloquia & humanitatem homini dare; breviterque, unam cunctarum gentium in toto orbe facere"; Junius, *Observ.*, [π6].

⁶⁷ "Vides igitur, mi Lector, quanta sit plurimarum linguarum affinitas, quamque levi negotio praecepta Europaeorum linguæ subsidio trium antiquissimarum perdisci vel saltem intelligi possint"; *ibid.*, [π6].

⁶⁸ Robert E. Stillman, *The New Philosophy and Universal Languages in Seventeenth-Century England: Bacon, Hobbes and Wilkins* (Lewisburg and London, 1995), 29.

⁶⁹ See Stillman; J.L. Subbiondo, "Universal Language Schemes in Seventeenth-Century Britain", in *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, R.E. Asher and J.M.Y. Simpson eds. (Oxford, 1994), 9, 4481–4485, who provides a bibliography; Vivian Salmon, "Anglo-Dutch Linguistic Scholarship: A Survey of Seventeenth-Century Achievements", *HL* 15 (1988), 139–141; —, *The Study of Language in 17th-Century England* (Amsterdam, 1979), who presents a survey of the movement as it existed in England and the Low Countries in the seventeenth century. The idea of universal or philosophical language must not be confused with the contemporaneous and related search for a universal character, which was conducted for similar purposes. This notion experienced support from the recent descriptions of the Chinese language and orthography, to which Francis Bacon (1561–1626) referred in his *Advancement of Learning*, and from Gerard Vossius, who advocated a universal character in his *Aristarchus, sive De arte grammatica libri septem*. Vossius, in turn, was used as a source by the Englishman John Wilkins (1614–1672), who in 1668 wrote his *Essay Towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language*. On Wilkins,

In England, the most prominent advocate of such notions had been the Moravian exile Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670), who had fled his native country as a result of the devastating effects of the Thirty-Years War. In France, Comenius met Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), the first European scholar to suggest a universal language for the advancement of learning.⁷⁰ During his stay in London in 1641–1642 Comenius argued for a new universal language based on universal knowledge,⁷¹ which would be the cure for all the ills of human civilisation. His motivation to plead for a totally new language derives from the enormous importance ascribed to the workings of languages in the seventeenth century. In Stillman's words:

The consequences ascribed to language by such thinking are nothing short of momentous. Out of linguistic divisions come war, religious strife, and cultural chaos; from linguistic renewal are promised not just peace but also the utopian benefits of a Christianapolis. Such ideas are startling, but in a seventeenth-century context they were far from extraordinary. In no other period of Western culture was so much power attributed to words or such great expectations attached to their reform.⁷²

Stillman's words are applicable not only to the work of Comenius and his fellow advocates of a universal language, but are also extremely relevant to the work of Francis Junius, and through Junius, to that of Van Vliet.

That Van Vliet was greatly influenced by Junius in this respect appears from his referring to Junius's ideas at the end of his introduction to *'t Vadder ons*, after which he summarized Junius's argument and repeated the quotation from Pliny:

And to all who object and prefer ignorance, I wish to state what has been said by the omniscient Pliny, Book. vi, chapter 7, and which was well applied by the forenamed gentleman [Junius] in his preface to his learned commentary on the Franconian Song of Songs by *Willeram*: "that by means of the languages, all peoples, which otherwise through misunderstanding of language are total strangers to one another, can be reduced to one race and country, and a common negotiation all over the earth (at least now among Christians)."⁷³

see D. Droixhe, "Wilkins et les langues européennes", in *La linguistique entre mythe et histoire...*, D. Droixhe and Ch. Grell eds. (Münster, 193), 41–54.

⁷⁰ Salmon, *The Study of Language*, 147.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 130–131.

⁷² Stillman, 29–30.

⁷³ "En tegens alle afkeerige, en al willens onwetende te stellen 't geen door de Wijdcunge Plinius lib. 6 cap. 7. geseght, en bij den ged^e Heer in zijn Voorrede van zijn geleerde aenmerckingen op het Fransche Hooglied van Willeram, ten dele wel gepast werdt:

Van Vliet's limitation of the argument to the 'Christianapolis' was not derived from Junius, but stemmed perhaps from some awareness that languages in the east and in the new world were altogether different. Inspired by Junius, Van Vliet, then, presented the wish to establish "a common negotiation" between the world's Christian nations as one of his motivations to undertake Old Germanic studies. Since these studies, in relation to which these ideas were voiced, were basically concerned with the comparison of Old Germanic languages and their etymology, it follows logically from this statement that language comparison and etymology were considered a means to achieve common negotiation.

During the Renaissance, ideas about an underlying logical cause of language had given rise to a search for a universal grammar, which preceded the quest for a universal language. On the one hand, this search had been based on the unambiguous divine principles that were supposed to exist in language, while on the other hand it was supported by Aristotle's principle that, although languages vary, the underlying notions behind the utterances are the same for all men, from which the philosophical premise resulted that "languages differ in accident, but are identical in substance".⁷⁴ Aristotle's ideas were used by Julius Caesar Scaliger in *De causis linguae Latinae* (1540), in which he attempted to establish a standard of linguistic description based on Latin grammar.⁷⁵ This attempt constituted the beginnings of a universal grammar movement. Perhaps significantly, Van Vliet owned a copy of this book (LMO 135), for there are indications that he felt attracted to this ideal.

One motivation for Junius and Van Vliet to use the search for a common understanding between nations as an apology for their Germanic studies is the fact that these two seemingly unrelated disciplines share a common origin in the Renaissance mixture of Christian and humanist doctrines about the origin and workings of language. Central to this common ground is the tenet popularized by the German mystic Jacob Böhme (1575–1624) that Adam had recognized the true nature of things, and that,

'Namentlijk, dat men door desen middel van de taelen alle Volckeren, die anders door misverstand van de spraeck geheel vreemd van malcanderen zijn, tot een geslacht, en Vaderland; ende een gemeene onderhandelinge over de geheele aerdbodem (ten minsten onder de Christenen nu) brengen kan'; VO, a4'.

⁷⁴ See G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700: Trends in Vernacular Grammar I* (Cambridge, 1985), 219, on which I have based my observations on seventeenth-century grammatical theory.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 219–221.

therefore, there was a supposedly unspoilt affinity between word and thing in the original language.⁷⁶ Interestingly, it is in Van Vliet's work, not in that of Junius, that we find explicit ideas about the origin of language which were firmly rooted in the Christian tradition:⁷⁷

God himself set all animals before Adam in Paradise, so that he would name them, each according to its nature, and *their name was as he named them*, that is according to the nature and properties of each. God himself also gave names to Abram, Sara, and others, according to their actions, offices and duties.⁷⁸

For Van Vliet the fact that words and names derived from God was the unquestionable truth of the Scriptures, and as it formed the basis for his introduction to VO, it will also have formed the basis for his etymological studies. The description of the origin of language based on the Bible: Adam giving names to animals according to their nature and by divine in-

⁷⁶ See Stillman, 30, who summarises Böhme's ideas and indicates that his writings were popular in England during the 1650s. See also Borst, 1342–1344, who states that Böhme did not consider Hebrew the oldest language: "In dieser sprache gab Adam, wie ein Engel aus der Kraft Gottes schöpfend und die Idee des vollkommenen Menschen verkörpernd, den Kreaturen ihre Namen; in ihr klangen Benennungen harmonisch zusammen. Diese wahre und einzige Sprache ist (anders als bei Paracelsus und so wie bei Nikolaus von Kues) nicht das Hebräische; seit dem Turmbau ist sie verloren und unter die Idiome der Welt gemischt".

⁷⁷ Although there are differences between the various Greek philosophical schools, there is enough correspondence between the Christian and the classical traditions with respect to the origin of language to account for a satisfactory degree of compatibility. This was owing to the similarity between the question posed by the ancient Greeks whether words by nature resembled the objects signified or whether this was owing to human attempts to make correspondences, and the Biblical explanation that man had acquired his words from God. According to W. Sanders, "Grundzüge und Wandlungen der Etymologie", in *Etymologie*, Rüdiger Schmitt ed. (Darmstadt, 1977), 8–12, the Stoic tradition in particular contributed to this correspondence: "Von den auf Platon und Aristoteles folgenden Philosophenschulen werden in unserem Zusammenhang besonders die Stoiker bedeutsam, die als entschiedene Verfechter der φύσει-Theorie diese so interpretieren, dass die Sprache in der Seele des Menschen von Natur aus entstanden sei, jede Sprachaussage demnach eine mit dem natürlichen Wesen ihres Gegenstandes Übereinstimmende 'Wahrheit' enthalte oder, wie sie es ausdrückten, 'wahr' sei (griech. *ἔνυμος*)". If *Natur* were replaced by 'Divine inspiration', the Stoic school could be considered to support the Biblical tradition. Plato in his *Kratylos* had not referred to 'nature', but to *ὁ δημιουργὸς ὀνομάτων* 'the wise giver of names'; see C.P. Herbermann, "Moderne und antike Etymologie", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 95 (1981), 36–37.

⁷⁸ "God selver heeft in het Paradijs alle dieren voor Adam gestelt, op dat hij die elck nae sijn aerd, benaemen soude, en *soo hij die noemde was hun naem*, dat is nae ijeders eijgenschap en aerd. God selver heeft mede aen Abram, Sara, en anderen hun naemen gegeven volgens hun doen, ampten en plichten"; VO, al' (Van Vliet's italics).

spiration, and God himself giving names to people according to their duties and characteristics, implied for Van Vliet that a word had to incorporate some sort of divine reflection of what it signified. It is not entirely clear from his short remarks on this matter whether he also adhered to the principle that words expressed the true nature of things, but given his traditional monogenetic concept of language, Van Vliet must have been essentially convinced that words were not arbitrary. As a result, he must have been of the opinion that aspects of this original language have to be recognizable in all languages.

In conjunction with his views on the origin of language, Van Vliet made no distinction between words and names: all words are names which ultimately derive from the real names God and Adam gave to creation. This idea also played a role in Junius's work, as appears from his introduction *Ad Lectorem* to the *Gothicum glossarium*. In one instance he called the *Glossarium* an *onomasticum*, 'a collection of names'. This equation of words and names was not an original idea, but one that had become current in seventeenth-century grammatical theory, in which the definition of *vox* 'word' had not only come to include notions such as *dictio* and *pars orationis*, but also comprised terms such as *nomen* and *vocabulum*.⁷⁹

Although Junius did not explicitly refer to the origin of language as a result of Divine inspiration, it is evident from his work that he embraced the this principle, for, more than any of his contemporaries or predecessors, he tried to discover the truth in words. He delineated his relentless search for the truth in words as the philosophical aim of his activities:

...for I have not embarked upon the exercise of this commentary with any other intention than that the truth should become more and more unravelled, of which they who proclaim pure truth and sincere faith should always be zealous to prepare to admit it willingly, and show it to others.⁸⁰

His own contribution to finding this truth and helping to resolve the ambiguity of language and languages that plagued contemporary society was

⁷⁹ Padley, *Grammatical Theory: The Latin Tradition*, 139–141, refers to seventeenth-century definitions of 'noun', in which 'noun', 'name', and 'word' were used almost indiscriminately. In addition, Padley asserts that this desire for knowledge of real names thrived in mystic circles.

⁸⁰ "neque enim aliâ mente ad hujus Commentationis exercitium accessi, nisi ut magis magisque explicetur Veritas; cujus promtè admittendæ atque aliis exhibendæ avidissimos semper esse oportet eos, qui meram veritatem atque incorruptam fidem profitentur"; Junius, *Observationes*, [π8[†]].

his attempt to distil the original meaning or etymon⁸¹—a Greek word meaning truth—from the words of the vernacular, by comparing the oldest stages of the Germanic languages. In line with the humanist tradition, as Erasmus had put it in his *Methodus*,⁸² truth had to be derived from the oldest and purest possible source. In Junius's opinion, these oldest forms were connected with the philosophical truth that could be derived from the ancestral wisdom found in etymologies. He considered it useful "...to oppose those who mock etymologies that attribute some wisdom to the uncivilised times of our ancestors",⁸³ and illustrated his firm belief in the philosophical value of his studies by means of a long quotation from Cicero's Tusculan disputations,⁸⁴ in which an analogy was drawn between philosophy as a teacher of social values and world order, and the value of the true meaning of the ancestral language. In the seventeenth century, philology and philosophy were considered related. "The role of philology was to speculate on the primeval linguistic unity of mankind. The role of philosophy was to investigate the logical structure underlying all different languages".⁸⁵ In his address to philosophy, Cicero claimed that "it has united mankind in the ties of common literature and speech", and concluded: "But, as I think, this deception and this mental darkness have overspread the souls of the uninstructed, because they cannot look back far enough into the past and do not consider that the men by whom the means of human life were first provided have been philosophers."⁸⁶ The passage also illustrates how closely Junius associated religion with philosophy, which is personified as the saviour of the human race in Cicero's account. Therefore, the truth to be found in the oldest languages was as much a philosophical truth as a practical one, and it could thus function as an instrument to increase mutual comprehension between nations.

2.4. Empiricism

The seventeenth-century endeavours to arrive at a universal grammar led to an "epistemological dichotomy" between those who viewed language

⁸¹ See above, pp. 275–276, on his distinction between *origo* and *etymologia*.

⁸² See above, pp. 11–12.

⁸³ "salutare videtur...opponere iis, qui ludibrio habent etymologias qualemunque rudi Patrum nostrorum sæculo Sapientiam tribuentes"; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***2'.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, ***2'.

⁸⁵ Lia Formigari, *Language and Experience in 17th-Century British Philosophy* (Amsterdam, 1988), 14.

⁸⁶ Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, v, ii, 5–6.

as a “mirror of thought” and those who viewed language as a “mirror of things”.⁸⁷ In the field of the historiography of linguistics, this dichotomy is perhaps better known as the opposition between rationalism and empiricism. The rationalist approach originated on the Continent, where it flourished in the works of Descartes and the Port-Royal grammarians. They sought to find the *ratio* behind language and concentrated on the analysis and description of intellectual processes.⁸⁸ The opposing movement originated in Britain and was, in Padley’s words: “rooted not so much in the application of reason to language as in the empiricism of the new science, whose ideas were embodied in the Royal Society. ... In the context of the new science...interest in general grammar was but one element in a wider cultural shift, in a movement towards a greater emphasis on things and on empirical verification.”⁸⁹ Interestingly enough, both movements tried to apply the principle of universal grammar not only to Latin but also to vernacular languages.

It is in the second group, the empiricists, that we can find processes analogous with the study of Old Germanic languages in the way that it was conducted by Junius and, in his footsteps, Van Vliet. Padley’s assertion that empiricists considered language a “mirror of things” implies that there was, among these scholars, a strong emphasis on things, on words, and on empirical verification. The rudiments of this idea had already been present in the works of Erasmus, Melanchthon and Julius Caesar Scaliger, who had stated that “understanding was the mirror of things”.⁹⁰ The central figure was the English philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626), who was also one of the main exponents of the movement that strove after a universal language. In relation to his method of research, Bacon voiced the remark that “to resolve nature into abstractions is less to our purpose than to dissect her into parts.... Matter rather than form should be the object of our attention”.⁹¹ Methodically, Bacon rejected deductive reasoning, which moved from the general to the specific, in favour of inductive reasoning, which moved from particular details towards a more general kind

⁸⁷ Padley, *Grammatical Theory: Trends in Vernacular Grammar* 1, 283–381.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 328: “The intellect is for Descartes its own object of study”. The Port-Royal grammarians repeatedly rendered acknowledgement to Gerard Vossius, whose interest in a universal diction was known from his grammar. On Vossius and Port-Royal, see Rademaker, “Gerardus Joannes Vossius...and the Study of Latin Grammar”, 120–123.

⁸⁹ Padley, *Grammatical Theory: Trends in Vernacular Grammar* 1, 325.

⁹⁰ Padley, *Grammatical Theory: The Latin Tradition*, 64.

⁹¹ Padley, *Grammatical Theory: Trends in Vernacular Grammar* 1, 327, quotes from Bacon’s *Novum Organon* (London, 1620).

of reasoning.⁹² For Bacon, the emphasis was on things, and on names for things. A good knowledge of things was a prerequisite for understanding the real meaning of the names and therefore of language, which was regarded as largely a collection of names and as a mirror of things. Empiricists, therefore, were preoccupied with nomenclature.⁹³ They focused their attention on the meaning of words, and not on linguistic or mental processes which are related to the function of such words in the minds of men.⁹⁴

Van Vliet's concept of language as a collection of names given by God or Adam also treats language as a nomenclature, appropriately defined by Hüllen as "a store of designations/names which can be bound into sentences by (secondary) grammatical devices".⁹⁵ This emphasis on words is a crucial concept for Van Vliet, as appears from his introduction to VO, which he began by stating that "many words do not fill a bag, but without words nothing can be understood".⁹⁶ He similarly illustrated the importance assigned to words in RS,⁹⁷ in which he warned those who might think him too lengthy that matters had to be understood with words, and not without them. That these were no empty statements appears from his practical studies, which nearly all deal with the origin and meaning of words.

However, it is to the ideas and works of Francis Junius that the Baconian empiricist principles best apply. In his description of his investigations into the Gothic language Junius explained how he pieced together the language from the obscure words. In his presentation of the results of this process in the *Gothicum glossarium*, he started with the smallest detail, the *alphabetum Gothicum*, and continued by making an inventory

⁹² Padley, *Grammatical Theory: Trends in Vernacular Grammar* 1, 338.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 328.

⁹⁴ Padley, *ibid.*, 369–381, juxtaposes these schools of thought to illustrate the opposition between the Continental rationalist approach of Cartesianism and the movement at Port-Royal, on the one hand, and the more insular scientific approach of Bacon and the Royal Society, on the other.

⁹⁵ Werner Hüllen, "The Paradigm of John Wilkins's Thesaurus", in *The History of Lexicography...*, R.R.K. Hartman ed. (Amsterdam, 1986), 118, also connects this view of language with the philosophy of Bacon, Hobbes, Wilkins, and John Locke (1632–1704).

⁹⁶ "Veel woorden vullen wel geen sack; maer oock sonder woorden en verstaet men geen saeck"; VO, a1'. The first part of this phrase is a translation of a Frisian proverb from the Balck's Franeker edition, 26: "Folle wurden folle nin seck". Van Vliet also used this proverb for his list of *Der oude Vrije Friesen Spreek-Woorden* at the end of the *Bredaesche almanac* (28), where he replaced *folle* by *follen*; see Feitsma, *Oude Friesche spreek-woorden*, 27, no 298.

⁹⁷ RS, 53.

of the words. He then concentrated fully on the meaning of the words, and on cognate words from related languages. Junius dissected Gothic and also other Old Germanic languages into parts, and desisted from making any further generalizations until he had come to grips with the meaning of every single part. The great number of examples and attestations would thus allow the reader to draw his own conclusions on the paradigmatic aspects of the Gothic language, as well as enable him to survey the varying shades of meaning of a word. This emphasis on explanation of words incited Junius in the *Gothicum glossarium* to specify a 'dictionary' by the name of *exegesis*, something he had also done in relation to his plea for a new etymological dictionary of Dutch.⁹⁸ In a system which equates language with nomenclature, a dictionary is the most important tool for language studies, and in Junius's notion of a dictionary, a detailed explanation of words, both synchronic and diachronic, formed an indispensable element.

This empiricist emphasis on words can be linked back to Francis Bacon and the attempts to search for a universal grammar. Bacon defined philosophical grammar as "examining the power and nature of words as they are the footsteps and prints of reason".⁹⁹ The influence of Bacon's ideas is present in the work of the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, whom Van Vliet visited at least once when he was in London in 1652. Van Vliet possessed *De cive* (LMQ 070), in which Hobbes described wisdom as "the perfect knowledge of the truth in all matters whatsoever".¹⁰⁰ Knowledge of things through the knowledge of names is considered the basis for this truth. A major problem which empiricists perceived in language was that the "existing names were not sufficiently precise, or had been misapplied by the unthinking mass of men".¹⁰¹ Padley states that Bacon is very much aware of the "profound kind of fallacies" in the mind of man, including what he calls the "idols of the market-place" (misconceptions deriving from language and society), the remedy against which is "the formation of ideas and axioms by true induction and greater care in definition".¹⁰²

The attempts by Junius and Van Vliet to find the origins of the vernacular with the help of the oldest recorded stages of the Germanic languages may well be regarded from a similar epistemological point of

⁹⁸ Junius, *Observationes*, [π4].

⁹⁹ Padley, *Grammatical Theory: Trends in Vernacular Grammar 1*, 326–327.

¹⁰⁰ Stillman, 156.

¹⁰¹ Padley, *Grammatical Theory: Trends in Vernacular Grammar 1*, 329.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 330.

view, starting, as we have seen, from the proposition that words originally reflected a divine definition of things. However, both the original forms of words and their original significations were blurred in the course of time, which was evident from synchronically and diachronically related words with different meanings such as homonyms and synonyms. It was the task of the etymologist to establish clarity in this matter, which was done by means of detailed investigations into the oldest forms of words and their original meanings. This brings together the empiricist precept of detailed research of words and meanings and the etymological principles derived from Varro, Isidore and other classical scholars, who argued to find truth within the *cognitio verborum*.

An important book in which the principles of universal grammar and aspects of Baconian empiricism were applied to linguistic practice was Comenius's *Vestibulum linguae Latinae*, of which Van Vliet possessed a copy (LMO 285). In his *Vestibulum*, Comenius spoke of a "a nomenclature of things",¹⁰³ which he saw as preliminary to language study. It is significant that in relation to Comenius's ideas Padley speaks of "a drift of grammar towards nomenclature and lexicography", and demonstrates from Comenius's *Didactica magna* that he considered it wrong to begin a child's education with grammar, but that the knowledge of things and names should precede this. Comenius's reasoning about grammar is explained as follows:

Since phenomena and their modes and actions are the same for all men, it follows that the basic grammatical system that is isomorphic with them will also be the same in essentials. Thus, in learning a new language...the pupil only needs to have pointed out to him divergences from the basic grammar he already knows.... True to Comenius's belief that the same basic grammar will serve for all languages, [Comenius's *Ars oratoria*] gives only the barest essentials.¹⁰⁴

In other words, with Bacon and Comenius universal grammar shifted to universal language, in which not the function of the words in the mechanism of language, but the words themselves and the knowledge behind words became the prime focus of attention.

The idea that the study of words or names belonged to grammar is also recognizable in Junius's introduction to the *Gothicum glossarium*:

¹⁰³ Quoted after Padley, *ibid.*, 347, who deals with Comenius's ideas on pp. 336–349.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 347–348.

While describing and explaining Gothic words I sometimes digress to some pleasantries of related languages, thus, as it were, preventing boredom, which usually satiates the reader who is tired with too many grammatical observations.¹⁰⁵

This explanation of words described as grammatical observations brings Junius in line with ideas expressed by Francis Bacon.¹⁰⁶ How Junius envisaged the idea that his etymological explanations of words functioned as grammatical observations becomes clear from his account of the absence of grammatical paradigms in his work:

I have assigned the name of *Glossarium* to my comments, because I have not in every instance added the nominative case of nouns and the infinitive form of verbs (as it is usually done in exegeses [i.e. dictionaries]), but I have presented the many words in alphabetical order as they are presented in the Gothic setting. This happened particularly frequently with nouns and verbs that occur only once or very rarely, for it was not always easy either to construct a certain analogy, which we can use as a safe basis, of each Gothic declension and conjugation from the remaining fragments of the *Codex Argenteus*.¹⁰⁷

Unlike his predecessors and contemporaries, Junius appears to have been aware of the lack of attention to grammar in contemporary Germanic scholarship and in his own work, especially where it concerned the difficult Gothic language.¹⁰⁸ In order to make up for this defect, he claimed to have presented large numbers of varying attestations of the same words, so as to enable the reader to form his own knowledge of the words.¹⁰⁹ Etymology, as he presented it, formed part of grammar, and was indis-

¹⁰⁵ "In enarrandis adhæc explicandisque vocabulis Gothicis, ad quasdam cognaturum linguarum amoenitates quandoque deflecto, veluti hac ratione occursurus tædio quod obsaturare solet Lectorem nimiâ Grammaticarum observationum copiâ fatigatum"; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***1^v.

¹⁰⁶ On Bacon's ideas, see above, pp. 288–290.

¹⁰⁷ "Glossarii nomen indidi hisce nostris commentationibus, propterea quòd non ubique Rectos casus Nominum (ut in Exegeticis fieri assolet) nec Verborum modum Infinitum semper adscripserim, sed plurimas voces in ordinem Alphabeticum retulerim, prout offeruntur in ipso contextu Gothico: quod tamen maximè locum habuit in Verbis & Nominibus semel tantùm aut rarissimè occurrentibus; neque enim semper expeditum erat ex residuis Argentei codicis fragmentis certam ubique Gothicarum declinationum conjugationumque analogiam, & cui tutò insisteremus, efformare"; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***1^v.

¹⁰⁸ Apart from Abraham Wheelock's edition of Bede, no edition of an Old Germanic text had been provided with grammatical information.

¹⁰⁹ See my quotation from Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***1^v, on pp. 279–280, above.

pensable for arriving at a proper understanding of language. Junius's ideas on words and grammar are strikingly reminiscent of the principles for a philosophical grammar presented by the English linguist Francis Lodwick,¹¹⁰ the son of a Dutch Protestant refugee, who spent much of his life in the Dutch-speaking community in London. Lodwick's interest in linguistic problems arose from the language problems in the Dutch Reformed Church in London. Eventually, he became a fellow of the Royal Society, which he also served by making translations. In his *Ground-work for the Framing of a New Perfect Language* (1652), Lodwick presented a three-fold division of philosophical grammar. Besides morphological analysis, he also argued for semantic and etymological analysis. Formigari formulates Lodwick's purposes for these kinds of analysis: "The former can reduce synonyms to a single character, or reveal a relationship between words with similar or opposite meanings; the latter can establish the common character of words with different sounds but of common origin".¹¹¹ Lodwick's introduction of semantic and etymological analysis of words also resembles Junius's distinction between *origo* and *etymologia*, and provides a possible rationale for this approach.

It was Francis Junius who first implemented the ideas of the English empiricist tradition in Old Germanic scholarship. Comparison between his work and that of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries, such as Meric Casaubon and William Somner, make the difference even more apparent. Whether this also played a role in the reconsideration of his etymological procedures which he spoke of in relation to his *Etymologicum Teutonicum* is not clear. A more elaborate description of the theory behind his studies would have answered many of the historiographical questions that are raised by the mass of his practical scholarly work. It is to be hoped that future research of his correspondence and philological legacy will bring to light more definite data about the circumstances of this remarkable move.

As in so many other aspects, it was Van Vliet who was Junius's first follower. He paralleled Junius's emphasis on the study of words in his introduction to VO, when he concluded his paragraph on the importance of words with a quotation from the Greek Stoic philosopher Epictetus (c. 55–c. 135): "Therefore, Epictetus rightly states *that knowledge of words*

¹¹⁰ On Lodwick, see Vivian Salmon, *The Works of Francis Lodwick: A Study of his Writings in the Intellectual Context of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1972).

¹¹¹ Formigari, 63.

and names is the principle of all good teaching".¹¹² His susceptibility to these ideas may have been enhanced by his frequent contacts with English royalist refugees, which included many educated clergymen to whom the work of Francis Bacon must have been familiar. Van Vliet's scholarly contacts included Samuel Johnson, who was interested in philosophy, and Thomas Hobbes, whom he had visited in the company of Johnson. He also knew John Durie (1596–1680),¹¹³ who argued for religious unity among the Protestants,¹¹⁴ and he was familiar with the work of the grammarian and member of the Royal Society, John Wallis (1616–1703), whose *Grammatica linguæ Anglicanæ* (1653) he possessed (LMD 096). Moreover, in France in the beginning of the 1640s he had met Marin Mersenne, who had been an inspiration for Comenius. Although neither Van Vliet's etymological studies nor those of Junius contain any direct references to theories of Baconian empiricism and the subsequent political and pedagogical ideas of Hobbes and Comenius, there are sufficient parallels to suggest that these theories had implications for Van Vliet's motivations for pursuing Old Germanic and etymological studies. Moreover, these theories account partly for the method of his etymological studies.

Firstly, Van Vliet's Germanic studies were very much word-centred, which becomes meaningful in view of the above theories, since words were considered the most important phenomena in a language. The distinction between words as lexically meaningful items and other parts of speech, which I will return to in the following section, is related to the concept of words as a name or a reflection of a thing.

Secondly, the empiricist ideas and the emphasis on words provide a plausible explanation for the total lack of attention to grammar which characterises Van Vliet's studies. Words formed the most important type of data to be collected. The grammatical principles derived from Latin could be regarded as universal and were made to serve for other languages as well. This principle also lowered the barrier for the insertion of alterations in texts or phrases, by changing the order of words, their morphology and spelling in lexicographical entries and other quotations.¹¹⁵

¹¹² "Epictetus seght daerom seer wel, *dat de kennisse van de woorden en namen het beginsel is van alle goede onderwijsinge*"; VO, a1^r.

¹¹³ See DNB, VI, 261–263. During his stay in London in 1652 Van Vliet mentioned to Heinsius that he considered the possibility of visiting Durie; Van Vliet to Nicholas Heinsius, 12–01–1652.

¹¹⁴ Salmon, *The Study of Language*, 135.

¹¹⁵ See further below, pp. 325–334.

Thirdly, the premise that knowledge of words has to be accompanied by knowledge of things provides an additional reason for the study of Old Germanic languages to be closely linked to that of other branches of the humanities, such as history, chorography, theology and law. Many of the words deriving from these languages were related to one of these four disciplines.

3. *Methods*

3.1. Treatment of Junius's material

Many of Van Vliet's studies contain references to the Junius manuscripts, but Junius's manuscripts have not been used in all parts of Van Vliet's work. For his annotations to the *Observationes in Willeramii* (OW) Van Vliet rarely mentioned Junius's manuscripts, indicating that there was little consultation in 1659, when most of the annotations to OW were made.¹ In his copy of Somner's *Dictionarium* (SO), which Van Vliet probably started annotating after his return from England in 1661, his collation with Junius's Old English–Latin lexicon (MSS Junius 2 and 3) indicates that, by that time, he had been provided with some material from Junius's library. However, he still had only limited access to Junius's manuscripts. Apart from MSS Junius 2 and 3, only the *Murbach Hymns* and the *Observationes in Willeramii* were mentioned comparatively frequently, while of all Old High German–Latin glossaries, there is only one reference to Kero's Old High German gloss to the *Benedictine Rule*. Junius's work afforded no precedent for Van Vliet's annotations to SO, for Junius's copy of Somner's *Dictionarium* (MS Junius 7) remains almost unannotated.²

We may expect that Van Vliet's comments to his interleaved copy of the Frisian Land-laws (MA) contain more of Junius's inspiration than the additions to SO, since the idea of compiling an annotated edition of the Old Frisian laws originated from Junius. Moreover, Van Vliet could adopt Junius's *Observationes in Willeramii* as his example for annotating an edition of an Old Germanic text. The frequent references to the book confirm that it played an important role. Van Vliet also exploited material from other manuscripts in Junius's library, which may have increased the similarity between their style of annotating. Whereas the Old English–Latin

¹ The references to the Latin–Old High German glossaries as well as the more complex notes in the book, including the toponymical notes on p. [χ2^v], were presumably made later.

² MS Junius 7 contains only a few annotations by Junius, mainly corrections of mistakes and printer's errors. Ælfric's *Grammar* was collated with two other versions, which Junius identified as originating from Cambridge and from the library of Sir Symonds D'Ewes respectively. Ælfric's *Glossary* was provided with chapters and page numbers. At the end of the book is a note in Junius's hand from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historiae regum Britanniae*, book VI, cap. 12.

lexicon (MSS Junius 2 and 3), was not used in MA—after all, Van Vliet could consult his own *Somner*, and frequently did so—the Old High German glossaries, as well as the notes on Tatian, are well represented. Some of the philological notes on Old Frisian that Junius gave to Van Vliet can also be recognized.³ Much wider consultation of Junius's Old High German glossaries is traceable in Van Vliet's annotations to Merula's edition of *Willeram* (MR), and especially in his additions to the glossary at the end of the book.⁴ Nonetheless, the most obvious use of Junius's material is to be found in *'t Vader ons* (VO), where Van Vliet relied on Junius *Gothicum glossarium* for most of the information for his philological notes on Gothic.

In many of Van Vliet's other studies, Junius's manuscripts were mentioned rarely, if at all. Most curiously, his attempted edition of the Frisian proverbs is one of such studies, in which of all Junius manuscripts, he only once referred to the Old High German glossary D. As the *Dubia*, with Van Vliet's questions and Junius's answers, give evidence of extensive collaboration, it is therefore not a valid assumption that the presence or absence of references to the Junius manuscripts can give any specific indications as to whether there was any interaction between Junius and Van Vliet on a given topic.

From Van Vliet's collation of SO with Junius's Old English–Latin lexicon (MSS Junius 2 and 3) it is evident that he never just copied Junius's entries, but, instead, always seemed to take from them what he deemed necessary. He selected single words, translations, or attestations, and disregarded the large number of examples.

Similar selective copying can be seen to have taken place in MA. Some of Van Vliet's annotations derive from notes on Old Frisian, given to him by Junius.⁵ Van Vliet commented on Old Frisian *worma* 'purple dye':

uurmothaz, scarlet, worm Gl. B. 8. and 55. Italian, French, Spanish, and English vermillion, because grains of the berry of the scarlet oak are full of worms. See Salmasius, Solinus, p. 272.⁶

He derived this information from Junius's note on the same word, which, however, was much more elaborate:

³ Now Lambeth Palace Library, MS 783 (LA), 375^r–378^r.

⁴ MR, 169–179.

⁵ LA, 375^r–378^r.

⁶ "*uurmothaz*, coccinum, vermiculum Gl. B. 8. et 55. It. G. H. et Angl. *vermillion*: quia grana cocci vermiculis scatent. v. Salm. Sol. p. 272"; MA, 41^{bis}.

worma] *uurmotaz*, scarlet gl. B, 8. *uuyrmbaso*, berry of the scarlet oak; gl. E, 4. *uurmotaz*, worm; gl. B, 55. Italian *vermiglio*. Spanish *bermellon*. French *vermillon*. English *vermillon*. Dutch *vermilljoen* is called scarlet, or scarlet coloured, which is almost like *Vermiculus* [a worm] or *vemiculatum* [filled with worms]. In the glosses *κόκκος*, *βάμμια*, worms, the scarlet berry. In another gloss; *κόκκος*, *vermiculus*, undoubtedly the name is from that, because the grains of the berry of the scarlet oak are full of worms, of which clothes coloured with *sanie* [purple blood] have the colour which we name scarlet, because that of the holm-oak very quickly transforms itself from a berry into scarlet. ... See Pliny XXIV, 4. Salmasius has more in [his commentary on] Solinus.⁷

From Junius's extensive exposition, Van Vliet only copied the entry word, the Old High German cognate, and the two Latin translations, the second of which he might well have expected to be a cognate of Old Frisian *worma*, on account of the similar consonants. In addition, he very briefly hinted at the Romance cognates of vermilion and gave the briefest possible explanation of the relation between *coccinum* and *vermiculum*, as well as the reference to Salmasius. Of similar brevity are, for example, Van Vliet's notes on Old Frisian *palef treda*, 'silk as third',⁸ *weed* 'garment',⁹ both of which were also copied from Junius's notes,¹⁰ and of which the note on *palef treda* covers half the page. From this and similar notes derived from these sheets, it appears that the entry, the translation, and cognates from other mainly Old Germanic languages formed Van Vliet's main purpose. Sometimes, it even seems as if Van Vliet intended his own notes to function as a sort of compendium to Junius's comments.

Collation of Van Vliet's additions to the glossary *Expositio Alamanica* with Junius's Old High German glossaries shows an equally selective

⁷ "*worma*] *uurmotaz*, Coccinum; gl. B, 8. *uuyrmbaso*, Coccus; gl. E, 4. *uurmohtaz*, Vermiculum; gl. B, 55. Italis *vermiglio*. Hispanis *bermellon*. Gallis *vermillon*. Anglis *vermillon*. Belgis *vermilljoen* dicitur Coccinum sive Coccineum, q.d. Vermiculus vel vemiculatum. Glossæ *κόκκος* *βάμμια*, Vermicula, hoc coccum. Aliæ glossæ; *κόκκος*, Vermiculus. nempe nomen ex eo, quia grana cocci scatent vermiculis, quorum sanie vestes tincta colorem haberent quem Coccinum dicimus. cum de cocco hoc ilicis æquifoliæ [recte aquifoliæ] celerrimè se in vermiculum mutant. vide Plinium XXIV, 4. ... ~~Plura~~ habet Salm. in Solinum"; LA, 376'.

⁸ F. Holthausen, *Altfriesisches Wörterbuch*, second rev. edition by Dietrich Hofmann (Heidelberg, 1985), 81, suggests 'silk thread' as the meaning, which may well be what Junius and Van Vliet conjectured, although neither of them commented on *treda*. Dietrich Hofmann, "Altfriesisch *pellef/palef threda* 'Seidenstoff' als Dritter"; nicht *palef-thred* 'Seidenfaden'", *Us Wurk* 37 (1988), 45–51, gives the translation 'silk as third'.

⁹ MA, 41^{bis}.

¹⁰ LA, 376'.

pattern of borrowing.¹¹ As in SO and MA, Van Vliet never copied Junius's entry entirely, but invariably condensed the material. The annotation in MR:

Zeiz, tender in love II.8,30. and 19,50. *Sun bar si tho zeizzan* I.11,61. Tender, *Zeizzen*, see Junius in Gl. A. 10. where he derives it from Old English *tydder*.¹²

is entirely based on a note on the same word in Junius's glossary A. X:

Tenellus, *zeizzer*] *sun bar si thos zeizan*, 'She bore a tender son'; Otfridus I.11,61. *zeiz*, 'tender in love, loving tenderly', the same II.8,30. II.19,50. *zeizast*, 'most tenderly loved'; the same I.5,32. This *zeizzer* seems related to Old English *tydder*, 'tender, fragile, weak, of brief duration'. ... from *tid* or *tyd*, 'time'. My English *Etymologicum* has more s.v. 'tender'.¹³

A cursory comparison reveals that Van Vliet omitted the Latin translations, the additional examples, and the reference to the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*. However, collation of other entries with their possible sources show that there is a slight difference in approach to Junius's material.¹⁴ Firstly, Van Vliet often composed his entries from more than one of Junius's glossaries, thus transforming the process of his borrowing from copying and trimming to selecting and compiling. Secondly, more frequently than in MA, Van Vliet included examples given by Junius, albeit without the Latin translations, showing that he gradually adapted to Junius's conventions.

The most important document of Van Vliet's dependence on Junius is beyond doubt VO, in which the section of etymological commentary fol-

¹¹ MR, 169–179.

¹² "*Zeiz*, tener in amore II.8,30. et 19,50. *Sun bar si tho zeizzan* I.11.61. *Tenellus*, *Zeizzen*, Gl. A. 10. ubi Jun. qui derivat ab AS. *Tydder*"; MR, 179^{bis}.

¹³ "*Tenellus*, *zeizzer*] *sun bar si thos zeizan*, *Filium genuit tenellum*; Otfridus I.11.61. *zeiz*, *Tener in amore, teneriter amans*; idem II.8,30. II.19,50. *zeizast*, *Tenerrime dilectus*; Idem I.5,32. *Videtur autem zeizzer istud affine Anglo-saxonico Tydder, Tener fragilis, caducus, momentaneus. ... a tid vel tyd, Tempus. Plura habet etymologicum nostrum Anglicum in Tender*"; MS Junius 116a, 21.

¹⁴ In relation to Van Vliet's note on *bouwen* 'to build' (MR, 55^{bis}), see MS Junius 116c, 12, and MS Junius 116a, 143; on *Fronisga* 'gentle' (MR, 172^{bis}), see MS Junius 116a, 194; on *gatilingon* 'tribesmen' (MR, 172^{bis}), see MS Junius 116e, 194; on *gouma* 'meal' (MR, 173^{bis}), see MS Junius 116a, 96; on *honan* 'to scold' (MR, 174), see MS Junius 116a, 283; on *meran* 'to obstruct' (MR, 175^{bis}), see MS Junius 116a, 244; on *muaz* 'food' (MR, 175^{bis}), see MS Junius 116a, 21; on *swilan* 'to swell' (MR, 177), see MS Junius 116a, 381; on *wegeneste* 'food for a journey' (MR, 178^{bis}), see MS Junius 116a, 403; on *zeiz* 'tender' (MR, 179^{bis}), see MS Junius 116a, 21.

lowing the Lord's Prayer in Gothic¹⁵ in particular provides evidence that Van Vliet depended to a large extent on material from the *Gothicum glossarium*, even though it had not yet been published. Of the 183 cognates and examples (excluding the lemmata), 106 can be found under the same entries in the *Gothicum glossarium*, whereas 77 were derived from other sources, including a number of Junius's manuscripts. For the remaining sections of etymological commentary, Van Vliet's dependence on manuscripts from Junius's library is also extensive, but less easy to determine because, as I have shown in chapter IV, he referred to the original text and not to his immediate source.¹⁶ Along with his dependence on Junius, Van Vliet can also be seen to select elements from Junius's often lengthy observations. In his remarks on Gothic *atta* 'father' Van Vliet commented:

ATTA, ἄττα, *atta*, also with the Greeks and Romans. *Tata* among the [earlier] Romans, *aita* among the Basques *haite*, *heijte* with the ancient Frisians mean 'father' or 'grandfather', both in the literal sense, and when someone gives this name to his parent out of reverence. Therefore, the Frisians also called their judges *atten*; unless that had to be understood as 'sworn in', from *ap*, *ath*, Old English for 'oath'. AĪPEI, *aitheī* is 'mother', Luc. I, 43 and 60.¹⁷

His source was Junius's comment on *atta*:

ATTA, father, ATTANS, fathers, Basque *aita*, among those holding on to the ancient Frisian language *hayte*, *heyte*, *teyte*, is even today 'father'. These same Frisians call their judges *atten*. However, the Frisians from Hindelopen peculiarly call a grandfather *ate*. To this, compare that of Festus Pompeius: Out of reverence we give to any old person the name *atta*, almost as if we give him the name of 'grandfather'. Hesychius also testifies that τοὺς πατέρας were named ἄττας by the Cretans. Meanwhile, all these display great affinity with Greek ἄττα. This was not only used by youngsters to name those advanced in age, but also by pupils addressing their educators. See what Henricus Stephanus noted on this word in the appendix to his *Thesaurus*. See also Vossius's *Etymologicum* under *Tata*. As far as Gothic AĪPEI is concerned, I consider it almost certainly to be made from ATTA,

¹⁵ VO, 3–11.

¹⁶ See above, pp. 175–178.

¹⁷ "ATTA, ἄττα, *atta*, bij de Griecken en Latijnen mede. *Tata* by de Romeynen, *aita* bij de Biscaijers, *haite*, *heijte* bij de Oude Friesen bedieden een Vader of Grootvader/ soo wel eijgentlijk genomen, als wanneer men dien naem aen sijn ouder uijt eerbiedicheijde geeft. De Friesen noemen daerom hun Rechteren oock *atten*; 't en ware dat men dat voor gezworenen wilde nemen, van *ap*, *ath*/ A-Sax. *eed*. Engels *oath*. AĪPEI, *aitheī* is moeder, Luc. I, 43 and 60"; VO, 3–4.

after a slight mutation of the first syllable and the addition of a feminine ending.¹⁸

Van Vliet copied all except two of the cognates of *atta* from Junius, with disregard of the distinction between Frisian from Hindelopen and the other Frisian cognates. He left out the reference to Festus Pompeius but transferred the meaning given to Latin *atta*, to the Frisian names, without further explanation. He also left out passage in which Junius explained the etymology from Greek with the help of Hesychius and Henricus Stephanus, and replaced it by a suggestion of his own accord, in which he presented the possibility that Frisian *atten* 'judges' had been derived from Old English *ap* 'oath', a suggestion which conformed to Van Vliet's etymological principles, and was in keeping with his paradigm of languages. Finally, he also omitted the reference to Vossius. To sum up, Van Vliet selected from Junius's entry only the Germanic cognates. Next, he suggested a possible alternative etymological explanation of Frisian *atten*, which is more in keeping with his own principles. Other information was mostly disregarded.

In the entry immediately following *atta*, the one on *himins* 'heaven', the principles of borrowing are similar, but the discrepancy between the information given by Van Vliet and that supplied by Junius's entry is much greater.¹⁹ Again, Van Vliet copied cognate forms from Junius, but this time not exhaustively. He disregarded Junius's etymology, and, what is more, from the long list of attestations of different forms of the lemma, not one is included in his entry.

Other material from Junius's manuscripts underwent a similar process in VO. Van Vliet disregarded many of the examples, and composed the entries with the help of information from different sources. An example of this is the comment to Old High German *thegana* 'man':

¹⁸ "ATTA, Pater. ATTANS, Patres. Cantabris *aita*, veteris quoque linguae Frisicae tenacibus *haytel heytel teyte*, etiamnum hodie est Pater. immo & Judices iisdem Frisiis dicuntur *atten*. Hinlopiensibus verò Frisiis *ate* peculiariter nuncupatur Avus. Huc refer illud Pompeii Festi: *Attam* pro reverentiâ seni cuilibet dicimus, quasi eum *Avi* nomine appellemus. Hesychius quoque author est ἱεττας à Cretensibus dictos τοὺς πατέρας. Interim omnia hæc magnam habent affinitatem cum Græco ἄττα. quâ voce non modò ætate provectiores à junioribus, verùm etiam Altiores ab Alumnis olim nuncupabantur. Vide quæ Henr. Stephanus de hac voce annotavit in Appendice sui Thesauri. Vide quoque Vossii etymologicum in *Tata*. Quod attinet ad Gothicum AITHEI, Mater, parum abest quin credam factum est ex ATTA. syllabâ primâ nonnihil immutatâ, & assumptâ in fine terminatione foemininâ"; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, 70–71.

¹⁹ VO, 4. Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, 193–194.

thegana. From this: v, 20,86. *thar gisceident sih herero inti thegan*. ‘There lord and servant separate’. Old English *ðeng*, *ðegn*. From this: *ðenian*, *ðegnan*, ‘to serve’. After that, it was also taken for soldiers and military service. Glossary C: *theganonti*, *milicans*, i.e. ‘serving in war’. *thegenlice/ viriliter*, i.e. ‘sturdy, manly’ in Lipsius’s dictionary. *Thegan kind*, is a ‘boy (servant)’ Tat. ix.2.²⁰

Van Vliet himself supplied the first quotation from the edition of Otfrid’s *Evangelienbuch*. The Old English cognates *ðeng* and *ðegn* ‘servant’ came from Junius’ *Auctarium* to *Tatian*,²¹ as did the Old High German words *theganonti* ‘fighting’ and *thegenlice* ‘manly’, even though Van Vliet attributed them to Glossary C and Lipsius’s glossary, respectively. The subsequent quotation from *Tatian*, which was correctly referenced by Van Vliet, derived from Junius’s notes.²²

Despite Van Vliet’s admiration for Junius, the material from Junius’s library was not usually accepted wholesale, or at least without Van Vliet attempting to add some data of his own. Their discussion on the interpretation of Old Frisian *borders* in MS Junius 109 (J109) and MA bears witness to this.²³ Traces of Van Vliet’s own initiative are also to be seen in his treatment of Junius’s answers to the *Dubia* concerning the Frisian proverbs. In relation to his question on *De leedstoack stiet alderlangst* ‘the one who suffers much stands longest’, Junius had given an explanation based on information derived from Gysbert Japiks. Van Vliet referred to this explanation in his planned edition of Frisian proverbs (PV), but stated nevertheless that he had found a better solution, using proverbs of the same meaning from other languages in support.²⁴

Some of Van Vliet’s reactions to Junius’s observations are fanciful: to Junius’s explanation of *german* in the *Observationes* as ‘man of the sword’, from ‘Runic’ *geir* ‘German spear, sword’, Van Vliet reacted: “I am of the opinion that *german* was said as if *guerman*, *homme de guerre*”.²⁵ Other additions may be more subtle: Van Vliet linked Old

²⁰ “*thegana*. Hier nae v, 20,86. *thar gisceident sih herero inti thegan*. Daer scheiiden sich Heer ende Knecht. A-Sax, *ðeng*, *ðegn*. Daer van is *ðenian*, *ðegnan*, dienen. Het welck daer nae mede voor Criighs-knechten en dienst verstaen is. Glossar. C. *theganonti/ milicans*, i. dienende in den krijgh. *thegenlice*, *viriliter*, i. degeliick, manliick in ’t Woordeboek van Lipsius. *Thegan kind*, is een knechtje Tat. ix.2”; VO, 21.

²¹ MS Junius 42, 145.

²² MS Junius 13, 33^v.

²³ See above, pp. 121–122.

²⁴ PV, 385^v.

Frisian *fulliste* ‘help, support’ to Old English *fulstan*, *fylstan* ‘to aid, to support’, which he reconstructed as a compound made up of *ful* and *læstan* ‘to follow, to help’, inspired by Junius’s comments on Old High German *list*.²⁶

One extraordinary reaction to Junius occurs in Van Vliet’s comments in *’t Vader ons* to Gothic *wulthus* ‘glory’.²⁷ Van Vliet based his comment on Junius’s entry in the *Gothicum glossarium*, in which Junius had distinguished between the meaning of Gothic *wulthus* ‘glory, the glory of God’, and its Old English cognate *wuldor* ‘glory, praise’, which Junius characterised as “the earthly glory which man desires to acquire”. Junius then referred to his etymology of *wuldor*, the origin of which he had formerly thought to be from Greek *ἐλδορ* ‘wish, desire’. However, he had perceived a different shade of meaning in Gothic, and acknowledged that his former solution no longer sufficed, but that he needed something that would come closer to Gothic *wulthus*.

WULTHUS, ‘glory’, *Matth.* 6:13. *Luc.* 2:14. 19:38. THAI ÌN WASTJOM WULTHANAIM WISANDANS: ‘who are expensively dressed’; *Luc.* 7:25. GASAIHWAM WULTHAGA HIMMADAGA: ‘We have seen miracles today’; *εἶδομεν παράδοξα σήμερον*. *Luc.* 5:26., for *παράδοξα* are miracles, which attract the attention of all because of the unexpected novelty, and stir up great outcry. Anglo-Saxon *wulder* or *wuldor* means ‘glory’, which we formerly derived from *ἐλδορ*, ‘craving, desire’; because courageous minds of the greatest men are often turned to considering and desiring fame and glory. ‘It is natural’, Cicero states in the fifth Philippica, “that one who has grasped the meaning of true glory should deem nothing comparable with this glory”. Similarly, at the beginning of the third book of the Tusculan questions: “For true glory is a thing of real substance and clearly wrought, no shadowy phantom: it is the agreed approval of good men, the unbiased verdict of judges deciding honestly the question of pre-eminent merit; it gives back to virtue the echo of her voice; and as it generally attends upon duties rightly performed, it is not to be disdained by good men”. See also Pliny the Younger in book v, epistle 8. This was my earlier conjecture about Anglo-Saxon *wuldor*, whatever it is; now I am looking for another origin for it, which also comes closer to Gothic WULTHUS.²⁸

²⁵ “Jun. p. 21. *german* interpretatur homo gladii a *geir*, framea, gladius, Runice. Ego *ger-man* puto q. *guerman* dictum fuisse *homme de guerre*”; MR, 121^{bis}.

²⁶ MA, 106^{bis}; Junius, *Observationes*, 126.

²⁷ VO, 9.

²⁸ “WULTHUS, Gloria; *Matth.* 6:13. *Luc.* 2:14. 19:38. THAI ÌN WASTJOM WULTHANAIM WISANDANS: Qui in veste pretiosâ sunt; *Luc.* 7:25. GASAIHWAM WULTHAGA HIMMADAGA: Vidimus mirabilia hodie; *εἶδομεν παράδοξα σήμερον*. *Luc.*

Van Vliet reacted to this query by proposing his own etymology for *wuldor*, through which he tried to bridge the gap between heavenly and earthly glory:

WULTHUS, wulthus, honour, glory, *welde*, *weelde*. Old English *wuldor*, perhaps from *wealdan*, to rule, to overcome. *wælepi*, rich, *weeldrigh*. Whoever is well and rich, gains *weelde*, and in and by his *weelde* he seeks to rule, and fame, and from *weeligh* ['prosperous'] become *ge-weldigh* ['powerful']. Ελδορ, eldor is cupidity, desire. In the *Angels' Song Luc. II, 14*. WULTHUS ÌN HAUHISTJAM GODA. *Gode sy wuldor on heahnesse. Gode sij eere in de hoogsten, or, hooghte in Old English.*²⁹

In addition to the etymology, Van Vliet produced a citation from the Bible, which included *wulthus* in Gothic and *wuldor* in Old English, so as to bring the two together. Interestingly, these two quotations do not occur in Junius's article, and thus illustrate the relative skill with which Van Vliet worked on VO.

In short, it is evident that in many instances the material from Junius's manuscripts accounted to a large extent for the rich variety of cognates Van Vliet managed to include in his annotations. Van Vliet also occasionally copied the etymological argumentation from Junius's notes, often for reasons of brevity. Sometimes, he replaced it with his own arguments. Al-

5:26. nam παράδοξα sunt mirabilia, quae inexpectatā novitate omnium oculos trahunt, magnāque excitant famam. Anglosaxonibus *wulder* vel *wuldor* est Gloria. quod nos olim derivabamus ab Ελδορ, Cupido, desiderium; quoniam erectae maximorum hominum mentes plerumque in laudis & gloriæ contemplatione cupiditatēque versantur. Ea natura rerum est, inquit Cicero Philippica v, ut qui sensum veræ gloriæ ceperit, nihil cum hac gloriā comparandum putet. Idem circa initium libri Tertii Tuscul. quæstionum; Est Gloria solida quædam res & expressa, non adumbrata. est consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox benè judicantium de eccellente virtute. ea Virtuti resonat, tanquam imago gloriæ; quæ quia rectè factorum plerumque comes est, non est à bonis viris repudianda. Vide quoque juniorem Plinium libro Quinto, epistolā 8. Haec mea olim qualiscunque de Anglosaxonico *wuldor* conjectura; nunc aliam ejus originationem quæro, & quæ propiùs accedat ad Gothicum WULTHUS"; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, 412. The translation of *Philippica* 5 is from Walter C.A. Ker, *Cicero: Philippics* (London and New York, 1926), 304–305, and that of book III of the *Tusculan Disputations* from J.E. King, *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations* (London and New York, 1927), 226–229.

²⁹ "WULTHUS, *wulthus*, eer, heerlijkheijt, *welde/ weelde*. A-S *wuldor*, misschien van *wealdan*, heerschen, *wælepi*, rijk, *weeldrigh*. Die wel en rijck is, komt tot *weelde/ ende* in en door zijn *weelde* soeckt hij te heerschen en heerlijkheijt, ende van *weeligh/ ge-weldigh* te worden. Ελδορ, eldor is begeerte, verlangen. In den Lofsang der Engelen Luc. II, 14. WULTHUS ÌN HAUHISTJAM GODA. *Gode sy wuldor on heahnesse*. Gode sij eere in de hoogsten, of, hooghte nae 't A-sax"; VO, 11.

though, on various occasions, Van Vliet stated that he derived all of his material from Junius he made no structural attempts to transcribe Junius's work, or add extensive excerpts to his own notes. Material ready to hand was seldom used without processing. Instead, Van Vliet selected his information as he saw fit. One of the reasons for this selective copying was the extraordinary detail of Junius's discussions, larded with vast stores of examples and translations. The consequence is that Junius's numerous examples, which he himself considered essential for understanding the Gothic language, were frequently omitted.³⁰

3.2. Sound and meaning

Van Vliet's etymological method is not an imitation of that of Francis Junius in every respect, even though he was most profoundly influenced by Junius and owed most of his material to him. From the previous sections, a difference in emphasis has already become apparent. Whereas Junius considered an exhaustive description of the lexicon of the oldest Germanic languages his main objective, Van Vliet displayed a strong

³⁰ The quantity of Junius's lexicographical work and the mass of information it contains made it almost indigestible for the relatively untrained eye, and it is therefore understandable that Van Vliet felt the need to select from it. One only has to consider the efforts of the Oxford Saxonists of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to see that many of the attempts to publish Junius's work broke down on the process of editing. The various attempts to edit the Old English-Latin lexicon (MSS Junius 2 and 3) resulted in two transcripts. The first, made by the Oxford Saxonist and later Bishop of Carlisle William Nicholson (1655-1727), also included the Old High German glossaries, and consists of eleven volumes (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Fell 8-18). These were never published. The second attempt to edit these manuscripts resulted in three large volumes (now London, British Library, MSS Add. 4720-4722). From these volumes, in which also many of the examples were left out, the eighteenth-century Saxonist Edward Lye (1694-1767) tried to compile a dictionary, but he died before the book was published. Eventually, a dictionary was published in London in 1772, in two large quarto volumes, under the supervision of Owen Manning (1721-1801), a Cambridge scholar. It was entitled *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum. auctore Edvardo Lye, ...*, and contained only part of what Junius had once written; see Dekker, "That Most Elaborate One of Francis Junius". Johann Philip Palthen, who published the Old High German translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron* from Junius's copy (MS Junius 13), did not have time enough in Oxford to study the huge quantity of notes to the Tatian manuscript, and supplied the text with his own notes in 1706; see Johan Philip Palthen, *Tatiani Alexandrini harmoniæ evangelicæ antiquissima versio Theotisca...* (Greifswald, 1706), reprinted in facsimile with an introduction by Peter Ganz, *Early Studies in Germanic Philology 2* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1993), xii-xiii. The densely annotated Old High German glossaries in MSS Junius 115 a, b and 116a-f have never been integrally published. Only the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, in which citations were given relatively limited prominence, was edited and published by Edward Lye in 1743.

interest in the relationship between words. This difference in emphasis resulted in Van Vliet taking a somewhat different line of approach to comparative studies, in which features emerge that are peculiar to his manner of working. This does not imply that he developed a method of his own. Many of the elements in Van Vliet's etymological method also occur in the work of Francis Junius, and of these, Junius may be the eventual source. However, it is the position Van Vliet attributes to the various elements in his method that created the different angle of approach, and this justifies a closer look.

Van Vliet's etymological procedures were aimed mainly at establishing kinship between words. It is therefore essential for us to consider what he understood by a word. Van Vliet illustrated his point with the example of Hebrew, observing that "the Jews had reduced their language to about two thousand basic words, which they called the roots".³¹ Prefixes and suffixes were considered of minor importance. Van Vliet observed that Gothic *þiudinassus* 'kingdom' was composed of *þiuda* 'people' and *assus*, which was "but a suffix",³² while in a comparison with *þiudangardi* 'kingdom', he commented that this was a compound word, whereas *þiudanassus* [sic] was a singular word".³³ A basic word, therefore, consisted of a single meaningful unit, which was often, but not always, monosyllabic.

Van Vliet did not count a suffix as a meaningful lexical item, and distinguished between words and affixes in his etymologies. His term *voorlapwoordje* 'pre-patchword'³⁴ for Dutch prefixes such as *ge-*, *be-*, *ver-*, indicates that he did not attribute much meaning to such words. Van Vliet showed that such elements occurred in many Germanic languages:

May the benevolent enthusiasts [readers] please know once and for all that our 'pre-patch-word' *ge*, in the mother tongue, that is Gothic, was written *ga*,... But as the character (g) sometimes also resembles (c) or (k), the Teutons have construed their *ka* from *ga*, and after that they have also made *ke* and *ki* from that....³⁵

³¹ "De Joden hebben haer tot op de 2000. grondwoorden (die sij de wortelen noemen) terug gebracht"; VO, a1'.

³² "ÞIUDANASSUS [sic], ÞIUDA, volck,...ASSUS is maer een bijvoegsel,"; VO, 5.

³³ "ÞIUDANJARDI [sic].... Siet voren ÞIUDANASSUS, hoewel dat een enkel, en dit een tweevoudigh woord is, bij een gesteld uijt ÞIUDA en JARDA"; VO, 10.

³⁴ *Voorlapwoord* 'prefix' does not occur in the *WNT*, which lists *lapwoord* in the meaning of a word inserted to complete a metrical line; *WNT*, vii, 1098.

³⁵ "De gunstige Lief-hebbers gelieven eens voor al te weten, dat ons voor-lap-woordje GE, in de moederspraecke i.e. de Gotse met Γλ [sic] geschreven wierdt,... Maer alsoo de letter Γ somtijds oock nae een C of K. smaectt, soo hebben de Teutse van Γλ, GA hun KA,

Moreover, he illustrated that prefixes occurring in some languages were lacking in others. There are indications that he suspected some of these prefixes to be a later phenomenon in the development of Germanic languages, although he discovered many such in Gothic, and duly recorded them in his *Lexicon Gothicum*. In MR he observed that the particle *ge-* had often been omitted in Old High German, where it was present in Dutch,³⁶ while older Dutch also seemed to have dispensed with it, as could be observed in the Middle Dutch *Rijmkroniek*, in which, for example, *meente* was often used for *gemeente*.³⁷ He noticed the same for the prefix *ver-*, which he characterized as an “*enclitica* [‘particle’], often left out by the ancients”.³⁸ Similarly, Frisian words often omitted the particles *be-* and *ge-*, in places where these were the rule in his native Dutch language. *Ge-*, according to him, was “a syllabic addition usually omitted by the Frisians”.³⁹ However, the development seemed to work both ways, for he immediately added that on the other hand the ancient Franks often added *ge-* or *gi-* to words that lacked the prefix in Dutch, such as *Gislihtan*, which he translated by Dutch *slechten* ‘to level’.⁴⁰ To prove his point, he adduced fourteen examples from the Frisian laws in a list of such words.⁴¹

Van Vliet recognized two essential elements in a word and these were regarded as being instrumental in the process of change, viz. “sound and meaning”.⁴² In relation to Gothic *sinteino* ‘always, ever’, and Greek

jae daer nae oock KE en KI daer van gemaect...”; VO, 25.

³⁶ “*Love pro gelove*, ommissa particula *ge*. Sic pag. 52 *natha pro genatha*, p. 83 *cuman pro gecuman*”; MR, 44^{bis}.

³⁷ “In Chron. Rythm. Holl. *meente pro gemeente saepe Bede* ibid. et inf. p. 65. vulgo *gebete. Kose* p. 66. vulgo *ge-coos*. ut et paulo ante *gekose geruste* p. 68. *chorunga* Hym. III. 10. B. *becoringe*”; MR, 44^{bis}.

³⁸ “*VER* enclitica, antiquis saepe omissum, ut *manunga* p. 92. B. *vermaninge Seredan* ibid. B. *versierden*”; MR, 53^{bis}.

³⁹ “*Ge* - Adjectio syllabica omittitur plerumque a Frisiis”; FG, 107’.

⁴⁰ “Contra veteres Francis saepe *ro* GE vel GI adhibent verbis, quae nos simpliciter efferimus ut *gislihtan* Otfr. 1.23.56. Junio p. 105. B. *slechten*[.] *Gidranken*, ib. p. 111. B. *drencken*[.] *Gisceman*, ibid. *doen scijnen, vertoonen. Geruste* inf. p. 68. nobis *Ruste, Rusting*[.] *Gederan* p. 81v nobis *deeren... Bidempen* p. 74. hod. *dempen*”; MR, 45^{bis}.

⁴¹ He produced only two examples with *be-*: “*warade* i. *bewaerde*” and “*jaren* i. *begeeren*”, but came up with as many as 14 with *ge-*: “*nyeta, nieta*, B. *genieten*; *mena*, i. *gemeen*; *naede*, i. *genade* at *gnade*; *schyden*, i. *geschieden*; *bere*, i. *gebeer*, *gebaer*; *bertha*, i. *geboorte*; *tiuch*, i. *getuyghe*, *getuyghenisse*; *tioegh*, i. *getuyge*; *wenheed*, i. *gewoonte*; *tale*, i. *getal*; *hluud*, i. *geluyd*; *bure*, i. *gebuyr*; *nerda*, i. *geneerde*; *sondan liue*, i. *gesonde leve*”. The list includes one example with different prefixes: “*garen*, i. *vergaren*”.

⁴² “*klanck en sin*”; VO, 6.

σύντονος ‘strained tight, intense’ he observed that the two completely corresponded, both in sound and in meaning.⁴³ This complete correspondence implied to him a supposed etymological relationship, although as a result of his previously established paradigm the one could not originate directly from the other. Of many French words which he considered to be of Germanic origin, he commented that the change had taken place “mostly, either through spelling or in meaning”.⁴⁴ The examples show that he did not keep sound and spelling entirely apart, although he did make some distinction, as will become clear in the following paragraphs. Changes in sound or spelling as well as changes in meaning could operate both diachronically and synchronically. Van Vliet illustrated this with Gothic *aiw*, Greek αἰών Latin *aevum*, and Dutch *eeuw*, which he described as “one word and meaning in four languages, differing so much in place and time”.⁴⁵ Metaphorically, the change in sound/spelling of words is depicted as a bird changing its feathers: the outside is subject to change but the inside remains the same:

Just like languages also alter as a result of changing times and places, so this *fuggel* [‘bird’] often changed its feathers, now in *Fwgle*, now in *Foeggel*, now *fougel*, [and in] *vogel* and *veugel*, over here.⁴⁶

Change in words, then, took place on a phonological/orthographic level and on a semantic level, and could operate side by side, leading to chronologically and geographically different reflexes of the same root.

From the way Van Vliet described phonological change, it can be inferred that he assigned different roles to consonants and vowels. Stems or root-forms of words which he juxtaposed or compared nearly always show a considerable degree of similarity in consonants, suggesting that on the basis of consonants Van Vliet frequently assumed a correspondence between two words, preferably stems or roots. In other words, similar consonants were regarded as the first step in the process of recognition, whether or not two forms were etymologically related within a previously established set of languages. This similarity was mostly based on place

⁴³ “Gelijck oock in’t Griecx σύντονος met het Gots woord geheel overeencomende, soo in klanck als in sin”; VO, 6.

⁴⁴ “doch meeste, of door spellinge of in bediedinge verandert”; VO, 38.

⁴⁵ “AIW, αἰών, *aevum*, *eeuw* is een woord en sin in vier taelen, soo ver van plaets en tijd verschelende”; VO, 11.

⁴⁶ “*Vuggel*] Gelyck de taelen door veranderinge van tyden en plaetsen mede veranderen, soo heeft dese *Vuggel* syn veeren dickmaels veranderen [sic], dan in *Fwgle*, dan *Foeggel*, dan *fougel*, by ons *vogel* en *veugel*”; PV, 380^v.

and manner of articulation, although for Van Vliet, who was unaware of such criteria, it was probably a basic intuitive feeling of similarity that created the impression. His annotations to SO, which include great numbers of Old English and Dutch cognates, show that for him ⟨ð, þ⟩ and ⟨d⟩ were often corresponding letters, as were ⟨hr⟩ and ⟨r⟩. Although a considerable number of cognates with such pairs of corresponding consonants occur, he did not make any generalizations explicit in his annotations, on the basis of these phenomena.

Since Van Vliet never described his etymological procedures, the best evidence that he really looked at consonants appears from two major problems, which he encountered in this process of comparison through similarity of consonants. Firstly, the orthography of the medieval scribes was not identical in the various dialects or languages he studied:

For Frisians do not begin any words with a ⟨c⟩, or very few, thus following their forefathers: the Runes,⁴⁷ Cimbrians, Goths, and Greeks. Instead, the ancient Saxons (which amazes me since they formed one people with the Frisians before they set sail) only use ⟨c⟩, without ⟨k⟩ or ⟨q⟩ instead of which they take ⟨cw⟩. For example, *Cweorn* 'quern', *Cwic* 'quick', *Cwellan* 'to kill', etc. The Goths have ⟨q⟩ without ⟨u⟩ both initially and medially as in *Qadon*,⁴⁸ Old English *Cwedan* 'to speak', *Qeit* 'white', *Qa* 'what'. And instead of ⟨c⟩ they insert Greek Γ, which otherwise also serves for ⟨g⟩.⁴⁹

It is at this stage that Van Vliet makes clear that different spellings can represent similar sounds, and is thus seen to distinguish between the two.

In addition, he perceived a correspondence between the spellings ⟨kk⟩ and ⟨cch⟩ in the edition of the *Leiden Willeram*, which were frequently alternated. He even tried to present an example from the Willeram text which, he thought, showed spellings with ⟨kk⟩, ⟨cch⟩, and ⟨ch⟩. To "*neheine lukkon*" 'no access',⁵⁰ Van Vliet added: "*pro quo neheine lucchon p. 116. et f. locheran*". The latter form is probably an incorrect

⁴⁷ Apparently, a people is meant here by the term "Runes".

⁴⁸ On the confusion over Gothic graphemes, see Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 120.

⁴⁹ "De Friesen beginnen geen, of immers weinig woorden met een C. volgende daer in hunne Voorderen de Runen, Cimbren, Gothen, ende Griecken. De oude Saxen daer en tegen (dat mij verwondert, dewijl sij een volc mette Friesen geweest sijn, eer sij overscheepten) gebruijcken de C. alleen sonder K. ofte Q. in plaetse van de welcke sij CW. nemen. Bij voorbeeld *Cweorn*, *quern*, *Cwic*, *quick*, *Cwellan*, dooden, etc. De Gothen hebben de Q. sonder U soo voor als in't midden gestelt, als in *Qadon*, AS. *Cwedan*, spreekken, *Qeit*, wit, *Qa*, wat. Ende in plaets vande C. stellense de Grieksche Γ die anders oock voor een G. streckt"; PV, 380°.

⁵⁰ MR, 113^{bis}.

reconstruction of *locchen* ‘to attract’. The variation between ⟨ch⟩ and ⟨k⟩ spellings is the result of the copying process, by an Egmond scribe who copied the Willeram from an Old High German exemplar.⁵¹ Although Van Vliet observed the two different spellings, he was not aware of their cause. On p. 69^{bis} he compiled a list headed *CH in K*, in which he collected words spelled ⟨ch⟩ or ⟨cch⟩ which had ⟨k⟩ in Dutch. Van Vliet observed that this correspondence occurred with a certain regularity, “for in Franconian ⟨ch⟩ has the same value as ⟨k⟩”.⁵² To *Neheine* ‘none’, which he observed everywhere as *ne-geen*, he added: “German *kein*, for ⟨ch⟩ often has to be pronounced ⟨k⟩ as in German; thus here *bechennen* [is] Dutch *Bekennen*”.⁵³ He repeated this in VO, where he even compared this phenomenon with Italian, in which ⟨k⟩ was also often spelled ⟨ch⟩.⁵⁴ This indicates that he expected Franconian ⟨ch⟩ to have been pronounced as ⟨k⟩ in Dutch. For Van Vliet, it was possible, therefore, that one sound was expressed by different graphemes in synchronically or diachronically different Germanic dialects, a notion supported by his knowledge of Modern European languages. In this case, he started from the sounds of Dutch, which he knew, and reasoned back to Franconian, which he could only read, but had never heard. Conjectures of this nature facilitated his etymologies, which were based on similarity of sounds, mostly of consonants.

There is no evidence that he made the same distinction between spelling and sound in his remarks on Old High German *kesti*, which derived from Kero’s glosses to the *Benedictine Rule*. Van Vliet observed that, in those days, ⟨k⟩ was always used for ⟨g⟩,⁵⁵ and similarly, ⟨f⟩ and ⟨w⟩ were in his view also often interchanged,⁵⁶ as were ⟨p⟩ and ⟨b⟩:

⁵¹ The *Leiden Willeram* is an attempt at mechanical transcription by a Dutch copyist who was not completely familiar with the German language of his exemplar; see Sanders, *Der Leidener Willeram*, 164.

⁵² “*Cheine*, pro quo alias passim *neheine*; *Kein* Germ. nam CH Francis valet K.; *sie lucchon* p. 116 quod *lukkon* p. 113.; *Smeccan* p. 104. *smecket* 137; *scerchen* p. 128.; *stecchet* ibid.; *gedrenchet* ibid.; *chela – keel* 137.; *locchen*, ibid.; *stinchen*. p.... *stanc* 137; *werchen* 64; *Bechennen* 99”; MR, 69^{bis}.

⁵³ “Germ. *Kein*, nam CH ut K saepe efferendum more Thusco, Sic *bechennen* hic, B. *Bekennen*”; MR, 99^{bis}.

⁵⁴ “Ten tweeden, datse oock CH dickwils voor een K. gebruijcken, gelijk d’Italianen noch doen”; VO, 28. [secondly, that they [the ancient Germans] also often use ⟨ch⟩ for ⟨k⟩, as the Italians still do...]

⁵⁵ “Het oude Fransche woordboek van Kero; *kesti*/ *hospites*. Want in die tijden de K. altijd voor een G. gebruijckt wierdt als *Cot/God*, *Calaubal* *geloof* en 1000. diergelijke meer”; RS, 53. See MA, 4^{bis}: “Kreka i. Greka. K. pro G: ut passim in Hymnis Theotiscis”.

⁵⁶ “De V. ende W. wisselen zeer dickmael”; PV, 384’.

Here it should be known again that ⟨p⟩ and ⟨b⟩ often change positions in this language, as in *pach*, *pech*, *beeck*,... Just like in Latin *Nuptiae*, and *nupsi* from *nubo*, etc.⁵⁷

He also commented on the variation between ⟨t⟩ and ⟨d⟩ in Old High German, which changed regularly as in *kot*, *cot*, *god*, *tac*, *tag*, *pitten*, *pluat*, *rot*, *tauu*, *dauw*, *tauf*, *doop*, a phenomenon he also claimed to have observed in other languages. It is likely that, in these cases, Van Vliet assigned a different pronunciation to the various characters. In contemporary grammatical terms, he did not always make it unambiguously clear in all individual cases whether he was referring to the *figura* 'form' or the *potestas* 'sound' of a character. However, he was aware of this distinction between the two in a diachronic perspective.⁵⁸

The second problem posed by comparing consonants was that certain changes had taken place which had caused very different consonants to correspond. For Van Vliet there was as yet not always a clear explanation for such correspondences. He adopted some of the patterns of mutation set out by Varro. Metathesis of ⟨r⟩ is seen to have caused differences such as between Frisian *tredde* 'third' and Dutch *derde*. Van Vliet claimed: "there is no character which changes places as easily as ⟨r⟩".⁵⁹ A less obvious correspondence is the one between ⟨fn⟩ and ⟨m⟩, which was noticed in comparisons between Old English and Dutch, such as Dutch *hemel* 'heaven', which was linked to Old English *heofon*, just as Old English *stefn* 'voice' changed to Dutch *stem*⁶⁰, as Van Vliet claimed, by changing ⟨m⟩ into ⟨f⟩.⁶¹ He also noted the correspondence between Old High

⁵⁷ "Hier dient weer geweten dat P en B dickmaelen in deze tael over de hand wisselen, als in *pach/pech/ beeck*... Gelijck oock in 't Lat. *Nuptiae*, en *nupsi* a *nubo*, etc"; VO, 27.

⁵⁸ The description of a character by its *nomen* 'name', *figura* 'form', and *potestas* 'sound' derives from Priscian, and was commonly used in contemporary Dutch grammars, and also in the first grammar of Frisian; see Bremmer, "Oer...de earste Fryske grammatika (1684)", 10. W.J.H. Caron, *Klank en teken bij Erasmus en onze oudste grammatici* (Groningen and Batavia, 1947), 5–6, states that early grammarians looked first at the character and then considered the sound; he traces the tradition of early phonological description back to Erasmus. Eros, *Diachronic Linguistics*, 210, comments on Meric Casaubon's terminology: "Like all writers of the time, Casaubon speaks of 'letters', rather than 'sounds'. On the one hand, this is really a mere terminological difference. By 'letter' he usually means its *potestas* 'pronunciation' not its *figura* 'shape', the meaning to which the word is restricted today in careful usage". This does not apply to Van Vliet.

⁵⁹ "Daer is geen letter die soo licht van plaats verwandelt als de R"; PV, 383^v. See also OW, 58, where he added to Old High German *bernen*: "*Bernen* B. *Brennen* in MS. AS".

⁶⁰ "*hemel* imo ab *heofne*, ut a *stefne* *stemme* *nafn* Isl. *name*"; SO, V3^r.

⁶¹ VO, 12–13.

German *haft* and Dutch *hechten*,⁶² as well as differences resulting from the second Germanic consonant shift, but drew no conclusions from these observations. Nevertheless, it is important that he observed, and in some cases also mentioned, certain phenomena, even though they seemed inexplicable at the time. Moreover, his observations show us that, in seemingly cognate words, similar consonants, or different consonants that corresponded because they frequently occurred in similar positions, played a role in the recognition of a relation between words. Although he could not underpin these similarities and correspondences by sound-laws, and he did not generalize in the way that would have pleased any nineteenth-century grammarian, he based tendencies on generalizations, albeit implicit, of the correspondences that he observed.

Whereas Van Vliet appeared to recognize words as etymologically related through similar consonants, variation between related forms, both synchronic and diachronic, was often accounted for through mutating vowels. In relation to Frisian *raey* ‘row’ he explained that this word was subject to considerable change, “both in meaning and vowel”.⁶³ Subsequently, he provided what he considered to be extensive evidence of his assumptions by listing variants of the word, both singular and in compounds, with different vowels. Further examples served to demonstrate explicitly that all vowels could feature in etymologically related variants of the same word.

Mool.] *Meel*, English *Meal*. It has derives from *maelen*, Latin *Molere*, from which also *mola*, Dutch *Mole*. Old English *Mylen*, *myln* and *Myl* they call dust, which in [present-day] English is used for ‘a mill’. So that *Maalen* gives *Meel*, Old English from *Myln*, *myl*, *Mole* gives *mool*, and lest any vowel be exempt, also *Mulder*, in Brabant *Molitor*, otherwise *Meulenaar*.⁶⁴

Van Vliet stressed the fact that all vowels could be used in the various forms of one word. The same principle is presented more explicitly in VO:

Gehalgod, *halga...heijligh*, Swedish and Danish *hellig*. Westphalian *hillig*, *hilg*. English *holij*. In this way many words are found which change through

⁶² OW, 115.

⁶³ “*Raey.*] Dit woord verandert seer, soo van sin als in de Klinckletter”; PV, 386’.

⁶⁴ “*Mool.*] *Meel*, *Engl. Meal*. *het komt van maelen*, *Lat. Molere*, *unde et mola*, *Ned. Mole*. *AS. Mylen*, *myln*. *ende Myl* noemense stof, het welk in’t Engl. een *molen* te seggen is. Soo dat van *Maalen* comt *Meel*, *AS van Myln*, *myl*, *van Mole*, *mool*. *ende opdat geen klinckletter vry en zij oock Mulder*, *Brab. Molitor*, *anders Meulenaar*”; PV, 386’.

these four vowels ⟨a⟩, ⟨e⟩, ⟨i⟩, ⟨o⟩, even also in ⟨u⟩, and nevertheless remain the same word,...⁶⁵

How strongly he believed in the concept that change in vocalism fathered change in languages appears from the fact that he linked it expressly to events that took place during the confusion at the Tower of Babel.

At this stage, it should also be observed that although many words in many languages change the vowels ⟨a⟩, ⟨e⟩, ⟨i⟩, ⟨o⟩, and ⟨u⟩, they nevertheless remain the same, and that consequently it seems tenable that in the confusion of tongues at Babel, the first language did not change or disappear at once in a single event, but only and mostly in pronunciation and sound, so that in their bewilderment because of the least of changes they could not understand each other, no more than the English [can understand] us, and we [can understand] the High Germans, although one can quickly perceive that it is one language.⁶⁶

This statement is Van Vliet's most far-reaching hypothesis concerning language change, which he understood to have occurred predominantly through a change of vowels. By linking it to the Babylonian confusion he extended the scope of his studies from the Germanic languages to languages in general, something he tended to avoid in his practical studies. It also illustrates how much of the original Adamic language Van Vliet still imagined there to be in the languages he studied.

His assumptions concerning vowels do not imply that the supposed changes in vocalism were entirely haphazard. Some patterns were recognizable between corresponding vowels in one or more languages, but correlation between vowels was observed in fewer instances than correlation between consonants. He considered alternation between ⟨i⟩ and ⟨e⟩ very frequent, and commented: "For ⟨i⟩ and ⟨e⟩ change in all languages, also in ours, *bidden, bede, lid, leden, spit, speten, liggen, gelegen, leger, sitten, geseten, setel*, etc".⁶⁷ Some of the correspondences he observed between

⁶⁵ "Gehalgod, halga, ..., heijligh, Sued. & Deens, hellig. Westfal. hillig/hilg. Eng. holij. Soo vindt men veel woorden, die door deze vier klinckers, A, E, I, O, ja oock in de V veranderen, en evenwel 't selve woord blijven, ..."; VO, 13.

⁶⁶ "Hier dient oock gemerckt, dat veele woorden in veel taelen van de klinckers A e i o en u veranderende, nochtans de selve blijven: ende dat daer uijt te gelooven is, dat in de verwerringe van de taelen te Babel de eerste spraek niet t'eenemael verandert ofte weggenomen is, maer alleen en meest in de uijtspraek ende klanck, soo dat se in die verbaestheijd met de minste veranderinge malkanderen niet verstaen konden; niet meer als d'Engelse ons, wij de Hoogduijtsen, hoe wel men haest bemercken kan dat het een taele is"; VO, 35.

⁶⁷ "Want I en E veranderen in alle spraeken, oock in de onse, *bidden, bede, lid, leden, spit, speten, liggen, gelegen, leger, sitten, geseten, setel*, etc."; VO, 28.

Frisian and Dutch, such as between Dutch ⟨oo⟩ and Frisian ⟨ae⟩ reinforced the idea that the one was an ancient dialect of the other: “*Tagarot, dagerood*, which we in the traditional Frisian way still name *dage-raed*. For they say *raed, daed, haed, aegh, graet, capen* where we say *rood, dood, hood, &c*”.⁶⁸ He drew up a similar list in his Old Frisian glossary, in which he produced not only fourteen examples of this correspondence, but also three examples where Dutch had ⟨a⟩ and Frisian ⟨o⟩.⁶⁹ Van Vliet made his first observations on correspondences between Frisian and Dutch vowels as early as 1643, for they already occur in his diary of the journal of the Frisian tour.⁷⁰ This is an indication that he had formed an opinion on the relation between Frisian and Dutch long before he embarked on his Germanic studies. He also noticed correspondences between Dutch and the language of the *Cologne Chronicle*, in which he had found ⟨Vi⟩ where Dutch had ⟨Ve/Vo⟩ in corresponding positions.⁷¹ More importantly, he had compared the language of Chaucer to his contemporary English and tried to account for diachronic changes through vocalic alterations. He systematically worked through the changes beginning with *A pro O*, *A pro E*, *A omitus*, and continuing with *E pro A*, *El pro AI*, *E pro I*, *E pro O*, *E pro U*, *O pro A*, *O pro E*, to end with *U pro O*.⁷² His method is strongly reminiscent of the introductory section to the *Etymologicum linguae Latinae* (1662), in which Gerard Vossius described the mutations between Greek and Latin. Van Vliet’s attempt to do this for contemporary and Middle English differed from Vossius’s, in that the number of his mutations was much more restricted, and, as he worked within one language, concerned exclusively genuine cognates. For each of his proposed patterns, he provided a number of examples. The observations on Chaucer’s language once more underline Van Vliet’s opinions about the role of vowels in language change, even within a single language and a relatively limited extent of time. Although Chaucer’s vocabulary had frequently been studied by lexicographers because it was becoming increasingly obsolete in the eyes of seventeenth-century readers,

⁶⁸ “*Tagarot/ dagerood*, dat wij op sijn oud Fries nog *dage-raed* noemen. Want sij *raed, daed, haed, aegh, graet, capen* &c. seggen, dat wij *rood, dood, hood, &c.*”; VO, 27.

⁶⁹ FG, 119^r.

⁷⁰ See above, p. 140.

⁷¹ LA, 272^r. For example in *boich, doidt, groisse, voider, droigh, moile* and *soyne*. In the same way he remarked that he had found ⟨a⟩ for ⟨e⟩ in *galt, wail, and jair*. The ⟨i⟩ or ⟨y⟩ were the result of indication of long vowels in the *Cologne Chronicle*, which was done very consistently in this dialect; see Keller, 293.

⁷² LA, 275^r.

this compilation of an inventory of the vowel changes between Middle English and contemporary English is unprecedented at the time.⁷³ Its systematic nature, which appears from the order of the vowels discussed, shows that it is more than a random list of observations; much rather, it suggests the application of rudimentary views of language change.

Just as with consonants, Van Vliet's observations occasionally suggest a distinction between the spelling and the sound of vowels. He claimed that the Goths often wrote ⟨ai⟩ for ⟨e⟩, like in *Jaisus*, *Paitrus*, *waila*, etc., which was, however, an observation based on Junius's *Gothicum glossarium*.⁷⁴

As his second element of change in words, Van Vliet mentioned the concept of change in meaning, indicating that he also paid attention to semantic change. Although semantic theory as an independent academic discipline was not recognized until the nineteenth century, the description of processes by means of which meaning of words could be transferred began with Aristotle, who, in his analysis of *metaphor*, specified various types of transfer. Aristotle's ideas were subsequently adopted by Cicero and Quintilian, who distinguished as many as fourteen types of transfer in *De institutione oratoria*. These concepts were principally applied to rhetoric, and hence formed an integral part of classical grammar, known to students of Latin and Greek.⁷⁵ The relevance of some of these concepts for the study of etymology appears from the work of Isidore of Seville, who used some of Quintilian's types in his etymological derivations. As I have mentioned in relation to Junius's etymological principles, the

⁷³ See Kerling, *Chaucer in Early English Dictionaries*, who investigated the earlier printed Chaucer glossaries and their influence on English dictionaries until 1721.

⁷⁴ Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, 4. "De Gotten *airtha*/ als hier voor: want sij dickmael de AI voor E setten; als in *Jaisus*/ *Paitrus*/ *waila*/..."; VO, 35. Incidentally, similar examples are quoted in modern grammars of Gothic to prove that at the time of the production of the Codex Argenteus, these sounds were pronounced /e, e:/. Van Vliet based his comment on Junius's exposition on this subject in his *Gothicum glossarium*, 4. See also Wilhelm Braune, *Gotische Grammatik*, E.A. Ebbinghaus ed. (Tübingen, 1979), 28–32, who disregard Junius's observation: "In der älteren Forschung herrschte fast ausnahmslos die Ansicht dass es sich bei diesem Zeichen um einen Diphthong handle..."

⁷⁵ See Stephen Ullmann, *Language and Style: Collected Papers* (Oxford, 1963), 29, and 203–204, where he mentions transfer from *genus* to *species*, from *species* to *genus*, from *species* to *species*, and by *analogy*. He mentions: "metaphor, synechdoche, metonymy, antonomasia, onomatopoeia, catachresis, metalepsis, epithet, allegory, enigma, irony, periphrasis, hyperbaton and hyperbole". In time these concepts were reduced to narrowing, widening, and transfer of meaning. Ullmann considers this theory, known as the "logico-rhetorical classification", to be the origin of modern semantics.

essence of etymology for Isidore was the original meaning of words, which he tried to clarify through etymological reconstruction. Sanders summarises this aspect of Isidore's method:

In starker Abwandlung des antiken Gliederungssystems unterscheidet er ausser Ableitungen (*ex nominum derivatione*), onomatopoetischen Bildungen (*ex vocibus*), Übernahmen aus dem Griechischen (*ex Graeca etymologia*) sowie antonomastischen Übertragungen von Orts-, Städte- oder Flussnamen als die drei etymologischen Hauptarten die Namengebung *ex causa*: *reges a regendo et recte agendo*..., zweitens *ex origine*: *homo, quia sit ex humo*..., drittens *ex contrariis*, also die bekannte Antiphrasis.⁷⁶

Van Vliet's classical humanist education ensured his familiarity with the works of Aristotle and Quintilian, editions of which feature in the auction catalogue of his books.⁷⁷ Moreover, he mentioned Isidore in the introduction to VO as the last of the great classical etymologists.

Richly provided with examples from Junius's lexicographical stores, Van Vliet must have been aware of the application of rhetorical semantic patterns in etymology. He used the term *metaphor* in his claim that the meaning of Dutch *bouwen* 'to build' had been used metaphorically in *landbouwen* 'to practise agriculture'. He recognized onomatopoetic constructions in the names of some animals, such as Dutch *hengst* 'stallion', *kievit* 'lapwing', *koekoek* 'cuckoo'.⁷⁸ An etymology *ex causa* occurs in MR where Dutch *dreef* 'road' is derived from the verb *drijven* 'to drift', to which he added: "*ut actus ab agendo*".⁷⁹ Etymologies *ex origine* are Dutch *wieg* 'cradle', *boord* 'table', and English *buckler*.⁸⁰ However, in the whole of Van Vliet's work, instances of such Isidorian etymologies are exceptional. In the mainstream of his comparative studies there is a different approach to the aspect of meaning.

The principal phenomenon Van Vliet observed was polysemy, which, on a synchronic level, is defined by Ullmann as "one word that can have more than one sense". Considered from a diachronic perspective Ullmann defined it as "a word may retain its previous sense or senses and at the

⁷⁶ Sanders, "Grundzüge und Wandlungen der Etymologie", 21–22.

⁷⁷ A dual-language edition of the works of Aristotle (LMF 107), and an edition of Quintilian's *Institutiones* (Paris, 1541) (LMQ 073).

⁷⁸ PV, 383^v.

⁷⁹ MR, 27.

⁸⁰ PV, 385^r. *Wieg* because it was made from *wilge teenen* 'willow shoots', *boord* because it was made for *boorden* 'planks', and *buckler* because it was made from *bocken leer* 'leather of bucks (male goats)'.

same time acquire one or several new ones".⁸¹ This definition is theoretically applicable to Van Vliet's work since, on principle, he believed in a single original language consisting of unambiguous root-forms, from which other languages evolved. Van Vliet, therefore, started from a diverging development of meaning, which he described as "the moving in time and place of the sense of a word".⁸² That the concept of polysemy struck a chord with him is evident in his annotations to MR, in which he marked a group of words discussed in Merula's philological commentary as *πολύσημα verba* 'polysemous verbs'.⁸³ In his more elaborate etymological observations, he also shows an awareness of polysemy in a diachronic perspective. In a lengthy exposition on the meaning of Frisian and Dutch *schalck* 'impostor, crook', he presented a long list of attestations and meanings commenting: "It is amazing how much words transform through time, and from one nation to another have changed their original meaning."⁸⁴ A modern reader will find it amusing to see how Van Vliet tried to explain the development of the meaning of Gothic *skalk* 'servant' to that of its Frisian cognate, taking into account the diachronic development: "The French have retained this word *mareschalck*, both for their high commanders and for their blacksmiths. However, because the likes of them [he means the blacksmiths] are often also false, like our curry-combers, *schalck*, both among the High and Low Germans, afterwards changed from a servant and a sensible man into an impostor".⁸⁵ In his own perception, the semantic variation observed in various cognates of the Gothic root-form was well accounted for. Both the form and meaning of a word were seen to have changed geographically as well as diachronically, having led to seemingly incompatible meanings. However, knowledge of the Gothic root enabled him to solve the problem.

Other semantics notions in Van Vliet's work, mostly in the studies on the *Ormulum*, are homonyms, synonyms, and antonyms. Although the list headed *Homonyma*⁸⁶ casts serious doubts on Van Vliet's handling of such

⁸¹ Ullmann, *Language and Style*, 117.

⁸² VO, 11.

⁸³ MR, 53.

⁸⁴ "Het is te verwonderen hoe seer de woorden door den tyd verwandelen en van d'een in d'ander land haer eerste bediedinge verandert hebben"; PV, 382'.

⁸⁵ "De Francen hebben dat woord Marescalck noch behouden soo in hun Hooge Bevelhebben, als inde naem van hun Hoef- ofte Peerde-smits. Doch omdat soodanige meest oock ergh sijn, gelyck onse roscammers, soo is Schalck daer nae soo bij de Hooghe als Neder-Duytschen van een dienaer en verstandigen, een bedrieger geworden".

⁸⁶ LA, 42.

concepts, since there is not one pair of homonyms to be found in it, he must have been able to distinguish between the two categories. Synonyms were known as two different words having the same meaning, and homonyms were unambiguously defined in the works of classical grammarians such as Quintilian, who explained that: “homonyms, like *taurus* can be an animal, or a mountain, or a sign of the zodiac, or the name of a man, or the root of a tree”.⁸⁷ It may be that Van Vliet expected to find homonyms in his *Ormulum* manuscript but discovered only synonyms instead, and used the same list to collect them. Occasional antonyms found in the *Ormulum* glossaries are indicated by “)(”.

In practice, a recognizable semantic correspondence between two words was itself not enough to establish an etymological relationship, because the rudimentary phonological principles he worked with did not allow this. If just a semantic correspondence had sufficed, Van Vliet would have needed a much greater variety of phonological and morphological mutations, such as inversion or metathesis of all kinds of sounds, to make incongruous words match, and to complete the etymological picture. Such extreme mutational patterns do not occur in his works. On the one hand, this may be the result of his limited scope, which restricted his selection of words to the Germanic languages. On the other hand, he tried to use the semantic aspect of his etymologies in support of his argument after he had established the relation between words on the basis of the sounds or spelling. What I will call the semantic bridge completed the etymological process, but did not trigger it off. In his explanation, Van Vliet first listed forms he considered etymologically related on the basis of similarity of sounds, and subsequently, if faced by a semantic discrepancy, he constructed a semantic bridge linking the two. For example, in his comments on Gothic *fraistubnjai*, Van Vliet added:

Fraisan is ‘to tempt’, *Mark* 1:13, 10:2, 12:15 etc. Icelandic *at freista*, Swedish and Danish *at friste*. *Freisting*, and *frestelse*, ‘temptation’. Old English *frasigan*, is ‘to ask’; because by asking somebody is tempted *Matth.* 4:6, *Mark* 10:2.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Quintilian, VII, xii, 13 described homonyms as words: “sicut in his, quae, homonyma vocantur: ut taurus animal sit, an mons, an signum in caelo, an nomen hominis, an radix arboris, nisi distinctum non intellegitur”.

⁸⁸ “FRAISAN, is versoecken, Marci I, 13. x,2. XII, 15. &c. Islands *at freista*/ Swenske en Denske *at friste*. *Freisting* en *frestelse*/ versoeckinge. A-S. *frasigan*, is vraegen; om dat men al vragende ijemant versoeckt, als te sien is *Matth.* IV, 6. Marci x,2”; VO, 8–9.

The gap between the Gothic and hence older form meaning 'to tempt' and the more recent Old English form meaning 'to ask' is bridged by the semantic explanation.

On occasions, Van Vliet supported his etymologies with semantic constructions which were as feeble as those of his predecessors whose etymologies he wished to disprove. He translated Old High German *fara* by Dutch *gevaar* 'danger', although he had to admit that it was only his best guess.⁸⁹ According to his principle of similarity of consonants *gevaar* was one option, but Dutch *varen* 'to travel, to sail' an equally valid one. However, as this presented a seemingly insurmountable semantic difference between *varen* and *gevaar*, he introduced Old English *faran*, explaining it as 'to travel', but also as 'to hover in uncertainty',⁹⁰ which carried the implication of danger, thus constructing a semantic bridge between the two previous options, and providing the connection. In accordance with Junius's etymology, Van Vliet linked Finnish *leipä* to Old High German *leiba*, Old English *hlaf*, and Modern English *loaf*, all of which he traced to Gothic *hlaif*. Nevertheless, since ⟨f⟩ and ⟨b⟩ must have seemed less compatible according to his principle of similarity, he presented the subsequent alternative: "unless somebody wants to derive this *leipa* from *leib* 'body, life', because bread is the staff of life".⁹¹ These suggestions show that, in his deviations from Junius's etymologies, Van Vliet fell victim to his own rules, as he disregarded correlation between two corresponding consonants, and opted for consonants with similar sounds instead.

The etymologies discussed above were either published, or intended for publication, which was probably the reason why they are so elaborate. Many of Van Vliet's studies, though, were not intended for publication, and in those studies the information given is often much more fragmentary and less well developed. It is in these works that we find his principles presented in a much more rudimentary form. Although I do not underestimate the role of Francis Junius, Van Vliet's earlier studies make it probable that at least part of his etymological principles derive from simply juxtaposing Dutch words with those from other Germanic languages. This is particularly clear in OW.⁹² Several excerpts from Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, a work which Van Vliet already knew when he started

⁸⁹ VO, 18, 20.

⁹⁰ Van Vliet manipulated the meaning 'to undergo, to suffer'.

⁹¹ "Ten waer iemand wilde dit leipa van leib/liif, leven, halen, omdat het brood de staf des levens is"; VO, 41.

⁹² The same holds good for the Gothic-Greek glossary in LA.

his annotations to Junius's *Observationes*, were translated into Dutch verbatim, not to clarify the meaning of the lines, but to highlight the resemblance between Old High German and Dutch.⁹³ One step further is his comment on Old High German *brinnet* 'burns', to which he added the Dutch form *bernen*, and *brennen* from the *Ormulum* manuscript, both through metathesis of ⟨r⟩.⁹⁴ A next step can be seen when he added to Old English *ge-earnian* that his *Ormulum* manuscript featured the forms *geornan* and *gernan*, from which he constructed a Dutch form *geernen*, which he equated with *begeeren*.⁹⁵ Although nothing definite can be said about the exact time when these observations were written, the fact that they only contain Dutch and Middle English from the *Ormulum* suggests that they were made before the end of 1660, when Van Vliet travelled to England. As in OW, most of the cognate forms in SO are presented without any semantic background information, but they conform to his principles of similarity found in his more elaborate etymologies.

The first step in the direction of etymology occurs when a sense of direction is added to juxtaposition, so as to present an idea of development. For example, he added *hinc B. draven* 'hence Dutch *draven*' to Old High German *Thas draph*, translated as *hoc tendebat*.⁹⁶ He apparently supposed the Dutch form to have originated from the Old High German, probably because *tendere* can also mean 'to exert oneself, to go to'. However, as Van Vliet's paradigm of languages was predetermined, this indication of direction is often implicit. Van Vliet's Dutch cognates in SO, and the Dutch cognates from the dictionary itself which he underlined, reflect his idea that he supposed the greater part of the Dutch lexicon to have originated from Old English. How this might lead to further conclusions is demonstrated, for example, by his annotations to Old English *hrade*, *hræcan*, *hragna*, *hreaw*, *hreowe*, *hreowian*, *hreppan*, *hrif* and *hroc*, to all of which he added Dutch cognates beginning with ⟨r⟩. As it is, SO also contains rudimentary etymologies in which he also took the meaning of the words into account, such as the entry *Bitole* 'bitmouth', to which he

⁹³ "Er quad man gihorti – Hij seid men gehoorden // Uueinon theso dati – Weenen // Filu hohen stimmon – Veele hoge stemmen // Uuib mit iro kindon – Wijf met hare kinderen // Quad sie thas ni uuoltin – Sij seij dat niet wilde // Suntar siu sih qualtin – Sinter sij zijn doodt // Noh drost gifahan lindo – geen troost ontvangen // So manegero kindo – so menige kinde"; OW, 15.

⁹⁴ "Bernen B. Brennen in MS. AS"; OW, 115.

⁹⁵ To *ge-earnian* Van Vliet remarked: "MS. AS. *geornan*, *gernan* quasi dicat *geernen* i.e. *begeeren*"; OW, 103.

⁹⁶ OW, 156.

added: "Dutch *gebit*, from *bidden* 'to pray', which is *gebieden* 'to command', or from *bijten* 'to bite'".⁹⁷

Such etymologies are rare in SO, in which the emphasis is still on the juxtaposition of cognate forms. However, under the influence of Junius and the material from his library, Van Vliet began to add other Old Germanic languages to his Dutch, Old English, and Early Middle English cognates. Gradually, Van Vliet's etymologies became more complicated; at first, such slightly more elaborate expositions were almost entirely copied from Junius,⁹⁸ but later he started mixing Junius's material into etymologies of his own, and managed to gain at least some independence. Although most of the material as well as the method was derived from Junius, his own share in the work grew as time passed.

3.3. Onomastics, toponymy, and history

One aspect of Van Vliet's etymological speculations that deserves special attention is his use of proper names, place-names, historical terms, and legal terms, often the oldest traceable remnants of the vernacular. Onomastics and toponymy had been particularly significant topics in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, through their importance for the tradition of chorographical studies that proceeded from the sixteenth-century upsurge of regional and national sentiments in Europe. The emphasis on these aspects in Van Vliet's work are still partly attributable to the influence of authors such as William Camden, Richard Verstegen and Beatus Rhenanus, whose works featured in Van Vliet's library. As a result of his interest in the history and chorography of Breda, Van Vliet himself had every reason to study proper names and place-names. Moreover, Francis Junius had also given proper names considerable attention in his *Observationes in Willeramii*, in which he included several inventories of names published by Goldast (1606).⁹⁹ Encouraged by his own historical work as well as by Junius, Van Vliet regularly tried to piece together etymologies of proper names with the help of Old Germanic languages. To Old English *ulph* 'wulf' he added "*Hinc nomina propria in -ulphus*",¹⁰⁰ which he must have based on Richard Verstegen's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, which listed three fictitious names beginning with *ulph*.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ SO, E3^r.

⁹⁸ See above, pp. 296–297, the etymological information in MA.

⁹⁹ See Junius, *Observationes*, 5.

¹⁰⁰ SO, Pp4^v.

¹⁰¹ Verstegen, *Restitution*, 271.

Verstegen's influence is also felt in the names compounded with Old English *beorn* 'man, hero' and *eofor* 'boar'.¹⁰² More explicit etymologies of proper names were presented in *'t Vader Ons*, where he even made up a speculative Gothic form *rike*, analogous to Old English *rice* 'rule, reign', in order to explain names in Latin *rix* and *ricus*.¹⁰³ Imitating Junius, Van Vliet also gave two longer expositions on names in *-win* and *-wald* and their reflexes.¹⁰⁴

Etymologies of place-names occur more often than proper names. Van Vliet frequently attempted to explain Dutch and English place-names with the help of Old English, resulting in considerable attention to toponymy in SO. He did not shun unusual conjectures: Old English *ealand* 'island' is rightly compared to Dutch *eyland*, which led him to conclude that the Dutch province *Seeland* derived from Old English *se ealand* 'the island'.¹⁰⁵ He also indicated that elements such as Old English *bricg*, *byan*, *bye*, *nesse*, *dun*, *fen*, Middle English *thorp*, as well as Dutch *heem* and *voorde*¹⁰⁶ are frequently found in place-names, some of which he illustrated with examples from various languages. He rightly explained *Breda* as a place on a wide part (Dutch *breed*) of the river *Aa*.¹⁰⁷ Although part of Van Vliet's attention to the etymology of proper names and place-names has to be seen in the light of his work on the history of Breda, there is still a significant amount of traditional interest in onomastics and toponymy, because etymology often provided the evidence for ethno-historical speculations.¹⁰⁸

Etymologies of historical and legal terms are found throughout Van Vliet's work, but gain special relevance in relation to his plans to publish a history, chorography, and statute book of Breda, and for his intended editions of Frisian proverbs and Old Frisian laws. In his attempts to define and explain historical and legal terms, he combined the study of Germanic philology with that of history and law, in order to provide the best

¹⁰² SO, D4^v, L2^r. See Verstegen, *Restitution*, 248, 256.

¹⁰³ VO, 13.

¹⁰⁴ VO, 39, 41.

¹⁰⁵ SO, K1^v.

¹⁰⁶ SO, Dd3^v, F2^r, F3^v; LA, 275^v, 337; PV, 383^r, 384^v.

¹⁰⁷ PV, 381^v; BC, 14.

¹⁰⁸ See above, pp. 253–254, on Van Vliet's attempts to prove that the Old Frisian language had been common throughout the Netherlands. He linked Frisian *heyn* 'fence' to Old English *ham* 'village, home', and Dutch *heym*, *heem* 'homestead' to Old English *ham*, adding that in the old days homesteads were surrounded by fences. To underpin his assumption he cited place-names ending in *-heem*.

possible evidence for his assertions. Among many contemporary examples for such practice was Henry Spelman's *Archaeologus*, an encyclopedia of legal terms from both vernacular and Latin Anglo-Saxon law, which both Junius and Van Vliet intended to use. For explanations of names of Germanic tribes, such as 'German',¹⁰⁹ 'Saxon',¹¹⁰ and names of ranks, like Old English *gerefa* 'reeve' and *here-toga* 'commander',¹¹¹ Van Vliet sometimes relied on Richard Verstegen, who devoted much attention to such terms in his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*. Van Vliet's short chronicle of Breda only touched on etymologies of historical terms; it is too concise to contain elaborate etymological explanations. A glimpse of what his intentions might have been can be seen in MA, where the *holtene witta* 'wooden collars', traditionally worn by the ancient Frisians before their liberation by Charlemagne, are discussed at length.¹¹²

In *'t Recht van successie* (RS) it becomes clear how with the help of etymological expositions Van Vliet tried to arrive at the true meaning of three of the most important legal terms with respect to the law of succession: 'marriage goods', 'goods', and 'bastard'. He compared Old Frisian *flotjeflighe gued* with the spelling variant *fletjefligh gued* from MS Aysma, and explained it as 'marriage goods' with the help of Old Frisian *flette* 'marriage'. To increase his authority he then stated that "in the oldest language of the Saxons, the ancestors of the Frisians, *flet* is a house or, actually, a household', leaving the impression with the reader that his proposed reading of *flotjefligh* is based on the oldest possible source.¹¹³ By establishing the ancient origin of a term with the help of etymology, and by giving an explanation of the meaning of the word immediately following, Van Vliet achieved the effect of increased authenticity.

A more elaborate example is his etymological discussion of Medieval Latin *feodum* 'fee, fief', Old English *feoh* 'cattle, money' and Dutch *leen* 'loan' in RS, in an attempt to establish clarity in what he considered a long-standing problem:

I have found that many, including great scholars, have tried to investigate the origin of the words *feodum*—generally used in the oldest feudal laws and especially in the Capitulary of Emperor Charlemagne of the year 790

¹⁰⁹ OW, [x1⁷].

¹¹⁰ SO, Hh2^r.

¹¹¹ SO, R4^v, X3^v.

¹¹² MA, [π1^{rbis}].

¹¹³ The other examples relate to Dutch *have*, *haef* 'goods, possessions', and Dutch *bastaerd* 'bastard'; RS, 9, 16.

(where, as elsewhere, *feodum* is written)—as well as *leen*; though all have missed the target as a result of their ignorance of the old languages of the Saxons and the Franks. Therefore, it will be worth the trouble to indicate the origin of the matter itself, by means of the aforesaid words.¹¹⁴

Van Vliet appeared familiar with the discussions and controversies over the term *feodum* among scholars in France and England. Early humanist commentators had explained the word on the basis of medieval etymologists, who had derived *feodum* from *fides* or *foedus*. In his edition of the *Libri Feodorum*, the French lawyer Jacques Cujas (1520–1590) had proposed an etymology, which inclined to a Germanic explanation: *feodum* had derived from *leudum*, or *lehn*.¹¹⁵ Van Vliet, whose methodological support for the humanist historical interpretation of the study of law is evident, first explained that Roman emperors rewarded their soldiers with houses or lands for their service. He supported the traditional opinion that Germanic emperors, and especially Charlemagne, were the true successors of the Romans and adopted their customs. Thus, the early Germanic kings acted according to similar principles by distributing land:

which were named *Beneficia*, that is ‘benefits’, in the earliest laws of the Langobards. From this, *feoda* and *feuda*, and, as in the Franconian Dictionary D., *Beneficium*, or *feodum*, *Len*. *Feodalis*, *Lenman*. In Old English *feo*, *feoh*, as well as *lean* means ‘pay, reward’. With the addition of the Latin ending *-dum*, *feo-dum*, and from that *feodum* with the Langobards. Dutch *leen* has come from [Old English] *lean*, [which is] *loon* in Dutch, *laan* in the Frisian laws, *laun* in Gothic, Runic, and Icelandic. Or perhaps also from Old English *læne*, which is fruit or revenue. Among the English, the word *fee* still means a payment by which lawyers are rewarded. And finally, *feo* is from Gothic *faihu*, Franconian *fio*, ‘all manner of cattle’, yes also meaning ‘money’, as *pecunia*, from *pecus*.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ “Ick bevinde dat veele, oock van de Geleerdste, getracht hebben om d’oorsprong van de woorden feodum, in de oudste Leenrechten en insonderheijt de Constitutie van K. Carel de Groote van den Jaere 790. (daer, als elders mede, Feodum geschreven staet) doorgaens gebruijckt, als mede van Leen te ondersoecken, doch alle te kort geschoten, midts d’oncundigheijt van de oude talen der Saxen ende Francken. Derhalven het de pijn weerd sal zijn d’oorsprongh van de sake selfs door de voorz. woorden aen te wijsen”; RS, 22–23.

¹¹⁵ Pocock, 72–73.

¹¹⁶ “Die in de oudtste rechten der Langebarden *beneficia*, i.e. weldaden geheeten werden. Daerna *feoda* ende *feuda*; als in ’t Fransche Woordeboek D. *Beneficium* l’ *feodum*, *Len*. *Feodalis*, *Lenman*. In het Anglo-Sax is *feo*, *feoh*, soo wel als *lean*, soldije, belooninge te seggen. Waer bij dan komende de Latijnsche terminatie *dum*, is *feo-dum* en *feodum* daer van bij de Langebarden, en *leen* bij de Duijtschen gecomen van *lean*, i.e. *loon* Belg. *laan* in LL. Fris. *laun* Goth. Run. Island. Ofte misschien oock van *læne* AS. i.e. vrucht, of vergoedinge.

It is clear that from a modern point of view Van Vliet's etymologies contain several mistakes. Old English *feoh* does not mean 'reward', although it has this meaning in Somner's *Dictionarium*, presumably Van Vliet's source. Similarly, Dutch *leen* cannot originate from *loon*, although, according to Van Vliet's etymological principles, the two were perfect cognates. He derived much of his information from Somner's substantial entry in his *Dictionarium*, in which Somner referred to his own *Glossarium ad verba vetera*, and to Ole Worm,¹¹⁷ sources which Van Vliet referred to immediately underneath his text. However, Van Vliet also used his own additions to Somner's *Dictionarium*, which included the Gothic and Icelandic words and the semantic correspondence between *pecus*, *pecunia* and *feoh*, meaning both 'cattle' and 'money'.

Although Van Vliet was not entirely original here, and factually incorrect,¹¹⁸ his discussion gives evidence of the function he attributed to etymology as the key to establishing the true origin and the original meaning of words. The contemporary social relevance of comparative language studies surfaces here in an attempt to redefine the current legal terminology with the help of etymology. Since authority, in the seventeenth century, was still very much a matter of degree of antiquity, the method applied to reinterpret legal terms historically had a direct bearing on contemporary matters. Van Vliet's dispute over the precise extent and nature of the county of Strijen¹¹⁹ was an immediate result of his reinterpretation of historical data. The seventeenth-century emphasis on words and meaning ensured a high degree of topicality of such matters.

3.4. *Emendatio*

A procedural aspect of Van Vliet's Old Germanic studies that falls outside the scope of etymology but nonetheless touches upon his lexicographical method and textual studies is the freedom with which he approached texts. Quotations were altered at will, and emendations¹²⁰ and corrections to

Het woord *fee* is bij de Engelsche noch een loonpenningh te seggen, die men de Taelsprekers aldaer op de hand geeft. Ende eijndelijck is *feo*, a Goth. *faihu*/ Franc. *fio*. alderhande vee/goederen, jae geld oock te seggen, ut *pecunia* a *pecus*"; RS, 23.

¹¹⁷ Somner, *Dictionarium*, M2'.

¹¹⁸ Etymologies of *feodum* and the history of feudalism had been discussed before. See Pocock, who gives an analysis of seventeenth-century historical thought on this issue.

¹¹⁹ See above, p. 84.

¹²⁰ I use the term emendation in the general sense of textual change, without restrictions as to the correctness of these changes.

spelling were made without his feeling compelled to make mention of such alterations. Grasping the nature of this freedom is important for our understanding of the seventeenth-century attitude to Old Germanic texts and language.

The first to comment on Van Vliet's textual alterations was Neil Ker, in his report of Van Vliet's *Ormulum* excerpts in MS Lambeth 783:

If Vliet's excerpts of extant passages are compared with the MS., it is seen that nearly all the numerous deviations from the exemplar are due to disregard of the peculiarities of Orm's spelling and of minor details. The real errors of transcription are few. Vliet's interest was lexicographical and his excerpts on ff. 51–72^v are not continuous blocks of text, but illustrations of the use and meaning of particular words and phrases, which he has underlined in his copy. Excerpts often begin in the middle of a line or include an essential word from further up the column, or omit words or lines which were not strictly necessary to the sense.¹²¹

Alteration of quotations to facilitate lexicographical reference occurs not only in the *Ormulum* studies, but occasionally also in the Old Frisian glossaries. In relation to Old Frisian *wt achtiane* 'to collect',¹²² he added the quotation "*da wrheriga ban ut to achtiane*" 'and to collect from it the fine for disobedience' and referred to p. 110 of *Druk*. There the text reads: "*ende deer wt to achtiane da wrheriga ban*".

Other alterations of text are not for lexicographical purposes, but have to be considered textual emendations. This is most clear in RS:

Dit is riucht datma *fletjeftigh* gued dar jowet *on* afte kijnden meijma in halda mit det eden/ da schellet alle wasa binna tha *tredda* knije/ dar dat *tinga* schellat *van dis* Vaders sibba/ dar dat gued wt jowen ijz.¹²³

Van Vliet stated that this quotation could be found in pp. 4 and 16 from MS Aysma. However, p. 4 of MS Aysma reads:

Dit js ryocht, datma fleth ieftich gued, dar iowet an afte kynden, meyma in halda met det eden; da schellet alle wasa binna tha *thredda* knye, dar da tinge schellat vandes vaders sibba, dar dat gued wt iowen is.¹²⁴ [This is law: claims to dowries, which are given to bastard children, may be confirmed by "deed oaths". All those who wish to reclaim the goods have to be related to the ancestor from whom the goods originate, in the third degree.]

¹²¹ Ker, "Unpublished Parts of the *Ormulum*", 2–3.

¹²² FG, 91^v.

¹²³ RS, 31.

¹²⁴ Buma *et al.*, 10.

On p. 16 of MS Aysma a similar article occurs:

Dit is riucht, datma flet ieflich gued, der iowet on afte kynden, meyma in halda mit deed ethen; da schellat alle wasa binna tha tredda knye, dar dat tinga schellat vandis vaders sibben, der dat gued op iowen is.¹²⁵

Van Vliet's transcript is a compilation of the two passages. The basic text represents that on p. 4 of MS Aysma, but Van Vliet inserted variants from p. 16, which I have italicized. It appears that he selected forms which appeared most Frisian to him: forms without ⟨th⟩ such as *flet* instead of *fleth* and *tredda* instead of *thredda*; *riucht* instead of the less frequent form *ryocht*; the ⟨-a⟩ ending for ⟨-e⟩ in *tinga* instead of *tinge*; *van dis* instead of *des*; and *on* instead of *an*. Other alterations such as ⟨ij⟩ for ⟨y⟩ and ⟨i⟩ for ⟨j⟩ and vice versa can be attributed to printing conventions. The final *ijz* is inexplicable. Although the possibility cannot be excluded that Van Vliet inserted some emendations *ope ingenii* instead of *ope codicum*,¹²⁶ his alterations reveal a deliberate choice, based on what he considered the purest Old Frisian forms. Some alterations show that he was aware of the characteristics of Old Frisian. However, his preference for forms without ⟨th⟩, which he encountered frequently in *Druk*, indicate that the frequency of occurrence also played a role. Another quotation from MS Aysma also shows signs of emendation, but in this case, Van Vliet's emendations are of a more restricted nature.¹²⁷

A more substantial effort to emend Frisian appears from his list of a list of 57 Frisian proverbs on p. 28 at the end of the *Bredaesche almanac, en chronijck*, headed *Der oude Vrije Friesen Spreek-Woorden*. Van Vliet's list formed a selection from the Franeker edition of Frisian proverbs, printed in 1641.¹²⁸ The spelling of Van Vliet's proverbs differs

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹²⁶ See above, p. 12.

¹²⁷ In RS, 46–47, Van Vliet quoted: “jefter tweer ful broderen weren/ jeftha twa ful zusteren/ en hia heede tween jef drie hal broderen jeftha hal zusteren/ en di ena ful broder jeftha ful suster stoere dan zonder lesta wolla/ ende maket nen lesta wolla mej allem/ zo scolde dij fol broder jeftha dij ful zuster allenna mej twam handen to tasta: ende di hal broder jeftha hal zuster mej ener hand elkerlick to al dae guede replijc ende onreplijc/ hotter were”. His exemplar in MS Aysma reads: “Jefter tweer ful broderen weren jeftha twa ful zusteren ende hia heede tween ief drie hal broderen ieftha hal sijsteren ende di ena ful broder ieftha ful suster stoere dan zonder lesta wolla ende makat nen lesta wolla met allem, zo scolde dy ful broder ieftha dy ful ziister allenna met twam handen to tasta ende di hal broder ieftha hal zijster met ener hand elkerlick to al dae guede, replijc ende onreplijc, hotter were”; Buma *et al.*, 352.

¹²⁸ See above, p. 151.

in many places from the 1641 edition, although all proverbs were derived from it. The changes seem so convincing that Van de Velde spoke of the 'Vlitian version', and collated Van Vliet's proverbs with those from the 1641 edition in Feitsma's inventory.¹²⁹ The result shows that some of Van Vliet's alterations are systematic: 1. All capital letters other than those at the beginning of a proverb were changed to lower-case characters (4×). 2. ⟨e⟩ was consistently replaced by ⟨æ⟩ (9×), presumably due to different conventions in printing. 3. ⟨y⟩ was replaced by ⟨ij⟩ (13×),¹³⁰ but in 5 instances he left ⟨y⟩.¹³¹ 4. Van Vliet wrote ⟨æ⟩ instead of ⟨ee⟩ (6×),¹³² but twice ⟨ee⟩ for ⟨æ⟩¹³³ and twice ⟨e⟩ for ⟨æ⟩.¹³⁴ 5. ⟨n⟩ was added to the present plural of verbs (4×).¹³⁵ 6. ⟨uy⟩ was replaced by ⟨uw⟩ (3×).¹³⁶ Van Vliet's changes may be explained partly as an attempt to edit the material, and make it more Frisian in his own perception, and partly the result of mistakes and omissions, perhaps due to unfaithful copying or to a corrupt exemplar. However, some typically Dutch forms were replaced by more Frisian forms, e.g. *thuws* for *thuys*, etc., *herren* for *heeren* (2×), *sin* for *zijn*, *our* for *over*, *for* for *voor*, *foere* for *vorne*, *behove* for *behoeve*, *broocken* for *broecken*, *sis* for *sey*, *as* for *als* (2×), *in* for *en*, *bæm* for *hout*, *patten* for *soenen*. Van Vliet deliberately changed the point of view of a proverb in *Ick mot mey mûn pongh to ried gaen* 'I have to take counsel from my purse' changing it to *Ilck mot mit sin ponge to ried gaen* 'each person should take counsel from his purse'. He also merged two proverbs.¹³⁷

Similarly, he printed the Lord's Prayer from Vulcanius's *De literis* in VO with a number of alterations:

¹²⁹ Van de Velde, "Vlitiana Frisica", 21–22. In her inventory of Frisian proverbs, Feitsma, *Oude Friesche spreek-woorden*, 145, lists the numbers of the proverbs from the edition which Van Vliet included in his selection.

¹³⁰ Presumably also a printing convention.

¹³¹ In *heyn*, *leyt*, *mey*, *breyden*, *sey*.

¹³² *weeke* > *wæke*, *deer* > *dær* (2×), *heering* > *hæring*, *eerstese* > *ærstese*, *heertme* > *hærtme*.

¹³³ *ærst* > *eerst*, *ærsen* > *eersen*.

¹³⁴ *kræcke* > *krecke*, *bædler* > *bedler*.

¹³⁵ *rijde* > *rijden*, *folle* > *follen*, *rinne* > *rinnen*, *bijte* > *bijten*. Cf. Brouwer and Campbell, 175.

¹³⁶ *thuys* > *thuws*, *uyt* > *uwt*, *snuyt* > *snuwt*.

¹³⁷ Van de Velde, "Vlitiana Frisica", 23; Feitsma, *Oude Friesche spreek-woorden*, 62, 145.

Vulcanius	Van Vliet
Ws haita dw derstu biste yne hymil,	Ws haita du derstu biste ijne himel.
Dyn name wird heiligt.	Dijn name wirde heijligt.
Dyn ryck to komme.	Dijn rike to komme.
Dyn wille moet schœn	Dijn wille moot schæn
opt yrtryck as yne hymil.	upt yrtrijck, as ijne himel.
Ws deilix brœ jow us jwed.	Ws deijlick bræ jouw us joed.
In veriou ws ws schylden,	In forjouw us ous skjilden,
as wy vejæ ws schyldnirs.	as wij forjaen ous skjildeners.
In lied ws naet in versieking.	In læd us næt ijn fersiecking,
din fry ws vin it qwæd,	din frij us fen it quæ.
Din dyn is it ryck, de macht,	Den dijn is it rijck, de maght,
in de heerlickheyt yn yewicheyt.	in die herlickhæd, ijn yewikhæd.
So mœttet wese. ¹³⁸	Soo moot it wesse.

Some alterations appear to be simply editorial changes resembling those made in his list of proverbs, such as the change of ⟨y⟩ to ⟨ij⟩, ⟨k⟩ to ⟨ck⟩, and ⟨w⟩ to ⟨u⟩. Others, such as the change of ⟨oe⟩ to ⟨æ⟩, relate to Van Vliet's assumption that Dutch ⟨oe⟩ corresponded to Frisian ⟨æ⟩, something he had also indicated in VO and in FG.¹³⁹ Further emendations with the Frisian language in mind are *forjaen* and *forjouw* for *vejæ* and *veriou*,¹⁴⁰ *fen* for *vin*, and *den* for *din*, although this last one is omitted in one instance. The wrong emendation of Dutch *heyt* to *hæd* (2×) provides conclusive evidence that Van Vliet's version is not a genuine Frisian text. How Van Vliet came by his 'standard' of contemporary Frisian is not entirely clear, especially since many of the alterations do not give evidence of him strictly adhering to, for instance, Gysbert Japiks as a model. Some of Van Vliet's emendations in the proverbs as well as in the Frisian Paternoster also occur in Japiks's works,¹⁴¹ and may indicate that perhaps Van Vliet knew some of it through Junius. On the other hand, there is no evidence that he borrowed Junius's Frisian texts and glossaries in MSS Junius 115a and 122. Two small Frisian glossaries by Junius which are now in LA do not provide a solution either.¹⁴² It is likely, though, that Van Vliet possessed more seventeenth-century editions of Frisian texts

¹³⁸ Vulcanius, 98.

¹³⁹ See below, p. 314.

¹⁴⁰ See Wytze L. Brandsma, *Het werkwoord bij Gysbert Japicx* (Assen, 1936), 105.

¹⁴¹ For instance: *eerst*, *heer*, *snuwt*, *heert*, *joed*, *forjouw*, *fen*, *quæ*, *den*, see A. Dykstra et al., *Japicx: Wurden* (Leeuwarden, 1993).

¹⁴² LA, 358^r, 359^r; Feitsma, *Frysk út de 17de ieu*, 75, 82–83.

than the ones we know of. Such books were usually very small in size, and may not have been considered important enough to be specified in the auction catalogue, or may have been sold as the remaining trash. However, it is clear that Van Vliet had some knowledge of Frisian and made liberal use of it in his changing and improving Frisian texts.

The most striking of Van Vliet's textual emendations are his corrections to the *Ormulum* manuscript. That he did not adapt to Orm's orthography was already clear from his excerpts and glossaries, in many of which he almost systematically disregarded the double consonants. However, there are also emendations by Van Vliet in the manuscript itself. Orm substituted ⟨t⟩ for initial ⟨p⟩ in certain pronoun clusters when the preceding word ended in ⟨t⟩, so that *patt patt* became *patt tatt*. This was much-discussed phenomenon in the nineteenth century, mentioned by White and Holt,¹⁴³ and more extensively described by Blackburn,¹⁴⁴ but Van Vliet had already noted it, and he must have considered it an irregularity with respect to the Old English language as he knew it. Burchfield mentions one instance in which Van Vliet had altered *tatt* to *patt*.¹⁴⁵ He approached Orm's variation between ⟨eo⟩ and ⟨e⟩ spellings—the result of the increasing unrounding of Old English ⟨eo⟩ in the Early Middle English period¹⁴⁶—with a similar preference for the Old English orthography. Subsequently, he corrected many of the ⟨e⟩ spellings to ⟨eo⟩ by means of a superimposed ⟨o⟩, even though Orm had tried to do the reverse.¹⁴⁷ The *Ormulum* is one of the earliest vernacular manuscripts in which hyphens are frequently used at the end of a line to indicate division within a word.¹⁴⁸ Van Vliet sometimes added hyphens to words where the original scribe saw no use for them, for example in *all swa*, *inn till*, *mann kinn*, and *onn gæn*, because in the seventeenth century contemporary reflexes were written as single words. However, he also inserted hyphens where the scribe had apparently forgotten to add one, for instance *bi-limpeþþ* (1657),¹⁴⁹ *cwenn-kenn* (19531), *drihh-tin* (5237) and *i-noh* (10246), and inked over hyphens which had faded.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ Holt, lxviii.

¹⁴⁴ F.A. Blackburn, "The Change from *p* to *t* in the *Ormulum*", *American Journal of Philology* 3 (1882), 46–58.

¹⁴⁵ Burchfield, "The Language of the *Ormulum*", 84.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 81–84.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁴⁸ Burchfield, "Line-End Hyphens", 184.

¹⁴⁹ All line references to the *Ormulum* are from Holt's edition (1878).

¹⁵⁰ Information for this paragraph is taken from Burchfield, "Line-End Hyphens".

Similar practices of adapting and emending texts can be observed in the works of Francis Junius, who also gave varying representations in his transcripts, and shortened or altered quotations in his lexicographical works. It appears from Van de Velde's detailed investigations into the textual aspects of Junius's edition of the *Codex Argenteus* that Junius not only tried to reconstruct passages that were difficult or impossible to read, but that he also inserted corrections in the text.¹⁵¹ Apart from many mistakes due to insufficient knowledge of Gothic and the difficulty of the text, Junius managed to do remarkably well in clarifying obscure places in the text and even added to the original text and made successful corrections. For instance, Van de Velde observes that "Junius successfully corrected the original twice by writing *alhs* (*Marc* 15:38) with *h* and *fulhsnja* (*Matth.* 6:4), without the second superfluous *l*, for which the *Codex Argenteus* had *als* and *fulhlsnja*, respectively".¹⁵²

The same tendency to emendation is to be seen on a more extensive scale in Junius's work on Old English,¹⁵³ as appears from the criticism of his transcripts. Because Junius's transcripts have been used extensively by later scholars, his alterations have received considerable attention since the second half of the nineteenth century. The unassailable name of Junius as a scholar beyond rebuke was first attacked for inconsistencies by H. Logeman in his edition of the *Benedictine Rule*. Logeman opposed approving remarks made by Henry Sweet in an edition of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, in which Sweet had claimed that Junius's sole fault was that he "sometimes swerved from the path of literal accuracy in a few unimportant particulars".¹⁵⁴ In his reaction, Logeman called Junius's reputation as a faithful copyist "entirely unfounded". That his reputation of infallibility was well established appears from the German scholar Theodor Siebs, who remarked on Junius's transcript of the Old Frisian MS *Unia* that his personal hand warranted its reliability.¹⁵⁵ However, Karl Jost, who collated parts of Junius's transcript of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* in MS Junius 53 with the original in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS

¹⁵¹ Van de Velde, *Studie v/h Gotisch*, 172–185.

¹⁵² "Tweemaal bracht Junius een geslaagde correctie aan ten opzichte van het origineel: *alhs* (Mk. xv 38) met *h* en *fulhsnja* (Mt. vi 6), zonder de tweede overbodige *l*, waarvoor de *Codex Argenteus* respectievelijk *als* (*Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis*, p. 371, v. 11) en *fulhlsnja* (CAU, p. 7. *7, v. 20) had"; *ibid.*, 182–183.

¹⁵³ See also Lutz, *Die Version G*, lxviii–lxxviii, who discusses similar emendations and alterations by Abraham Wheelock in his transcript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

¹⁵⁴ Hendrik Logeman, *The Rule of S. Benet...* (London, 1888), xxxii.

¹⁵⁵ Siebs, 6.

Hatton 20, came to very different conclusions: “certain phonological changes have to a greater or lesser extent systematically been implemented...while for others pure carelessness may be the reason; in addition there are a large number of profound changes in the text such as the omission or addition of words”.¹⁵⁶

The systematic nature of some of the mutations observed by Jost already indicate that at least some of the changes were made on purpose, and are not due to carelessness. Jost himself signalled changes of ⟨sð⟩ to ⟨st⟩ and from ⟨io⟩ to ⟨eo⟩. A more detailed categorization of the differences between a text copied by Junius and his exemplar was made by Van der Werf, who compared a section of the *Cædmon* poems in MS Junius 11 with his edition.¹⁵⁷ Although Junius was not perfect and undoubtedly made mistakes, in this case some of the changes suggest editorial principles: Junius added and removed capitals and punctuation, and changed ⟨p⟩ to ⟨ð⟩.¹⁵⁸ In the Old English–Latin lexicon (MSS Junius 2 and 3), he did not usually alter forms, because its purpose was to collect as many different attestations as possible, but he often referred to differences in spelling. For example, he voiced his doubts about a singular reading of *nu* in the Cotton glossary, on which he remarked: “Unless you are of the opinion that *iu* has to be read here, since everywhere in Bede *iu ær* and *iu geara* are inserted for ‘some time ago, a long while ago’”.¹⁵⁹ However, the structure of the phrases in which he illustrated his attestations was freely changed, as appears from a section of Cnut’s laws: “*And gyf man gehadodne mid fæhðe belecge & secge, þæt he wære dædbana oððe rædbana ...*”, which Junius altered to “*gif man secge he wære dædbana oððe rædbana*”.¹⁶⁰ The assumption that grammar was of a

¹⁵⁶ “Diese probe mag genügen. Gewisse lautliche umsetzungen sind wohl mehr oder weniger systematisch durchgeführt, ...während bei andern blossen nachlässigkeit vorliegen mag; dazu kommen eine grosse anzahl tiefgreifender textveränderungen wie wortauslassungen oder -hinzufügungen”; K. Jost, “Zu den Handschriften der *Cura Pastoralis*”, *Anglia* 37 (1912), 66.

¹⁵⁷ Franciscus Junius *Caedmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica...* (Amsterdam, 1655); W.A. van der Werf, “Francis Junius’ Scribal Practice as Regardes *wh*-Spellings...”, *Meidielingen...* 3 (1978), 9–31.

¹⁵⁸ The many corresponding vowels and consonants given by Van der Werf, 22–23, tell us little about Junius’ accuracy or about his motivation for making his emendations. As Van der Werf did not include the words, there is therefore no pattern discernable in Junius’ work. Moreover, the many corrections in the manuscript itself, of which the author has never been identified, is a further factor of uncertainty, as Van der Werf himself acknowledges.

¹⁵⁹ “*nu vel ær*, Dudum; Gl. Cott 67. Nisi forte ibi legendum pute[s] *iu*. Passim enim apud Bedam *iu ær* & *iu geara* ponuntur pro Dudum, quondam”; MS Junius 2, f. 373^r.

universal nature considerably lowered the barrier for altering fragments of text for lexicographical purposes. Although it would be beyond the confines of this study to attempt a full investigation into the exact nature of Junius's editorial practice with regard to Old English, it is possible to connect the practice as such with contemporary ideas.

The reasons for Junius's emendations, as well as those of Van Vliet, have to be looked for in the seventeenth-century attitude towards language, text, and philological studies. Junius said of the difficulties which arose while he was trying to decipher and study an old language:

The experienced [reader] will also witness with how much trouble we ourselves emerge from the difficulties of this effort, when, after the first selection, about to go through the entire work again, we uncovered the errors and confusion, and cut out superfluous matters, because everywhere many [errors] occur, which not only have to be trimmed and clipped, but also extracted and thoroughly removed.¹⁶¹

Junius referred here to the very arduous process of deciphering the Codex Argenteus with its difficult language in a strange alphabet, and many places which were hard to read as a result of damage. Junius approached the manuscript in the humanist tradition, which regarded manuscripts as imperfect or even corrupt renderings of the original text. At the same time he deemed the Gothic language on a par with classical languages, as a pure product of classical minds, sometimes even of divine inspiration, still incorporating the traces of its initial stage of perfection when the words of these languages were unambiguous in form and meaning. Similar examples of this kind of corruption could be seen in Latin texts which had been written by the great philosophers and orators of the Ciceronean age and which, as a result of scribal errors and ignorance of proper Latin, had gradually deteriorated during the Middle Ages. It was seen as the task of humanist philology to restore texts as much as possible to their former glory through the various forms of correction and emendation.¹⁶²

Van Vliet's gradual detachment from his faithfulness to Orm's idiosyncratic spelling in his excerpts, his emendations towards classical

¹⁶⁰ For more examples, see Dekker, "That Most Elaborate One of Francis Junius".

¹⁶¹ "Expertus quoque testabitur quàm ægrè nosmet ipsos ex hujus operæ difficultatibus evolavimus, cum post primum delectum opus retractaturi mendosa confusâque reteximus, supervacua rescindimus; plurimis passim occurrentibus, quæ non tam circumcidenda sunt atque amputanda, quàm extrahenda & penitus tollenda"; Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, ***1^v.

¹⁶² See above, pp. 12–13.

Old English in the original manuscript, and his treatment of contemporary Frisian are all reminiscent of the same humanist ideas. There is no evidence that he copied these ideas from Junius, but the fact that his later *Ormulum* studies display greater deviation from Orm's idiosyncratic spelling strongly suggest that Junius was influential.

It is characteristic that Frisian and Orm's Early Middle English were the very languages Van Vliet felt capable of emending and improving, since he possessed the *Ormulum* manuscript and claimed to know some Frisian. That he had particular ideas about the Frisian language already appeared from his Frisian passages in the journal of his tour of the province in 1643, in which he had tried to reconstruct Frisian words with the help of his Dutch vocabulary and the characteristics of Frisian that he had heard.¹⁶³ In the seventeenth century, Frisian had almost been reduced to a spoken language, and was rarely found in written form. Indeed, Van Vliet must have had a low opinion of the rather defective editions of Frisian he had seen, such as the 1641 edition of the proverbs. His emendations, perhaps based on his own experiences in Friesland, but certainly on his cooperation with Junius and his study of Old Frisian, indicate that he intended to put his ideas on Frisian into practice. The language of the *Ormulum* also represented to Van Vliet a very late and to some extent corrupted version of Old English, on which he observed that "although it is more recent than all others, it was not mingled with the Romance or present-day French language".¹⁶⁴ Consultation of any published Old English text at the time and comparison of spelling and morphology, would have confirmed his opinion, and increased the notion that emendation was necessary.

3.5. Concluding remarks

Junius's ideas and influence are recognizable in almost every aspect of Van Vliet's work. His method and style of conducting investigations, the scope of the studies, the nomenclature, and the underlying ideas all bear the stamp of Junius's work. The reason for this influence is partly that Van Vliet modelled himself on Junius, and is partly attributable to their similar intellectual background, even though there was more than 30 years

¹⁶³ Brouwer and Campbell, 152, speak of "pseudo-Frisian forms, errors, hyper-Frisianisms and Hollandisms".

¹⁶⁴ "Est autem recentior omnibus quae extant; nihil tamen Romanici sive hodierni Gallici sermonis admixtum habens"; Van Vliet to Isaac Vossius, 26-07-1659.

between them. Both men were humanists with a sound classical background, educated along the lines of the Leiden philological school, in the spirit of Scaliger and his successors. They both had an excellent knowledge of Latin and Greek, and also knew several modern European languages in addition, such as English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Moreover, both men felt favourably inclined towards their native Dutch language, which formed an important motivation to undertake the study of older Germanic languages.

The differences in emphasis in their work are, first of all, the result of the level of their knowledge, but, to a certain extent, can also be linked to differences in background. In addition to their common background in the *artes*, Van Vliet had studied law, while Junius, after an initial spell of mathematics, had become a theologian (both men followed in their fathers' footsteps), which may have given them a different outlook on life. Moreover, Van Vliet and Junius moved in different strata of society in different countries. For Junius the background for his move to study Old Germanic languages lay in England, where Anglo-Saxon manuscripts had been studied for a variety of reasons since the middle of the sixteenth century. The texts themselves had been all important in this tradition, in which authentic material had been available to interested scholars, partly in manuscript and partly in early editions. Van Vliet's experience prior to his contacts with Junius had been very different. The study of Old Germanic languages in the Netherlands had been part of a wider field of comparative philology, in which the Germanic languages were an instrument, rather than an aim. Many of the works Junius discussed in his *Observationes* were to Van Vliet "*fere inaudita*" in 1659. It was only when Van Vliet adopted an approach that was more directed to the primary material itself that he began to share enough common ground with Junius to make contacts useful. His first interest in Old Germanic languages, however, preceded their contact in 1659, and ensured a recognizable individuality in Van Vliet's work.

Although recognizable, Van Vliet's individuality was never more than accentual. Van Vliet's paradigm of languages owed much to Junius, but Van Vliet lacked the perceptiveness to discern the many uncertainties that still loomed in the darkness. The motivation for his scholarship shows parallels to that of Junius, but lacks its originality and philosophical and/or religious profundity. We may remember that part of their concern with the vernacular, and their empiricist approach, resulted from common views and experiences, especially since both men were in contact with

England, whence their ideas originated, but there is no reason to suppose that Van Vliet ever led the way.

His emphasis on sounds as the prime agents of language change within the specific scope of his studies is in itself an element in which his individuality is most evident. It raises Van Vliet's position in the historiography of comparative language studies to one of relative prominence, for, albeit on a small scale, he expressed ideas which had never been voiced in this way before. However, the principles made explicit by Van Vliet had already been implicitly applied by Junius who worked according to a similar method. Although the final evaluation of Junius's methodological principles will have to be backed up by further and more detailed investigations into his work, this conclusion is supported by the work of the eighteenth-century Dutch philologist Lambert ten Kate, whose findings in this field I will briefly discuss in the following chapter.

Van Vliet never matched the sophistication of Junius's work on semantics. The difference is well represented by the opposition between *cognitio verborum* and *origo versus etymologia*. The opposition signals a difference in level of abstraction, which characterised much of the co-operation between the two. Although the development in Van Vliet's work, visible in the way he worked with Junius's material, indicates a certain progress—as his attempts to match Junius's method and scope were becoming more successful—he never attained the degree of sophistication Junius managed to incorporate in his work.

In conclusion, it can be said that, without Junius, there would never have been a Van Vliet as we know him. Van Vliet's explorations into Old Germanic comparative scholarship after 1659 became viable by virtue of Junius's support. Junius supplied the majority of the material and ideas and set the standards, while Van Vliet consciously followed him. His achievements can therefore be assessed only in the light of Junius's works, of which they were, in many respects, a reflection. This does not deprive Van Vliet of the credit he undoubtedly deserves. On the contrary, his choice to accept Junius as his major inspiration and to follow in his footsteps is the best decision he could have made under the circumstances. It was taken at a moment when Van Vliet had already developed an interest in Old Germanic languages, inspired by his attitude towards the Dutch language and his historical work in Breda, and influenced by the intellectual climate in the Netherlands in the first six decades of the seventeenth century. He chose to follow Francis Junius at a time when there was no better option to pursue, and it is entirely to the credit of Jan

van Vliet that he possessed the intellectual insight to follow Junius's lead. Moreover, he had the courage to state this unequivocally in his correspondence, knowing all too well that not all of his scholarly friends were going to appreciate this step. It is completely illusory to presume that, in the spread of six years, Van Vliet would have been able even to approximate the level of scholarship that Junius—an exceptionally gifted man—had attained over two decades. The individuality found in Van Vliet's studies and the occasional criticism of Junius's work already bear witness to his creative and critical mind, and show that Van Vliet's work was undergoing a development only cut short by his illness and death in 1666. Even though Van Vliet's Germanic studies can in no way compete with Junius's achievements, they were a product of Junius's inspiration to a major extent, and occasionally afford us insights into Junius's methodological principles which do not appear directly from the latter's work. This aspect enhances the importance of Van Vliet's work for the historiography of Old Germanic scholarship.

CHAPTER SEVEN

AFTER VAN VLIET

After Van Vliet's death in March 1666, his scholarly fame rested mainly on his edition of Latin bucolic verse, and the Latin poetry circulating among collectors. Any lasting effect of his Germanic studies is difficult to assess. His hand-written studies and annotated books and manuscripts were scattered after his death, and his published work was limited and very difficult to come by. It was too insignificant to play a prominent role in the compilation of books on Old Germanic studies in the period following his death. However, here and there, Van Vliet's name suddenly emerges in works of eighteenth-century scholars, which indicates that, although rarely referred to, his work was not entirely forgotten. In this chapter, I will give a survey of the traces and possible influences of Van Vliet's work in the eighteenth century, when it was not yet regarded as outdated and antiquarian. I realize that my selection will not be complete, since Old Germanic studies in the eighteenth century have not been exhaustively investigated.¹ I will therefore restrict myself to those eighteenth-century scholars whose works contain traces of his influence.

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, comparative Germanic philology in the Netherlands almost completely disappeared. Jan van Vliet died in 1666, Thomas Marshall returned to England in 1672, and Francis Junius moved to Oxford with his entire library in 1674. Grammatical studies of Dutch continued, but the studies of the oldest phases of the vernacular languages no longer had any place. In the northern province of Friesland, the memory of Van Vliet as a Germanic scholar lived on. In 1681 the historian of the Frisian States, Simon Abbes Gabbema (1628–1688), added a preface to his second edition of Frisian poetry by the seventeenth-century poet Gysbert Japiks (1681), in which he mentioned

¹ For the Netherlands, see De Buck, for Middle Dutch; Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, for Gothic; Kees Dekker, "Jan van Vliet (1620–1666) and the Study of Old English in the Low Countries", in *The Middle Ages after the Middle Ages...*, Marie-Françoise Alamichel and Derek Brewer eds. (Cambridge, 1997), 27–41, for Old English; Timmer, "Northern Research in the Netherlands", for Old Norse. For Great Britain, see Harris, *A Chorus of Grammars...*; T.A. Birrell, "The Society of Antiquaries and the Taste for Old English", *Neophilologus* 50 (1966), 107–117; Bennett, *History of Old English and Old Norse Studies*; and Adams for Old English. For Old Norse, see also Bennett, *ibid.*; —, "The Beginnings of Runic Studies in England".

both Junius and Van Vliet to demonstrate that Old Frisian was closely related to Old English, and that therefore more Frisians than Saxons had crossed to England in the early Middle Ages.² In his citation Gabbema referred to Van Vliet's dedication to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie as a "an elaborate verse", undoubtedly because of the many footnotes attached to it.³ His citation also mainly concerns one of these notes, which lists the various languages Junius used in the *Gothicum glossarium*. Van Vliet's dedication ensured that his name remained connected with the study of Old Germanic languages. In 1723 Van Vliet's poem was mentioned in a short dissertation defended at the University of Groningen by a German student named Samuel Nauhaus.⁴

1. *England*

After Junius and Marshall had moved to England, the centre of comparative Old Germanic studies was transferred to Oxford, where Bishop John Fell and his Saxonist friends⁵ attempted to print some of Junius's works. In the publications of one of these Saxonists, George Hickes (1642–1715),⁶ we see the work of Junius and Marshall reflected. Hickes, an Anglican clergyman and a non-juror, had come into contact with Bishop Fell at Oxford when he became a fellow of Lincoln College in 1664.⁷ Their contacts aroused his interest in the study of the Old Germanic languages, and especially Old English. Influenced by Thomas Marshall, who returned to Lincoln College in 1672, Hickes began working on a grammar

² See also Bremmer, "Late Medieval...Opinions", 180.

³ "doorwrogt veirs"; Simon Abbes Gabbema, *Gysbert Japix Friesche rymelerye...* (Leeuwarden, 1681), ***2^v.

⁴ Samuel Nauhaus, *Dissertatio historico-critica...* (Stettin, 1723). The sixteen-page treatise is to the best of my knowledge the oldest dissertation on the study of Old Germanic languages, discussing a number of early publications on Old Germanic. I have found no further data on its author, who originated from Stargard (Eastern Brandenburg), and dedicated his work to Prussian dignitaries from Stettin. The book was brought to my attention by Rolf Bremmer, who discovered a copy of it in the library of Harvard University.

⁵ John Fell (1620–1686) was Bishop of Oxford, and a friend of Francis Junius. He stimulated the printing of Anglo-Saxon texts in Oxford and was an important force behind the Oxford Saxonists. See Bennett, *History of Old English and Old Norse Studies*, 36–47.

⁶ On Hickes, see Adams, 75–90; Bennett, *History of Old English and Old Norse Studies*, 43–122; Harris, *A Chorus of Grammars*, passim, to which I refer for more detailed bibliographical data.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

of Old Germanic languages, something Marshall had also embarked on, but never completed.⁸ It is not known whether Hickes ever made use of Van Vliet's work, although *'t Vader ons* (VO) was accessible to him through the copy in the Junius collection (now MS Junius 95). Moreover, Hickes knew Van Vliet's name both through the *Gothicum glossarium*, and on account of Van Vliet's former ownership of the *Ormulum* manuscript, which he used for his studies. It appears from his preface to his *Institutiones grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicae et Moeso-Gothicæ* (Oxford, 1689) that Hickes derived many of his ideas from Francis Junius, whose introduction *Ad lectorem* to the *Observationes* he sometimes quoted almost verbatim. Just as Junius and Van Vliet had done, Hickes also included an opinion on the paradigm of the Germanic languages in his preface, which he illustrated with a graphical representation. It is an interesting coincidence that Hickes's paradigm of languages is a similar adaptation of Junius's model, as Van Vliet's account in VO, which may suggest that Hickes was aware of Van Vliet's model.

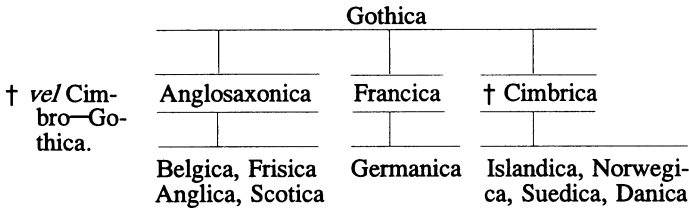
Although some of Hickes's explanation was literally copied from Junius,⁹ he adapted it to the extent that Gothic was pictured as the ancestor of all Germanic languages:

Undoubtedly, Gothic, which we call now Moeso-Gothic, now Ulphila-Gothic, is the ancestor of Anglo-Saxon, ancient Franconian and Cimbric, transferred to posterity in monuments of runes, and from that [language]

⁸ Adams, 86; Harris, *A Chorus of Grammars*, 6. See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marshall 78, which contains notes on Gothic grammar (ff. 1–5), and on Old English grammar (ff. 8–11). Bennett, *History of Old English and Old Norse Studies*, 50, reported that Fell planned to have Marshall compile an Old English grammar, to accompany an edition of Junius's Old English–Latin dictionary, in the way that Ælfric's *Grammar* had accompanied William Somner's dictionary. After Marshall, William Nicholson took over the task, which was eventually to pass on to Hickes.

⁹ See above, p. 258, my citation of Junius's paradigm. In his discussion of the preface to Hickes's *Institutiones* Bennett, *History of Old English and Old Norse Studies*, 54–55, comments: "Hickes's family tree for the Northern languages would not suit the twentieth-century philologist. But its main groupings are right, and it is the nearest we get to a scientific approach for a century: he points out the unity of 'Cimbric' (Islandic [sic], Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish) and the connection of Anglo-Saxon and Frisian". It is remarkable that Bennett failed to notice the correspondences between Hickes's work and Junius's introduction *Ad lectorem* to the *Observationes*. Moreover, as I have pointed out, Hickes's model, just like Van Vliet's, has its philological merits, but they both failed to adhere to Junius's suggestion that Old English did not derive from Gothic, but that the two developed independently from an older (Germanic) language. Hickes's indebtedness to Junius and the correspondences with Van Vliet concerning the paradigm of languages also remained unnoticed by Harris, *A Chorus of Grammars*, 24.

they trace their closest origins. The descendants of the Anglo-Saxon language are English, Scots, Dutch, and in particular ancient Frisian, but also modern Frisian, in which traces of Anglo-Saxon have remained up to the present day in the orthography and pronunciation of many words. From Franconian, which I also call *Franco-Theotisca*, High German or Alamanic was born, and Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish were derived from Cimbric, as will become clear from the subsequent stemma.¹⁰



In comparison with Junius,¹¹ Hickes, just like Van Vliet, adopted the more systematic pyramid-shaped paradigm of Germanic languages with Gothic at the top, and not only Cimbric and Franconian, but also Old English, directly descending from it, and he therefore deviated from Junius's model, and was an adherent of the 'Gothica genetrix' theory.

Van Vliet's work was also used in Hickes's *Thesaurus* (Oxford, 1705), in which Hickes depicted the runes that Van Vliet had written on the flyleaf of the *Ormulum* manuscript under the heading *alphabetum Anglicum*. Together with many other runic specimens they are included in the Icelandic Grammar.¹² Hickes had heard about these runes from his friend, the palaeographer Humphrey Wanley (1671–1726)¹³ in May 1697.¹⁴ Wanley, who compiled the *Catalogus librorum veterum septen-*

¹⁰ "Ex Gothica certe, quam nunc Moeso-Gothicam, nunc Ulphila-Gothicam vocamus ortæ sunt Anglo-Saxonica, vetus Francica, & Cimbrica, monumentis Runarum posteris tradita, & ab ea genus proxime ducunt. Anglo-Saxonica progenies sunt Anglica, Scotica, Belgica, præcipue tamen Frisica illa vetus, & moderna in qua Anglo-Saxonica vestigia in plurimorum vocabulorum Orthographia, & Pronuntiatione in hunc diem supersunt. E Francica, quam & Franco-Theotiscam voco, nata est superior Germanica, sive Alamannica; & ex Cimbrica Islandica, Norwegica, Suedica, Danica deductæ sunt, ut subjecto stemmate docemus"; George Hickes, *Institutiones grammaticæ...* (Oxford, 1689), b3'. The stemma is an imitation of Hickes's picture.

¹¹ See above, pp. 257–263.

¹² Hickes, *Thesaurus*, part 3: table ii (an unnumbered page).

¹³ On Wanley and his *Catalogue*, see Adams, 90–91; Bennett, *History of Old English and Old Norse Studies*, 123–151; Harris, *A Chorus of Grammars*, passim.

¹⁴ Harris, *A Chorus of Grammars*, 184–185.

trionalium, the catalogue of manuscripts containing Old English that forms the second part of the *Thesaurus*, must have discovered these runes while inspecting the *Ormulum*:

Manuscript Junius 1. A book of *Normanno-Saxon* homilies, by Orm, or Ormin, named *Ormulum*. In the beginning of the book (on what used to be an empty leaf) I found some sort of alphabet written, entitled *Anglicum*, but the characters are runes. This is now published in the *Thesaurus grammatico-criticus linguarum veterum septentrionalium*. Here the name of *Janus Vlitius* is also to be seen, written by him (very probably) in Breda, 6 February 1652. At that time he was probably the owner of the book, before it ended up in the hands of Francis Junius. [Wanley read 1659 as 1652.]¹⁵

After the publication of Hickes's *Thesaurus*, no other English authors mentioned Van Vliet before the first edition of the *Ormulum* manuscript by Robert Meadows White in 1852.

2. Lambert ten Kate

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Germanic studies in the Netherlands were successfully revived by Lambert ten Kate (1674–1731), a private teacher and corn merchant from Amsterdam. Ten Kate was an erudite man, well-versed in arts and languages, as well as in mathematics and physics.¹⁶ Like George Hickes, he first presented his ideas in a small book, entitled *Gemeenschap tussen de Gottische spraeke en de Nederduytsche* 'Common aspects of the Gothic language and Dutch' (Amsterdam, 1710). Thirteen years later, he published his two-volume *magnum opus*, entitled *Aenleiding tot de kennis van het verhevene deel der Nederduytsche sprake* 'Introduction to the knowledge of the elevated part of the Dutch language' (Amsterdam, 1723), in which he developed his theories. Ten Kate distanced himself from contemporary grammarians. He was a pioneer in phonetics, which he considered an important instrument in his

¹⁵ "Cod. JUNII 1. Liber Homiliarum Normanno-Saxon. auctor Orm vel Ormin, Ormulum dictus. in fronte libri, (quod olim fol. vacuum) scriptum repperi Alphabetum quoddam, Anglicum inscriptum, litteræ vero sunt Runicae, nunc publici juris factae, in Thesauro Grammatico-critico lingg. vett. Septent. Ib. quoque exstat nomen Jani Vlitii ab eo scriptum (ut verisimile sit) Bredæ. 1652. Febr. 6. qui tunc temporis, forte libri fuerit Dominus, priusquam in cl. Junii devenerit manus"; Humphry Wanley, *Librorum vett. codd. septentrionalium...catalogus* (Oxford, 1705), 59.

¹⁶ On Ten Kate, see *NNBW*, v, 295–296.

investigations into language.¹⁷ Ten Kate, whose works and ideas have never been comprehensively described and analysed,¹⁸ was an important link between the humanist method of Francis Junius and the beginnings of comparative linguistics, in particular the work of Jakob Grimm.¹⁹ Van de Velde's characterization of Ten Kate's work as a "passion for his mother tongue coupled with the opinion that a profound knowledge of the contemporary language can only be achieved on a historical basis" is strongly reminiscent of Junius's *Observationes*.²⁰ For his study of Old Germanic languages Junius and Hickes were his most important sources.²¹

Ten Kate knew VO, although he was ignorant of Van Vliet's authorship. In a note in the *Aenleiding* he mentioned the book and cited Van Vliet's information on the Codex Argenteus:

About this Moeso-Gothic Gospel, of which the manuscript is at present in the Swedish Royal Library, and which is also named Codex Argenteus because it is mostly written in silver characters on violet parchment, a certain prominent acquaintance and friend of the aforementioned Junius says, in his booklet in octavo, which was published in 1664, entitled *'t Vader ons in xx Oud-Duitsche en Noordsche Taalen met de Uitleggingen* etc., to provide a precursor to the aforementioned work by Junius, as follows:....²²

¹⁷ Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 212. See G.L. Meinsma, "Lambert ten Kate, An Early Phonetician", *Proceedings from the Institute of Phonetic Sciences of the University of Amsterdam* 7 (1982/83), 82–114, for a discussion of Ten Kate's phonetic principles set out in the introduction to the preface of the *Aenleiding* (1723).

¹⁸ On Ten Kate's studies, see Roland de Bonth, "A Black Sheep and a White Crow...", in *History and Rationality...*, Klaus D. Dutz & Kjell-Åke Forsgren eds. (Münster, 1995), 107–132; Jo Daan, "Lambert ten Kate gevierd, bewonderd en vergeten", in *Wat oars as mei in echte taal...*, Ph.H. Breuker et al. eds. (Leeuwarden, 1994), 54–61; Gerrit H. Jongeneelen, "Lambert ten Kate and the Origin of 19th-Century Historical Linguistics", in *The History of Linguistics in the Low Countries*, Jan Noordegraaf, Cornelis H.M. Versteegh and Konrad Koerner eds. (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1992), 201–219; Daniel Brink, "Lambert ten Kate as Indo-Europeanist", in *Dutch Linguistics at Berkeley...*, Jeanne van Oosten and Johan P. Snapper eds. (Berkeley, 1986), 125–135; T.A. Rompelman, "Lambert ten Kate als germanist", *VMKAW*, afd. Letterkunde 45 (nieuwe reeks) (1952), 245–274; Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 211–288.

¹⁹ Rompelman, 7. Rompelman, 28, also stated that Grimm had not made use of Ten Kate's ideas about *ablaut*. This is contradicted by Jongeneelen, 210–211, who demonstrated that Grimm consulted Ten Kate's work before the publication of his *Deutsche Grammatik* in 1819.

²⁰ Junius, *Observationes*, [π6⁺⁺]; Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 214.

²¹ Rompelman, 6.

²² "Van dit Euangelium M-Gothicum, welks afschrift thans onder de Zweeds-Koninklijke Boekerij berust, en 't gene ook Codex Argenteus genaemt word, vermits meest met zilvere letters op violet Francijn geschreven, zegt zeker voorname Kennis en Vriend van ge-

Subsequently, Ten Kate quoted a paragraph from VO.²³ I have found no other references to Van Vliet in Ten Kate's work. However, there are elements in Ten Kate's work which are reminiscent of Van Vliet's etymological principles. In his description of Ten Kate's method, Van de Velde explains that in his *Aenleiding* Ten Kate adopted *gelijkluidendheid* 'phonic agreement' as the basic parameter for establishing etymological relationship between words.²⁴ This agreement of sounds concentrated on the root-forms of the words, and left affixes out of consideration. In his *Aenleiding* Ten Kate distinguished between the 'root' and the 'accidental parts' of a word, such as for instance suffixes and case endings. He discovered that in Germanic languages stress always fell on the root syllables, which he used to determine etymological relationships.²⁵ Ten Kate's method resulted from juxtaposing Dutch words and similar forms from older Germanic languages. To prove the relation between Dutch and Gothic, he compiled a list of the entry words from Junius's *Gothicum glossarium* in alphabetical order, to which he then added the Dutch cognates, sometimes including older forms to make his suggestion of an etymological relationship more plausible. According to Van de Velde's evaluation, Ten Kate compiled most of his list of corresponding words from the Dutch cognates Junius cited in the *Gothicum glossarium*. Van de Velde's conclusions reveal that Ten Kate based only a quarter of his pairs of phonologically corresponding Dutch and Gothic cognates on his own observations, and he derived the other three-quarters from Junius.²⁶ It appears, then, that Ten Kate's principle of phonic agreement resulted from a systematic analysis of Junius's etymological method. In other words, the idea that two words which show a sufficient degree of phonological correspondence in the root forms are etymologically related was based on principles applied by Francis Junius. By formulating his theory of phonic agreement, Ten Kate showed that he was the first really to understand Junius's principle, and to make it explicit. This does not diminish Ten Kate's achievements in the field of comparative Germanic studies in any

melden Junius in zijn Boekje in 8: dat onder den Tijtel van 't Vader ons in xx Oud-Duitsche en Noordsche Taelen met de Uitleggingen enz., A° 1664, is uitgegeven, om een voorloper te verstrekken van 't gemelde werk van Junius in dezer voege:...."; Ten Kate, *Aenleiding*, 56.

²³ VO, a3^r.

²⁴ Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 232–234.

²⁵ De Bonth, 117.

²⁶ Van de Velde, *Studie...Gotisch*, 241.

way, for the conclusions he drew were his own. At the same time, it teaches us a great deal about Junius's implicit principle of etymological relationship between words, which he himself never made explicit, but took for granted.

In several ways Ten Kate's principle of phonic agreement resembles Van Vliet's etymological principles, as described in chapter VI.3.2. Just like Ten Kate, Van Vliet tried to establish etymological relationship through similarity of sounds in the roots of the words he investigated, and left suffixes and prefixes out of account. Ten Kate's list of identically sounding words shows that he attached more importance to corresponding consonants than vowels. A similar difference between the role of consonants and vowels can be perceived in Van Vliet's work. Ten Kate did not discuss correlations between different consonants,²⁷ which Van Vliet also left unexplained. It is evident that Van Vliet and Ten Kate presented a similar interpretation of Junius's etymological work. For Ten Kate, it formed the starting point for further investigations into the nature of the interrelation of the Germanic languages, which pushed etymological studies towards a much more systematic approach. Van Vliet never went beyond the stage of observation, and did not apply his conclusions any further.

Like Van Vliet, Ten Kate's principle of *gelijkluidende woorden* also made him search for Old English cognates to combine with Dutch words. Ten Kate's annotated copy of Thomas Benson's *Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum* (1701),²⁸ a drastically abridged version of William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, has been preserved. At the top of the first page, Ten Kate explained: "Those [words] corresponding to Dutch [cognates] have been underlined."²⁹ Subsequently, he underlined all Old English words which he considered to correspond phonologically to Dutch words.³⁰ Moreover, he wrote some Dutch cognates in the margin. Besides citations from Junius's edition of the Old English Gospels, there are no other kinds of annotations in the book, and no references to other authors.³¹ Similarly, in his copy of Somner's *Dictionarium*, Van Vliet also

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 232.

²⁸ Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1497 D 15.

²⁹ "NB. Cum Belgicis quæ congruunt lineolam habent inscriptam".

³⁰ Under A are underlined: *aac, abacan, abacen, abal, abannan, abanned, abannende, Abbad, abbod, abbodesse, abbud, abbudisse, abedan, abeden, abegendlic, abelgan*, etc.

³¹ In his interleaved version of the 1642 reprint of Kiliaan's *Etymologicum* (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ltk 92), Ten Kate also added annotations, which have not yet been investigated. In the beginning of the book Ten Kate made a list of the works he consulted,

added Dutch cognates to Old English words to prove an etymological relationship, although he was much less consistent than Ten Kate, and less clear about his aim.

I would like to make it quite clear that Van Vliet's achievements in the field of comparative Germanic scholarship are in no way comparable to those of Lambert ten Kate, nor is there any evidence to support that Ten Kate's etymological principle of similarity of sounds is in any way attributable to Van Vliet's observations in VO. However, there is a distinct similarity in the way both men responded to the work of Francis Junius. Apparently, what remained unsaid by Junius was nonetheless present in his work. The works of both Van Vliet and Ten Kate reveal that Junius selected his cognates on a basic similarity of sound, which was extrapolated by Ten Kate as his principle of *gelijkluidendheid*. Jan van Vliet's work teaches us that Ten Kate was not only one of the founders of new linguistics as Verburg put it,³² but that he also functioned as a catalyst between the work of Francis Junius and later developments.

3. 't Vader ons

In the second half of the eighteenth century, comparative Germanic philology in the Netherlands—as in England—was at a very low ebb, and out of touch with developments abroad. Reproduction and consolidation replaced the originality and cosmopolitanism of the previous century. In other fields of philology, significant progress was made. As a result of the work of the newly founded *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1766), there was an increase in the study and publication of Middle

which does not include Van Vliet. On p. 3^v of the interleaves Ten Kate referred to Junius's introductory letter to the trustees of Leiden University in the *Observationes*, [π2^v–π5^r], in which Junius voiced his objections against the very 1642 reprint of Kiliaan's *Etymologicum* that Ten Kate was using. Ten Kate clearly agreed with Junius that the replacement of the etymological information by French translations was a disadvantage: “dog wat de toepassing van auctus en nuttighejd van den ouden druk voor enen geleerden betreft, met regts heeft Fr. Junius F.F. in zijn *Observationes* in Willeramii Abbatis Francicam Paraphrasin Cantici Cantorum in de opdracht digt bij 't eijnde, zijn ongenoegen aldus geuijt. Nunquam certe defuere...”. [however, as far as the application of *auctus* and the usefulness of the original edition for a scholar are concerned, in his *Observationes* in Willeramii Abbatis Francicam Paraphrasin Cantici Cantorum Francis Junius F.F. justly vented his displeasure close to the end of the dedication as follows: *Nunquam certe defuere...*]

³² Verburg, 437–438.

Dutch texts. Innovative work on the study of Greek was done by a group of scholars who have been termed the *Schola Hemsterhusiana*, after Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685–1766), professor of Greek, first at Franeker and later at Leiden. Although the methodological principles of the *Schola* took root among scholars of Dutch,³³ this did not have much effect on the study of Old Germanic languages in a comparative perspective. However, a lack of dynamism does not imply that there was no activity.

The lawyer and magistrate Johannes Steenwinkel (1754–1814)³⁴ published a collection of *Taalkundige Mengelingen* ‘linguistic miscellanies’ in 1781, in which he paid special attention to the relation between Middle Dutch and Gothic.³⁵ In addition to his own observations, Steenwinkel included a Dutch translation of the dissertation of the Swedish scholar Andreas Malmenius (1758), enlarged with annotations.³⁶ In another essay, entitled *Verhandeling over de gemeenschap der Gothische en Nederduitse taal*,³⁷ Steenwinkel added a number of Gothic texts with translations and comments, some of which he derived from VO, although he did not know who its author was:

As a second addition I have added the Lord’s Prayer, Mary’s Song and Simeon’s Song. Each with a literal translation and a Dutch one. It should be mentioned that I have taken the translation of the *Lord’s Prayer* from a rare book, entitled *’T Vader Ons in xx oude Duijtsche en Noordse Taelen met d’ uitleggingen*. Whoever the writer or the publisher of this work might be is unknown. Although it is without place or date, according to Johannes Ihre it was printed in Dordrecht. (See his first dissertation on the Codex Argenteus). After the translation of the *Lord’s Prayer* the unnamed author also added several comments which I will also communicate to the appreciative reader in the following pages.³⁸

³³ Jan Noordegraaf, “From Greek to Dutch: The Schola Hemsterhusiana and the Study of the Mother Tongue...”, in *Linguistics in the Low Countries: The Eighteenth Century*, Roland de Bonth and Jan Noordegraaf eds. (Münster, 1996), 33–56.

³⁴ On Steenwinkel, see *BWN*, xvii, 982–983.

³⁵ See De Buck, 81–92, for Steenwinkel’s work on Middle Dutch. Van de Velde, *Studie ...Gotisch*, 305–330, comments on Steenwinkel’s work on Gothic in the *Taalkundige mengelingen*, and I am much indebted to him for my information about Steenwinkel.

³⁶ Johannes Steenwinkel, *Taalkundige mengelingen uitgegeven onder de zinspreuk “linguae patriae excolendae amore”* (Leiden, 1781), 75–157.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 217–270.

³⁸ “Als eene tweede bylage heb ik hier nog bygevoegd het Onze Vader; den Lofzang van Maria en den Lofzang van Simeon. Alle met eene woordelyke en Nederduitse vertaling, omtrend welke man dit moet opmerken, dat ik de vertaling van het Onze Vader genomen heb uit zeker zeldzaam voorkomend boekjen, ten tytel hebbende: ’T VADER ONS

Steenwinkel then printed the Lord's Prayer, Mary's Song, and Simeon's Song with Van Vliet's translations,³⁹ followed by a presentation of alphabets in Gothic, Old English and runes, which are strongly reminiscent of Van Vliet's presentation in VO, especially the combinations of the runes.

In the same book, Steenwinkel reprinted almost entirely the text of Van Vliet's commentary on the Lord's Prayer in Gothic, which he entitled: "remarks and explanations of some words from the Lord's Prayer by an unknown author", and related to his comments on p. 290 of his book.⁴⁰ For no apparent reasons, he omitted Van Vliet's comment at the end of the explanation of *weihnai* in which Van Vliet referred directly to Junius. In footnote (b), he quoted Van Vliet's entry on *dæghwamlīcan* from the comments on Old English.⁴¹ In other footnotes, Steenwinkel also commented on Van Vliet's observations, but these comments are of little value. His criticism was limited to occasional remarks, and formed no real step forward in the development of Gothic scholarship.

In the long-standing tradition of language comparison with the help of collections of paternosters,⁴² Van Vliet's *Vader ons* continued to play a role as a source of texts. The first to make use of the book in this way was John Chamberlayne (1666–1723), who published a collection of paternosters in Amsterdam in 1715, entitled *Oratio Dominica in diversas omnium fere linguas versa*. The book was supplied with a preface by David Wilkins (1685–1745), an English philologist and polyglot of

in xx oude Duijtse en Noordse Taelen met d' uitleggingen. Wie de schrijver of uitgever van dit werkjen zy, is onbekend; doch, het zoude, schoon zonder plaats- of jaartekening zijnde, volgens het schrijven van Jo. Ihre te Dordrecht gedrukt zijn. (Zie zyne Dissert. I. de Cod. Arg.) Achter de overzetting van het Onze Vader zijn ook nog eenige aantekeningen door de ongenoemden schryver gevoegd, die ik den liefhebbers ook in 't vervolg zal mededeelen"; Steenwinkel, 290. Steenwinkel referred to Johannes Ihre, *Analecta Ulphilana...* (Uppsala, 1769), 25: "...& Anonymi T' *Vader ons* in xx oude Duytse en Noordse Taelen [sic], qui libellus dum sub prælo sudabant Evangelia Gothica Junii, Dordrechtii prodiit". [by an anonymous [author] 't *Vader ons* in xx oude Duytse en Noordse Taelen. This book appeared in Dordrecht, while Junius's Gothic Gospels were being printed.]

³⁹ Steenwinkel, 290–297, 298–303, 304–305.

⁴⁰ "Aanmerkingen en uitleggingen eeniger woorden op het Onze Vader door eenen onbekenden Schryver [z. blz. 290]"; Steenwinkel, 373–386.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 378–379; VO, 13–14.

⁴² Adelung's five volume study of paternosters from all corners of the world (1806–1817), which was appropriately entitled *Mythridates ...in bey nahe fünf-hundert Sprachen und Mundarten*, was reprinted in 1970, while in 1988 Siegfried Heinemann published his *Oratio Dominica Romanica: das Vaterunser in den romanischen Sprachen...* (Tübingen, 1988), which also contains a survey of Renaissance publications of collections of the Lord's Prayer; *ibid.*, 15–19. It does not include Van Vliet.

Prussian origin, who was well versed not only in Germanic languages, but also in Oriental languages.⁴³ Wilkins erroneously attributed VO to Francis Junius. Several versions of the Lord's Prayer in the *Oratio Dominica* originate from VO, although Chamberlayne does not acknowledge them all.⁴⁴

In 1732 VO was used for the same reasons by Isaac Le Long in his *Boek-Zaal der Nederduytsche bybels* (1732). Le Long was also of the opinion that Francis Junius had written VO.⁴⁵ Just as Ten Kate had done, Le Long quoted from Van Vliet's introduction for information about the Codex Argenteus, and he also copied the Lord's Prayer in Gothic and Scots.⁴⁶ He also intended to copy Van Vliet's representation of Camden's version of the Lord's Prayer from the Lindisfarne Gospels, but cited Van Vliet's contemporary English glosses instead.⁴⁷

4. Frisian proverbs

In his *Verhandeling over de Eigennamen der Friesen...* (Franeker, 1774), the Franeker professor Everwinus Wassenbergh edited and translated Van Vliet's entire list of Frisian proverbs from the *Bredaesche almanac, and chronijck*. However, Wassenbergh did not acknowledge his indebtedness to the *Bredaesche almanac*, or to its author, and left both unmentioned:

We do not know if these proverbs, which were supplied to us by a cultured friend who is skilled in languages, and which we have somewhat elucidated, have been published by anyone else. They are uncommon at the least, and

⁴³ Chamberlayne, *4^v - *****2^v. On Chamberlayne, see *DNB*, x, 8–9. On Wilkins, see *DNB*, LXI, 260–261.

⁴⁴ "eam cum aliis Orationis Dominicae Editionibus ex Fr. Junii descripsi"; Chamberlayne, *** **1^v. [I have copied it with other published paternosters from Francis Junius] The texts that Chamberlayne derived from VO are on p. 53: Gothic; p. 54: *Runice*, for which Van Vliet's runes were copied exactly; p. 55: *Anglo-Saxonice. Soplice*, which was omitted by Van Vliet, is added as *sothlike*; p. 61: *Franco-Theotisce ex Tatiano*; p. 66: *Belgice ex vetustis Codd*. This version is exactly the same as the one Van Vliet derived from "Nicolaes de Winter". Chamberlayne claimed to have received it from Franciscus Burmannus; p. 69: *Islandice*; p. 71: *Anglice*; p. 72: two further Middle English versions. In the second specimen Chamberlayne copied Van Vliet's transcription mistakes from MS Junius 29; see above, p. 156, fn. 219.

⁴⁵ Le Long, 69.

⁴⁶ Le Long, 53, 54, 70. This version was copied by Adelung, II, 338, no. 206, who classified it as *Englischer Dialect in einigen Schottischen Provinzen*. He added that it originated from *Franc. Junii Vader Ons in xx oude Talen*.

⁴⁷ Le Long, 56.

although some correspond to those that are used today, many can be characterized as genuinely Frisian, which is why we have given them a place here.⁴⁸

In his *Toelage van eenige oude Friese spreekwoorden met derselver opheldering*, Wassenbergh altered the spelling of Van Vliet's proverbs without reference to the 1641 edition. Van Vliet's changes and emendations remained unnoticed by Wassenbergh, who, in turn, adapted Van Vliet's spelling to contemporary Frisian.⁴⁹ For instance, where the Franeker edition of 1641 read *Ick mot mey mijn pong to ried gaen* 'I have to consult my purse', Van Vliet changed it into *Ilck mot mit sin ponge to ried gaen* 'each person has to consult his purse'. Wassenbergh then modernized Van Vliet's version into *Eltz moat mejj sijn ponge tea ried geân*. It seems unlikely, therefore, that Wassenbergh ever consulted the 1641 edition.

A new annotated edition of Van Vliet's list of proverbs, this time with full acknowledgement, was published in 1812 by the Breda lawyer, Jakob Hendrik Hoeufft, and reprinted in 1815. Hoeufft, who was the first to realize Van Vliet's authorship of both *'t Vader ons* and the *Bredaesche almanac*, and *chronijck*, declared himself an enemy of plagiarism, but in trying to protect Wassenbergh, wrote:

In [the same book] I was reminded of the collection of old Frisian proverbs, previously published by this professor in addition to his treatise on Frisian names as an extra. Reviewing these [proverbs], I was amazed, to find that they were exactly the same as the ones in the *Bredasche almanack*. The professor's uncertainty whether or not they had been published before was entirely cleared up by my discovery.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ "Of deze Spreekwoorden, ons door een' geletterden en taalkundigen Vriend medegedeeld, en van ons eenigzins opgehelderd, door iemand anders zijn uitgegeeven, weten wij niet. Zij zijn, voor het minst, niet in ieders handen, en schoon zommige met de algemeen en hedendaagsch gebruikelijke overeenkomen, hebben egter veele het merkteken, datze egte Friesche zijn, waarom wijze hier een plaats vergunnen"; Everwinus Wassenberg, *Verhandelingen over de eigennamen der Friesen met ses bijlagen daertoe betrekkelijk en eene toelage van Friesche Spreekwoorden* (Franeker, 1774), 85.

⁴⁹ Wassenbergh, 85–94.

⁵⁰ "In dezelve werd ik herinnerd aan de Verzameling van Oude Friesche Spreekwoorden, door dien Hoogleeraar, te voeren, achter de uitgave van deszelfs Verhandeling over de eigen namen der Friezen, als eene toegift, geplaatst. Welke was, dezelve herziende, mijne verwondering, te bevinden dat dezelve, zonder een meer of minder, dezelfde waren, die de Bredasche Almanack bevattede! De onzekerheid, waar in de Hoogleeraar verkeerde, of dezelve bevoorrens, al, of niet, waren uitgegeeven, werd, door deeze mijne ontdekking, geheel opgehelderd"; Hoeufft, *Taalkundige aanmerkingen*, iv–v.

5. Concluding remarks

Van Vliet's influence on the study of Old Germanic languages in the eighteenth century is very small. After his death in 1666, his Germanic studies were soon all but forgotten. The main items of his studies, the *Ormulum*, his copy of the incunable edition of the Frisian Land-laws, and some of his notes were sold to England, while the rest of his books and papers became dispersed after the auction. Van Vliet's name continued to be associated with the dedication to Magnus de la Gardie in Junius's *Gothicum glossarium*, but his authorship of VO remained unknown, even though he explicitly mentioned it in the dedication.⁵¹ Nonetheless, it is evident that, throughout the eighteenth century, copies of VO continued to circulate among philologists. Most readers noted its close association with Junius; some even considered Junius to be the author, which provided the book with a certain authority. Van Vliet's preface was used as a source of information about the Codex Argenteus, which Junius himself never described. The paternosters and the etymological commentary in VO were copied by authors such as Steenwinkel and Le Long, who were much indebted to their predecessors, but who contributed little to the progress of Old Germanic scholarship. Scholars like Hickes and Ten Kate, who based their achievements on Junius's exploratory studies, published works in which it is possible to recognize Van Vliet's ideas, but there is no evidence that such correspondences originate from their consultation of VO. Instead, it is more likely that similar conclusions were drawn from Junius's work. Until well into the nineteenth century Van Vliet was known best as an editor and author of Latin verse. That this successful Latinist had also been a pioneer of Old Germanic scholarship had been almost lost to posterity.

⁵¹ See Junius, *Gothicum glossarium*, **2^r: "Vide Glossar. suis locis; & mea, si lubet, annotata ad Orationem Domini XX. linguis editam". [See the Glossarium; and if you please, my annotations to the published paternosters in twenty languages.]

CHAPTER EIGHT

RETROSPECT

1. *Humanism*

The comparative study of Old Germanic languages as pursued by Van Vliet and Junius in the third quarter of the seventeenth century was firmly rooted in a long tradition of humanist scholarship. Its method drew on the basic humanist concept of textual studies and the resulting interest in humanities which flourished in the Low Countries during the first century after the foundation of Leiden University. The varied nature of humanist studies allowed an interest in Old Germanic languages, albeit a subsidiary one, to arise within the domain of academic scholarship. As a result of this interest, several Leiden professors incorporated Old Germanic languages in their work. Some of these scholars worked on Old Germanic languages as part of their general philological studies, while others used them in historical works, or published texts and glossaries. Various academic disciplines, such as history, law, theology and comparative language studies, which had provided fertile ground for the interest in Old Germanic languages in the sixteenth century, continued to play a role in the seventeenth century. The humanist method was the common denominator for all of these subjects. In many ways, there is a direct connection between the humanism of such men as Erasmus, Vives, Lipsius, and Scaliger and the study of Old Germanic languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The approach to texts, the search for ancient manuscripts, the belief that the oldest stages of the language preserved the most authentic forms, the idea that the past could function as an example to the present, in short, the need to go *ad fontes* to produce the ultimate truth, are all aspects of the humanist legacy which were applied to the study of Old Germanic languages. In this humanist tradition, this study did not stand alone, but formed part of an all-encompassing description of world history, which was the ultimate aim of the humanist scholar. In the seventeenth century, this tradition was still very much alive and formed the background for a favourable intellectual climate in which the study of Old Germanic languages as well as of other non-classical languages was undertaken by a flourishing international scholarly community.

2. Words

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the emphasis in Old Germanic scholarship shifted from the study of texts to the study of words. This does not mean that the study of words was something new. Inventories and explanations of words had been a major aspect of onomastics, toponymy, chorography, history and law, and in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there were various attempts to compile dictionaries. However, at the same time the main publications in the field of Old Germanic scholarship had consisted mostly of editions of texts and glosses. This changed in the second half of the seventeenth century. Meric Casaubon, Olivarius Vredius, William Somner, Francis Junius, Thomas Marshall, Jan van Vliet, and, somewhat later, George Hickes all published studies on Old Germanic languages which were not text editions.¹ The importance assigned to words added an extra dimension to the study of Old Germanic languages. In the past, the emphasis had been largely on the text as a source of information for religious, historical, and legal purposes. However, in their comparative studies, Junius and Van Vliet added the function of the text as a store of words. Van Vliet's Old Germanic studies, as well as those of Junius, are therefore word-centred. This resulted in an emphasis on lexicography and etymology. Van Vliet epitomized this in his phrase: "the knowledge of words and names is the principle of all good teaching".² Although words had always been an important factor in humanist language studies, the role of the word became more prominent in the seventeenth century, as a result of an international educational and philosophical movement that argued for a form of language that would allow international communication, unhindered by national language boundaries. These ideas, which were developed in England, became part of the strong wave of cultural exchange between England and the Low Countries in the middle of the seventeenth century. As a result of this exchange, the principles formulated by Francis Bacon and

¹ This does not suggest that editions of Old Germanic texts were not published during this period: see for example Boxhorn, *Prima religionis Christianae rudimenta...*; Junius, *Observationes*, Junius and Marshall, *Quatuor D.N.J.C. evangeliorum versiones...*. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, the work of the Oxford Saxonists occasioned the publication of various Old English texts; see Adams, 179.

² VO, a1^r. See above, pp. 293–294.

furthered by the Royal Society were first put into practice in England and the Netherlands.³ Whereas in many parts of Europe a more traditional humanism was still going strong, both in England and the Netherlands the empirical ideas of Bacon and the Royal Society were gaining a foothold. In the Netherlands, traditional humanism and Bacon's empirical ideas converged, and resulted in a form of humanism termed "*Real-Humanismus*",⁴ causing the Netherlands to become an "*Eldorado der Gelehrsamkeit*". Both Van Vliet and Junius were part of this *Eldorado*, and their works form a reflection of this very favourable intellectual climate. The philosophical ideas behind the movement in search of a universal language are recognizable as an inspiring force in the works of both Van Vliet and Junius. These ideas concern the true nature and original meaning of words, which they considered a direct product of God's creation and hence an unambiguous reflection of their original signification. Therefore, the movement that argued for a universal language, and especially the philosophical ideas that formed its basis, had an effect on the course of Old Germanic studies in the Netherlands after 1650, in that it changed the basic questions that formed the reasons for such studies. Certain practical implications of this movement, such as the investigations into the emblematic nature of signs or practical schemes for a universally applicable set of characters, have no bearing on Old Germanic studies.

A distinction has to be made between Baconian empiricism and the movement in favour of a universal or philosophical language. Although I believe that both movements were relevant to the Old Germanic studies of Van Vliet and Junius, their effects have to be considered carefully. The influence of Baconian empiricism on Old Germanic studies is visible in the practical nature of the works of Van Vliet and Junius. In spite of many preconceived ideas, there is a clear tendency towards a more data-oriented approach. As a result, the Old Germanic language studies pursued by Van Vliet and Junius produced substantial methodological innovations. These innovations are most clearly recognizable in the works of Junius, whom I consider to be the main link in the transfer of Baconian empiricist ideas to Old Germanic language studies. Van Vliet's many English intellectual contacts may have been an important reason for his being the first to adopt Junius's method and ideas. Van Vliet's studies, like those of Junius, aimed at acquiring knowledge of the vocabulary of various Old

³ Gunter E. Grimm, "Muttersprache und Realienunterricht...", in *Res publica literaria...*, Sebastian Neumeister and Conrad Wiedemann eds. (Wiesbaden, 1987), 299–300.

⁴ Grimm, 300.

Germanic languages, and of the etymological relations between these languages. Lexicography was the main instrument for collecting data, and therefore formed an important basic component of their studies. Junius had unambiguously stressed that the first step in the process of understanding ancient languages constituted an inventory of the vocabulary of such languages. In Van Vliet's work, many glossaries of various length, albeit on a small scale, show the implementation of this idea. They afford, in the words of Swiggers: "a glimpse into the philological kitchen",⁵ which is difficult to obtain from large-scale published works. An additional reason for Van Vliet and Junius to put so much effort into collecting data was that many of their sources were largely uninvestigated, and existing glossaries were, if anything, selective and often defective. Even Somner's Old English dictionary represented only a part of the Old English vocabulary. Collecting words was therefore not an aim in itself, but a part of a deliberate attempt to understand Old Germanic languages, and to provide the tools for further etymological studies. Since the study of words was equated with the study of language to a major extent, it can be concluded that in the works of Van Vliet and Junius, Old Germanic languages became detached from the texts and an object of study as such. By adopting this data-oriented approach seventeenth-century scholars made an important contribution to the development of Old Germanic language studies.

3. *The vernacular*

The importance assigned to the study of the vernacular languages was also an important motivation for Van Vliet and Junius to study Old Germanic languages. This holds good for Dutch as well as for English. In England, in particular, the use of Latin declined in favour of English.⁶ In the Netherlands, Latin continued to be the most important vehicle for scholarly communication until well into the eighteenth century. However, in both countries, important changes in attitude towards the vernacular were taking place, related to processes of standardization. Both Junius and Van Vliet were very favourably inclined towards contemporary English, because, for them, it was closely related to Dutch. In Junius's case this even

⁵ Swiggers, "Reflections on (Models for) Linguistic Historiography", 28.

⁶ Salmon, *The Study of Language*, 130.

resulted in an etymological dictionary of the English language. However, Dutch was their mother tongue, and therefore the pivot of their Old Germanic studies. In different ways, and independently of each other, both Van Vliet and Junius made public their strong feelings about Dutch in 1655, when Van Vliet wrote a letter to Nicholas Heinsius partly in Dutch, and Junius voiced his preferences in the preface to the *Observationes in Willeramii*. Their favourable attitude towards Dutch was not the only motivation for their Old Germanic language studies, but it was clearly a strong impetus to them to pursue further investigations into the origin of the vernacular. Old Germanic language studies therefore constituted an integral part of the contemporary means of expressing a positive language attitude towards Dutch, something which has hitherto remained unnoticed. The notion that comparison of languages could improve the understanding of the vernacular had already been expressed half a century earlier by Kiliaan (1599). However, where Kiliaan explained vernacular words with the help of other languages and dialects in his *Etymologicum*, Junius added the notion that this type of study could positively enrich the Dutch vernacular.⁷ The idea that investigations into the origin of Dutch words and the establishment of their etymologies could help to enrich and expand the *ubertas*, or the power of expression of the language, was new. It was related directly to the wish to refine the Dutch language and raise its status, since the vernacular had always been unfavourably compared to Latin and Greek because it lacked this very quality. Their diachronic approach ran counter to most other attempts to solve this problem, which had concentrated on the study of contemporary grammar. As the power of expression depended mostly on words, Junius and Van Vliet were both advocates of the production of a new and exhaustive etymological dictionary (an *exgeticum*) of Dutch, and their work on etymology functioned as a first impulse to such a work.

⁷ During the same time there was a movement in England which favoured the use of 'Saxon' words instead of words of French (Norman) origin. See Irène Simon, "Saxonism and the Hard-Word Dictionaries", *Revue des langues vivantes* 26 (1960), 411-420; —, "Saxonism Old and New", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 39 (1961), 687-735, who discusses the implications of this 'Saxonist' movement in relation to seventeenth-century English lexicography.

4. *From the Batavian myth to the Gothic myth*

Van Vliet and Junius can be distinguished from earlier scholars working on the comparison of languages in that they limited the scope of their work to the Germanic languages. Other languages were only considered only in so far as they were relevant to Germanic studies. A second innovation is that their approach is not only Germanic-centred, but also embraced the entire Germanic language family. No earlier scholars had worked on etymology which took all Germanic languages into consideration.

Two languages had hitherto received hardly any attention: Gothic and Frisian. Including Gothic in regular comparative Germanic studies was a very original accomplishment. The only precedent of any significance had been Bonaventura Vulcanius's *De literis* (1597). This step would prove to be one with far-reaching consequences. Not only did Gothic itself develop into one of the most important objects of Germanic philological scholarship in the next two centuries, but it continued to exist as the *matrix* of the Germanic languages until well into the eighteenth century. Their study of Frisian founded a tradition of Old Frisian philology which is still going strong. Although the affinity between Frisian and English had been a commonly held belief from the Middle Ages onwards,⁸ actual investigations into Old Frisian texts only started when Junius and Van Vliet began to incorporate Old Frisian material into their work. As a result of their efforts, the study of Old Frisian also gained a modest footing in England. Thomas Marshall included Frisian comments in his *Observationes* on the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels (1665), and his countryman George Hickes considered the Old Frisian manuscripts in Junius's library worth mentioning in his *Catalogus librorum septentrionalium*.⁹

Van Vliet underpinned his description of the paradigm of Germanic languages with fragments from early medieval history. There is no reason to assume that he made a distinction between peoples and languages, which were generally considered to be insolubly connected. As the progenitors of all Germanic tribes, he pictured the Goths, who spread the seeds of both their people and their language as they migrated from

⁸ See Bremmer, "Late Medieval...Opinions".

⁹ Hickes, *Institutiones grammaticae*, 178.

Scandinavia to the Black Sea. His opinions on Dutch became evident when he described the influence of the Anglo-Saxon language by way of the Frisians and migrating Saxons, and of the Franconian language by Franks crossing the Rhine in 422 AD. He considered Dutch to be an amalgamation of Anglo-Saxon and Franconian, and hence he must have expected the Dutch to originate from these two Germanic groups. Although Van Vliet did not deny the existence of the Batavians, who had played such an important role in the onset of Dutch identity in the sixteenth century, he neither attempted to explain their place in history nor did he mention their traditional significance as heroic ancestors of the people of Holland and Gelderland. Instead, he replaced the Batavian myth by what I will call the Gothic myth, in which the part of heroic ancestors formerly played by the Batavians was filled by the ancient Goths, who peopled a Germanic world which reached from Scandinavia to Africa and from Scythia to Spain, and who vanquished the Roman Empire. In his dedication to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie he described them as equal, if not superior, to the ancient Greeks, although it has to be taken into account that he wrote this poem for a Swedish audience. Junius shared Van Vliet's views, and established the supremacy of Gothic over the other Old Germanic languages by attributing qualities to Gothic which had until then been assigned only to the so-called *linguae sacrae*. Although their ideas about the Goths were not entirely original—they echoed Hugo Grotius's introduction to the *Historia Gotthorum, Vandalorum et Langobardorum* (1655)—Junius's *Gothicum glossarium* and Van Vliet's dedication to Magnus de la Gardie glorified the reputation of the Goths and their language, as the illustrious ancestors of most, if not all, Germanic tribes and languages. From then on, the possibility of tracing the national origin back to the Goths to some extent replaced the emphasis in Holland on the Batavian origin. This is reflected by the efforts of Ten Kate and Steenwinkel to establish the close connection between Dutch and Gothic. Similarly, George Hickes declared that English derived from Gothic, which he supported in his publications by a strong emphasis on Gothic grammar.

5. Knowledge, views, and theories

In terms of the historiographical taxonomy of knowledge, views, and theories,¹⁰ the Old Germanic language studies pursued by Van Vliet and Junius cover primarily the first element. Acquisition of knowledge not only appears from the collection of data, but also from their etymological studies, in which the comparison of large numbers of synchronically and diachronically related examples served to determine the original signification of a word. Methodologically, this type of etymological study remained a *historia*, a subject of lengthy dictionaries, in which no systematic elements were perceived which could lead to paradigms. The resulting views were partly based on the accumulated data, but partly still depended on historical information. The most striking and new view was the model of Germanic languages as a separate language family, which was paradigmatically connected with Greek and Scythian via its progenitor. This view was original, and of lasting importance. Other traces of original views appear in the etymological method. The opinion that many examples of attestations of a lemma are necessary to distil its intrinsic meaning—a viewpoint which derived from Gerard Vossius, but which was first applied to Germanic languages by Junius—had never before been part of Germanic studies. Junius tacitly applied certain generalizations of phonological phenomena to his selection and juxtaposition of cognate forms, and these generalizations were made explicit by Van Vliet in *'t Vader ons* and, to a certain extent, in his planned edition of Frisian Proverbs. Neither Van Vliet nor Junius extrapolated any theories from their views. Their ideas about Old Germanic languages therefore remained strictly those of the seventeenth century. It was left to later scholars like Hickes, and especially Ten Kate, to formulate rudimentary theories from the views they expressed. Nonetheless, as a result of the activities of Van Vliet and Junius in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, Old Germanic language studies moved from the domain of text to the domain of language, from the study of one Old Germanic language to the study of all, and from speculation to observation: an important step forward.

¹⁰ Swiggers, "Reflections on (Models for) Linguistic Historiography", 23–24.

APPENDIX ONE¹

INVENTORY OF VAN VLIET'S CORRESPONDENCE

1. *Letters by Jan van Vliet*

00 00 00 – Van Vliet, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer

Quid iis quas proxime ad te dedi

o: UB M 623, 387²

00 00 00 – Van Vliet, to Wilhelm Crommon

Itaque dum aliquid, quo ardentis in amicitiam tuam

m: U UB Hs 856

37 00 00³ – Van Vliet, Leiden, to Gerard Vossius Jr., [Amsterdam]

Proposueram jam, Amicissime Juvenis, te invisere

o: UvA B.85: e

37 07 27 – Van Vliet, [The Hague/Leiden], to Gerard Vossius Jr., Amsterdam

Hac igitur occasione atque etiam rogo

o: UvA B.85: a

37 09 24 – Van Vliet, Leiden, to Gerard Vossius Jr., [Amsterdam]

Jam prope secundus mensis, quod neque a te neque ad te

o: UvA B.85: b

38 04 28 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Gerard Vossius Jr., [Amsterdam]

Longum, Jupiter, silentium.

o: UvA B.85: c

¹ Abbreviations used in this inventory are: **o:** original copy; **c:** copy; **i:** imprint; **m:** minute. The libraries referred to are: **BL:** London, British Library; **RUL:** Leiden, University Library; **UB M:** Munich, University Library; **UvA:** Amsterdam, University Library; **KB:** The Hague, Royal Library; **Bodl.:** Oxford, Bodleian Library; **Codex Vindob. Palat.:** Hofbibliothek Vienna; **RvB:** 's-Hertogenbosch, Rijksarchief, Raad van Brabant; **Breda, GA:** Breda, Gemeentelijk Archief, **U UB:** Utrecht, University Library, **LA:** London, Lambeth Palace Library. Dates and places between brackets are my own.

² I have seen the correspondence between Van Vliet and Gronovius only on microfilm. The distinction between original, minute and copy is based on the inventory by P. Dibon, H. Bots and E. Bots-Estourgie, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Johannes Fredericus Gronovius (1631–1671)* (The Hague, 1974).

³ After October 1637.

39 06 30 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Gerard Vossius Jr., [Amsterdam]
Sextus hic labitur dies, Amicissime Juvenis

o: UvA B.85: d

[40] 00 00 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Paris
Monsieur, Vos courtoises sont trop grandes

o: KB 121 E 1

40 00 00⁴ – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Postquam heri ultro, solo comite Jardinio

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 354

40 10 00 – Van Vliet, [The Hague], to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Altera, Heinsi Suavissime, volvitur Hebdomada

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 275; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 693

41 03 29 – Van Vliet, Newcastle, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Jam eo provecti sumus, Animose Heros

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 276; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 694

42 04 11⁵ – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Pomponium Melam, si commodum tibi fuerit, generose Heinsi

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 277; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 695

4[2] 06 28 – Van Vliet, Paris, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Nunquam hactenus conscientiae melius meæ satisfacere memini

o: UB M 623, 346–347

42 08 12 – Van Vliet, Angers, to Rochus Hoffer, Paris
Antiquae fidei Sodaliumque Oblitus modo ne cui viderer

o: Koninklijk Huis Archief G 15–4483

42 12 13 – Van Vliet, Angers, to Rochus Hoffer, [Paris]
Literas tuas, vero melle conditissimas, Mellitissime Hoffere,

o: Koninklijk Huis Archief G 15–4484

43 06 01 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Eodem, quo ad meos salvus redii die

o: UB M 623, 348–349

⁴ “Die nonis 1640”.

⁵ Boot, “Johan van Vliet”, 284, dated this letter 1645.

- 43 07 01** – Van Vliet, Katwijk, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Livium Gruteri, si apud vos est, bajulo huic
 o: RUL Bur F 8 [1]
- 43 07 10** – Van Vliet, *Santoburg ad Rhenum*,⁶ to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Candide mecum agis, quod juri tuo, quod in me summum habes
 o: UB M 623, 350–351
- 43 09 12** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Il y a plus de trois mois, que je vous respondi
 o: UB M 623, 352
- 43 10 22** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Quia te agrotare sermo est, et certissimo meo dolori
 o: RUL Bur F 8, [2]
- 44 02 01** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Ut ingenue fatear, Optime Heros, ego non hoc ago
 o: UB M 623, 354–355
- 44 02 25** – Van Vliet, [The Hague], to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Salutem, inquam, tibi plurimam ex animo precor.
 o: RUL Bur F 8. [3]
- [44 04 26]** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Eruditissimus ille tuus de sestertiis Commentarius
 o: UB M 623, 356–357; c: RUL BPL 885, [1]⁷
- 44 08 03** – Van Vliet, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Ignosce, Amicorum Optime, quod citius beneficentiam tuam
 o: UB M 623, 358–359
- 44 08 12** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Gerard Vossius, [Amsterdam]
Immemor profecto omnis beneficentiae et benevolentiam fuissem
 o: Bodl. MS Rawlinson 84G, 197^r; i: Colomesius, I, 263
- 44 10 12** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Claudius Salmasius, [Leiden]
Quo ore ut promitteres modo, eo nunc
 o: Codex Vindobon. Palat. 10093, no. 100; c: RUL BPL 1886a

⁶ Presumably *Het Zand*, a hamlet on the Rhine close to Katwijk. See *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek der Nederlanden*, XIII, 63.

⁷ Excerpts by Abraham Gronovius, who confirmed the date: “anno ut puto 1644”.

44 10 13 – Van Vliet, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer

Quin ego nunc de silentio tuo pari jure querar

o: UB M 623, 360–361; c: RUL BPL 885, [2]⁸

44 10 19 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Claudius Salmasius, [Leiden]

Quis ego sim hocce epistolio audaculis te interpello

o: Codex Vindobon. Palat. 10093, no. 99; c: RUL BPL 1886

44 11 29 – Van Vliet, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer

Non est, cur jure tuo decedas, Clarissime Virorum

o: UB M 623, 362–363

45 01 01 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer

Quid enim toties hic nobis recurrit ἐναντὸς

o: UB M 623, 364–365

45 01 24 – Van Vliet, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer

En tibi, Gronovi Praestantissime, quae inter alia

o: UB M 623, 367–368⁹

45 04 08 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden

Gratissimum, mi Heinsi, Epistolium illud mihi fuit

o: RUL Bur F 8, [4]

44 05 23 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden

Adventus mei certiozem te facio impraesentiarum

o: RUL Bur F 8, [6]

45 07 15 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer

Ergo itaque, quod prosperum vobis eveniat germen

o: UB M 623, 366

45 08 01 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Aachen

Ne ex me novi quicquam exquiras, Brunonem scito

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 278; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 695–696

45 08 28 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Aachen

Si bene ephemeridis tuae rationem inii

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 279; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 696–697

⁸ Abraham Gronovius's copy of part of this letter.

⁹ This letter contains a series of philological notes headed: "Ph. Cluverius lib. I Siliciae antiquae cap. xii".

45 09 01 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Aachen
Nisi omne mihi effugium continua benevolentia tua

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 351

45 09 05 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Aachen
Fefellerunt me Elsevirii, et ego te, mi Heinsi

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 328

45 09 08 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Literas tuas, Eruditissime, et si pro affectu loquendum est

o: UB M 623, 370–371

45 09 19 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, [Leiden]
Instante ad iter suum Elsvirio haec pauca

o: RUL Bur F 8, [5]

45 09 22 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Isaac Vossius, Amsterdam
Ambit ecce et libellus hic meus exiguum in Bibliotheca vestra locum

o: UvA III E 8, 84; c: Bodl. MS D'Orville 486, 132; c: RUL Burmannus F 11, 37, 137

45 09 26 – Van Vliet, [The Hague], to Nicholas Heinsius, Antwerp
Je me suis grandement rejouis de bon succes

o: RUL BPL 1923

45 10 11 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Quod foelix faustumque tibi mihiue sit

o: UB M 623, 372–373

45 10 17 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Paris
Quamquam omne ex voto tui tibi iter cessisse gaudeo

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 280; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 697–698

45 10 22 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Gratissimus mihi cognati tui adventus

o: UB M 623, 374–375

45 10 26 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Constantine Huygens
Quamquam omne occasione demereri, Te, musasque tuas gestiverim

o: BL MS Add. 22953, 299–300; i: Worp, *Briefwisseling*, IV, 252, no. 4196¹⁰

¹⁰ Paraphrase in Dutch.

45 11 13 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Pergratum sane fuit ex ipso te intelligere
 o: UB M 623, 376–377

45 11 13 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Paris
Dum decem circiter in castris moror dies
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 281; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 699

45 11 18 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Constantine Huygens, [Hulst]
Quasi enim videretur in ipsis castris
 o: BL MS Add. 22953, 301; i: Worp, *Briefwisseling*, IV, 259, no. 421¹¹

45 11 20 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Paris
Negligenter nimis apud te, Heroum genus
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 282; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 699–701

[46] 00 00 – Van Vliet, [The Hague], to Nicholas Heinsius, Paris
Heros Praestantissime. Nisi omni modo vices meas
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 284; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 701–702

46 01 01 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Nec frigus, nec occasio haec, nec humanitatis tuae
 o: UB M 623, 378–379

46 01 25 – Van Vliet, [The Hague], to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Vicisti tandem, Vir Praestantissime, ignaviam illam meam
 o: UB M 623, 380–383

46 01 30 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Paris
Quod hactenus ad te scribere distulerimus Wallius
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 286; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 702–705

46 02 06 – Van Vliet, [The Hague], to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Παραπεμπλὶκὸν λόγον tantem diuturno vexatus desiderio
 o: UB M 623, 384

46 02 28 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Paris
Orbis delictum. Nae tu brevi responso literarum mearum
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 288; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 705–706

46 03 23 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Paris
Orbis deliciae politioris. Binis tuis quod simul respondeam
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 290; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 707–708

¹¹ Paraphrase in Dutch.

- 46 03 28** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Alter excurrit mensis, ex quo nihil a te habui literarum
 o: UB M 623, 385–386
- 46 04 25** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Etsi tempus non suppetebat, nec novi quicquam suppetebat
 o: UB M 623, 388–389
- 46 05 16** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Pro iis quae in Seneca tuo mecum communicasti
 o: UB M 623, 390–391
- 46 06 29** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Venice
Etiamne in Galiis haeres, Heinsi Suavissime, quem dudum
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 292; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 708–710
- 46 08 23** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Pridie Idus Sextiles (quem diem, quia inaugurationis Scholae
 o: UB M 623, 392–394
- 46 09 10** – Van Vliet, [The Hague], to Nicholas Heinsius, Florence
Unicas tuas, postquam Lugduno abiisti, nec uno
 RUL Bur F 6 b, 293; Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 710–714¹²
- 46 10 22** – Van Vliet, [The Hague] to Andreas Rivetus, [Breda]
Poemation hoc, quod ex ipso Inaugurali die
 i: Anon., *Inauguratio*, 219, 228¹³
- 46 11 05** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Florence or Rome
Quintum nunc ad te scribo, Amicorum Praestantissime
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 296; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 714–717
- 46 11 26** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Non tibi ergo noster, sed tabellario irascor
 o: UB M 623, 395
- 46 12 10** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Tuas VIII Kal. Decembr. datas hodie jamprimum accepi.
 o: UB M 623, 396–397

¹² A Latin poem entitled *Ad Nicolaum Heinsium cum, incerta valetudine profectus, Florentiam salvus advenisset, Farrago Phaleucia* is appended to this letter.

¹³ Due to an error in the pagination.

- 46 12 31** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Aliud agens, obiter tamen rationem tibi reddendam
 o: UB M 623, 398–399
- 47 01 12** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Rome
Heros Maxime. De adventu in eam urbem, unde merito
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 298; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 717–719
- 47 01 12** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Daniel Heinsius, Leiden
Ita est, ut praedixi, Vir Illustris: Stipites Romanos
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 253; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, II, 481
- 47 01 19** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, [Deventer]
Gaudeo tanti nomen tibi meum visum
 o: UB M 623, 400–401
- 47 02 28** – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Quod hactenus nihil responderim, adversa mea
 o: UB M 623, 402–403
- 47 03 31** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Rome
Heros Nobilissime. Quantas injurias contumeliaque nuperrime
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 301; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 720–721
- 47 04 01** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Recte sensisti, Vir atque amicorum meorum
 o: UB M 623, 404–405
- 47 04 11** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Rome
Heros Praestantissime. En quas a Gronovio tibi promisi literas
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 303; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 722–723
- 47 07 30** – Van Vliet, Den Emer, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Mitto tibi Gronovi Praestantissime, Quinquatrus meas
 o: UB M 623, 406–407
- 47 09 26** – Van Vliet, Den Emer, to J.F. Gronovius, [Deventer]
Dudum est, quod occasionem mihi dari optaverim
 o: UB M 623, 408–409
- 48 03 19** – Van Vliet, [Den Emer], to Nicholas Heinsius, Milan
Nihil profecto me felicius, mi Heinsi, qui post
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 305; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 723–724

- 48 12 13** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Nunc libet exclamare, Estis io! Superi, qui Heinsiadem
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 306; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 724–727
- 48 12 31**¹⁴ – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Itane totus hic elabatur annus, ut nullas a Gronovio meo
 o: UB M 623, 410–411
- 49 01 07** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Heros Praestantissime. Agnosco mehercule antiquum illum
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 308; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 727–729
- 49 04 30** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Nihil mihi multo tempore gratius fuit literis tuis
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 327
- 49 05 18** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Jam soluturus nauta vestras rogat, an aliquid sit
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 356
- 49 06 22** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Ut diutius silentio indulgeam, non patitur tua illa
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 309; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 729–730
- 49 06 22** – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Multa, quae me a justa accusatione tua excusarent
 o: UB M 623, 412
- 49 08 03** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Pergratum mehercule mihi fuit, Amicorum Praestantissime
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 310
- 50 01 25**¹⁵ – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Cum cogito, quantum me semper amaveris
 o: UB M 623, 413–414; i: Kinschot, *8¹⁶
- 50 01 27** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm
Euge, Heros Praestantissime, quod omnia isthic ex rebusque tuis cedant.
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 224–225; i: Kinschot, *6¹⁷

¹⁴ “Dabam ultimo die anni 1648 Breda”. Dibon *et al.*, 159, date this letter 00–00–1648.

¹⁵ Dibon *et al.*, 184, read *VII Kal. Quint.* instead of *VII Kal. Febr.*

¹⁶ Excerpt.

¹⁷ Excerpt.

50 07 31 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer

Prodiit tandem in lucem (quem potius fuerat

o: UB M 623, 415–416

50 07 31 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm

Ex quo amplexu nostro & in Sueciam te subduxisti

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 311; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 730–731

50 10 31 – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer

Hagae cum essem et opportune in affinem tuum inciderem

o: UB M 623, 417–418

50 11 29 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm

Tandem ergo Claudianum tuum videre licuit, mi Heinsi!

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 312; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 731–733¹⁸

51 01 24 – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer

Quas III Eid. Novemb. praeterito anno ad me dedisti

o: UB M 623, 419–420

51 02 13 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm

Quas ad me Eidibus Novembr. Gregor. anni superioris

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 313; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 733–736

51 05 01 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden

Quod quidem per literas dudum fecissem

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 357

51 05 09 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden

Quanta mihi dividiae fuerit, tam vicinum et contiguum

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 358

51 06 06 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Raad van Brabant, [The Hague]

Geeft eerbiedelijck te kennen Mr. Johan van Vliet

o/c: RvB 952, [1]

51 06 11 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden

Etsi quidem, si unquam, nunc maxime in hoc civitatis nostrae

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 315; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 736–737

51 07 06 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden

O vanas et inanes spes ac cogitationes meas

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 352

¹⁸ This letter includes a Dutch poem beginning: *Ter eere van het Vreugdevier*.

- 51 07 10** – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Jam puto succenses, mi Gronovi, si non mihi
 o: UB M 608, 182–183
- 51 07 15** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Simulac suavissimas illas tuas acceperam VII. Id.
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 316; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 737–738
- 51 08 15** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Raad van Brabant, [The Hague]
Gezien bijden Requirant copije der rescriptie
 o/c: RvB 952, [2]
- 51 09 13** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Constantine Huygens, [The Hague]
Indignus sim tot acceptis a te beneficis
 o: BL. MS Add. 22953, 303–304; i: Worp, *Briefwisseling*, IV, 137–138, no. 5211¹⁹
- 51 09 18** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Paris
Etsi equidem hactenus ignorem, ubi nunc terrarum agas
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 317; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 739–740
- 51 10 04** – Van Vliet, Breda, to David le Leu de Wilhem, The Hague
Postquam novissimas meas ad Illustrem Affinem tuum
 o: RUL BPL 293 A, [1]
- 51 10 31** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Rome
Jamdudum, quo loco viveres, ab omnibus, in quos incidebam
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 318; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 740–741
- 51 12 05** – Van Vliet, [Breda], to Nicholas Heinsius, Florence
Tertium jam ad te scribo, mi Heinsi, ex quo abes.
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 320; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 741–742
- 51 12 05** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Tertium et ultimum jam ad te scribo postquam novissimas
 o: UB M 623, 421–422
- 52 01 12** – Van Vliet, London, to Nicholas Heinsius, Florence
Ex quo in Angliam trajecimus, nihil mihi suavius fuit
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 321; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 742–743

¹⁹ Summary in Latin.

- 52 01 26** – Van Vliet, London, to Constantine Huygens, The Hague
I should be much wanting to me self and to those duties
 o: RUL Hug 37, 1; i: Bachrach and Collmer, 14–15; i: Worp, *Briefwisseling*, v, 137–138, no. 5211²⁰
- 52 02 23** – Van Vliet, London, to Constantine Huygens, The Hague
Quod gratissimas et praeter meritum meum
 o: RUL Hug 37, 2²¹
- 52 03 28** – Van Vliet, Westminster, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Dum ego, in nova hac provincia mea, quotidie Latias dedisco litteras
 o: UB M 623, 423–424
- 52 05 08** – Van Vliet, Chelsea, to Nicholas Heinsius, Rome
Tertias a te, dum hac in gente moramur, recepi heri
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 322; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 743–744
- 52 11 08** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Florence
Pertinax sane nimis indignumque amicitia nostra silentium
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 324; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 745–746
- 53 02 05** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Florence
Jam alteras subsicive ad te parabam, Heinsi Praestantissime
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 326; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 747–749²²
- 53 04 04** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Peropportune heri affinem tuum Tennuylium obvium habui
 o: UB M 623, 425–426
- 53 05 27** – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Cum in procinctu starem, quo tertio hoc vere Hagam peterem
 o: UB M 623, 427–428
- 53 06 22** – Breda, Van Vliet, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer
Ex quo novissimas meas XXVI Maji die ad te per affinem dedi
 o: UB M 623, 429–430
- 53 08 10** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden
Quam jucunda mihi sit dieculae istius tecum novissime
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 329; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 749

²⁰ A summary in English and Dutch.

²¹ Worp, *Briefwisseling*, v, 137, fn. 3, no. 5211a.

²² This letter contains a Latin poem beginning *Qui modo tres habui*, and an Italian sonnet entitled *Sonnetto Alla Virtuosa Signora, la Signora Isabella Arsenia*.

53 09 01 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden

Si vales, noster amor, gaudemus.

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 353

53 09 06 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden

Qua quidem prece Epistolii hujus meliorem absolverim

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 330; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 750–751

53 09 16 Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden

Quanto gaudio nos frustratus sis, cum Dordraco

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 355

53 10 27 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Leiden

Sed quo abripitur stilus, epistolam non carmen exorsus

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 354; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 751–754²³

53 11 30 – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Deventer

Nisi jam nos ex diuturna consuetudine quodammodo convenisset

o: UB M 623, 431–432²⁴

53 12 01 – Van Vliet, [Breda], to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm

Quas Hamburgo ad me candoris affectusque plenissimas dedisti

o: RUL Bur F 6 B, 331; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 754–755

54 01 27 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

Nae dat ick gisteren voor de middagh alhier

o: Breda GA I-1a-226, [1]

54 01 30 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

Sedert mijn jongste van 27. deser

o: Breda GA I-1a-226, [2]

54 08 22 – Van Vliet, Antwerp, to Isaac Vossius,

Quandoquidem vel obtento eundem mihi est collo

o: UvA III E 9, 187; c: Bodl. MS D'Orville 469, 287; c: RUL Burmannus F 11, I, 360

54 09 07 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Isaac Vossius, [Antwerp]

Tametsi summe occupatum e senatu me evocarit Grevius

o: UvA III E 9, 189; c: Bodl. MS D'Orville 469, 289

²³ To this letter, the *Ode προπεμπτική ad Cl. Henricum Bornium* is attached.

²⁴ With six lines of Latin verse, beginning: *Absit hinc procul.*

54 11 17 – Van Vliet and Jakob Drabbe,²⁵ The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

Nae dat wij door Godes hulpe op den 12. deses alhier

o: Breda GA I-1a-226, [3]

54 11 20 – Van Vliet and Jakob Drabbe, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

In vervolginge van onse jonghste gedaene advertentie

o: Breda GA I-1a-226, [4]

54 11 24 – Van Vliet and Jakob Drabbe, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

Sedert onse voorgaende van den 20. deser

o: Breda GA I-1a-226, [5]

54 11 24 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm

Ex quo in Sueciam appulisti, unicas tantum a te habui

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 336; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 757-758

54 11 27 – Van Vliet and Jakob Drabbe, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

Tot continuatie van onse jonghst gedaene advertentie

o: Breda GA I-1a-226, [6]

54 12 01 – Van Vliet and Jakob Drabbe, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

Hoewel wij sedert onsen jongsten vanden 27

o: Breda GA I-1a-226, [7]

54 12 04 – Van Vliet and Jakob Drabbe, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

Uwe Ed: aengenaem antwoord vanden 2. deser

o: Breda GA I-1a-226, [8]

54 12 08 – Van Vliet and Jakob Drabbe, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

Nadat wij het voorgevallene alhier

o: Breda GA I-1a-226, [9]

²⁵ Some letters from The Hague are also signed by Jakob Drabbe, the *Buitenburge-meester* 'mayor representing the council outside the town'. However, all of these letters are in Van Vliet's hand and signed and sent by him.

54 12 11 – Van Vliet and Jakob Drabbe, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

Hoewel wij tegenwoordig hier gepresseerd zijn

o: Breda GA I-1a-226, [10]

55 01 31 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm

Quas tu anno jam elapso, mense Novembri ad me dedisti

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 337; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 758–760

55 04 20 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm

Ick sal by desen een aanvangh maken van 't geene ick lange gedreyght

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 339; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 760–761

55 06 22 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm

Est ita, ut scribis, mi Heinsi, imo plus etiam quam scribis

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 340; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 761–762

56 03 12 – Van Vliet and Jakob Drabbe, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

Nae dat de Griffier (vermits het onstuimig weder)

o: Breda GA I-1a-227, [18]

56 03 16 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Jakob Drabbe, The Hague

Wij hebben uwer E. schrijven vanden 15. deser

o: Breda GA I-1a-227, [17]

56 04 03 – Van Vliet, Breda, to David le Leu de Wilhem, The Hague

Tametsi jam aliquamdiu scholastico pulvere

o: RUL BPL 293 A, [2]

56 08 30 – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Amsterdam

Est sane, ut scribis; non vere tantum, sed & jucunde

o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 342; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 762–763

57 01 01 – Van Vliet, Breda, to David le Leu de Wilhem, The Hague

Jamdudum puto, vidisti, Vir Amplissime, apologiam meam

o: RUL BPL 293 A, [3]

58 08 27 – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda

Nae dat de principale saecke

o/c: Breda GA I-1a-228, [1]

- 58 09 09** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Christiaan Huygens, The Hague
Verbis dedisti, acceperamque ego verbis
 o: RUL Hug 45, 513; i: Huygens, *Œvres complètes*, II, 214–216, no. 513
- 58 09 25** – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Leiden
Quod dudum enim certatim præoptavimus, Amicissime Gronovi
 o: UB M 623, 433–436²⁶
- 58 09 26** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, The Hague
Quam jucunda mihi consortii vestri & eruditorum sermonum memoria sit
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 343; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 763–764
- 58 09 29** – Van Vliet, [Breda], to Lodewijck/Christiaan Huygens, The Hague
En vobis tandem oden meam, jam dudum vobis
 o: RUL Hug 45; i: Huygens, *Œvres complètes*, II, 230, no. 521²⁷
- 58 10 06** – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Leiden
Literas tuas, nil nisi mel merum, veteremque amorem
 o: UB M 623, 437–438²⁸
- 58 10 08** – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Leiden
En tibi paucis monumentis hæc iterum in chartam conjeci
 o: UB M 623, 439–441.²⁹
- 59 01 01**³⁰ – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Leiden
Si Elegiam meam, Caeciliam Bredanam inscriptam
 o: UB M 623, 442
- 59 01 11**³¹ – Van Vliet, Breda, to Edward Hyde
Collegii nostri Musici lusus, quos Domino tuo
 c: Bodl. MS Clarendon 59, 391

²⁶ Including a poem beginning *Qui modo tres habui*; another poem entitled *Ad amicos Hagienses et Leidenses ode* is appended to this letter.

²⁷ A poem entitled *Jani Vlitii ad amicos Hagienses et Leidenses ode* is appended to this letter; it is included in Huygens, *Œvres complètes*, II, 231–235, as a separate letter, no. 522.

²⁸ A poem entitled *Jani Vlitii J.C. Ad. Clariss. et Politissimum Virum Johannem Fredericum Gronovium, Cum in alma Batavorum Academia Græcarum literarum et historiarum professionem rite ac feliciter auspicaretur, Elegia* is appended to this letter.

²⁹ A slightly different version of the poem attached to the previous letter is appended to this one; it contains many marginal annotations.

³⁰ Dibon *et al.*, 303, date this letter 1659, without date or month. However, in the letter Van Vliet stated explicitly that it was the first day of the year.

³¹ This letter was brought to my attention by Marika Keblusek; it is catalogued under the name of Heenvliet.

- 59 02 28** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Constantine Huygens, The Hague
In Poemata Belgica Illustris Zulechemii Domini
 o: RUL Hug 37, [3]³²
- 59 04 05** – Van Vliet, Breda, [no addressee], [The Hague]
Universis et Singulis Praefectis Praetoribus, Praesidibus
 m: Breda GA 1-1a-228, [2]
- 59 06 10** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
Ick ben dese dagh wederom soo moede gelopen
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-228, [3]
- 59 06 14** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
D'apostille, die ick verhoopt hadde
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-228, [4]
- 59 06 15** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
Ingevolgen Uwere Ed. Achtb. aenschrijven
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-228, [5]
- 59 07 26** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Isaac Vossius
Jamdudum gratissimis tuis respondiſsem, Virorum Maxime
 o: UvA III E 9, 229; c: Bodl. MS D'Orville 469, 394-395; c: RUL
 Burmannus F 11, I, 377
- [59] 12 07**³³ – Van Vliet, Breda, to J.F. Gronovius, Leiden
Politissimam Orationem tuam, Vir Amicissime, ut summo cum
 o: UB M 623, 443-446³⁴
- 60 02 17** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
Nae dat de Heeren Burgemeester
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-228, [6]
- 60 02 20** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
Zedert dat wij onse voorgaende opden 17. deser
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-228, [7]

³² A Latin poem. It is not included as a letter in Worp, *Briefwisseling*.

³³ The content of the letter indicates that the year is 1659. Moreover, Van Vliet mentions his forthcoming visit to The Hague, which took place in the next weeks.

³⁴ A poem entitled *Jani Vlietii ad Incomparabilem Virum Casparum Gevartium Epistola* is appended to this letter.

- 60 02 24** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
Nae dat wij (volgens onse jonghste advertentie
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-228, [8]
- 60 02 24** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
...of niettemin buyten ons aller verwachten
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-228, [9]
- 60 02 27** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
Zedert onse twee voorgaende, d'ene door de bode
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-228, [10]
- 60 03 02** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
Nae dat wij opden 28. der voorleden maendt
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-228, [11]
- 60 04 23** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, The Hague
Quod me parario, Optimo Regum te notum charumque reddere volueris
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 345; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 765-766
- [60] 04 26** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Adriaan van Nispen
Binas a te, Nobilissime Nispen fateorque, pudetque
 o: KB 121 E 3
- 60 07 23** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, The Hague
Quod insalutato te, ut & reliquis, quos Hagae habebam, amicis
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 344; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 764-765
- 60 12 10-14** – Van Vliet, Westminster, to Nicholas Heinsius, The Hague
Hoccine est aequi in amicum Judicis
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 346; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 766-767
- 61 06 8/18** – Van Vliet, London, to the Town Council, Breda
Wij hadden gehoopt onse affaires alsnu tot een goed eijnde
 o/c: Breda GA 1-1a-229, [1]
- 61 10 05** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Christiaan Huygens, The Hague
Itane aequum fuit Ludovicum nostrum insalutatis amicis
 o: RUL Hug 45; i: Huygens, *Œvres complètes*, III, 356-357, no. 903
- 61 11 11** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
Zedert mij voorgaende van de 8.
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-229, [2]

- 61 11 15** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
Hoewel ick volgens mijn jongste schrijven
 o: Breda GA I-1a-229, [3]
- 62 01 25** – [Van Vliet, Breda], to Christiaan Huygens, The Hague
Iterum ad te, ceu sachram ancoram, confugio
 o: RUL Hug 45; i: Huygens, *Œvres complètes*, III, 15–16, no. 958; i: Boot, “Nog iets over Van Vliet”, 322–323; i: Corstens, 129³⁵
- 62 01 27** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm
Ex quo Anglia redii, nulla mihi prorsus ad te scribendi data fuit occasio
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 348; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 768–769
- 62 05 29** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm
Quid enim minus tibi respondere possum, rerum dulcissime
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 349; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 771–772
- 63 00 00** – Van Vliet, Dordrecht, to Andreas Colvius
Rev: Pl. atque Πολιτικωτάτω, Viro Naturae universae
 o: RUL PAP 2
- [63] 03 07** – Van Vliet, Dordrecht, to Isaac Vossius
Quam legis, a Vlitio multam dictura S.
 o: UvA III E 10, 219; c: Bodl. MS D’Orville 470, 42³⁶
- 63 05 22** – Van Vliet, Dordrecht, to Isaac Vossius, [The Hague]
Uwer Ed. beleeftheyt is voorwaer al te groot
 o: UvA III E 10, 218; c: RUL Burmannus F 11, II, 24^v
- 63 06 06** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Christiaan Huygens, Paris
Non ignarum te esse Praestantissime Hugeni
 o: RUL Hug 45; i: Huygens, *Œvres complètes*, IV, 352–355, no. 1120
- 63 08 21** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Isaac Vossius, The Hague
Nobilis quidam, qui Principi nostro a stabulis est,
 o: UvA III E 10, 215; c: Bodl. MS D’Orville 470, 45; c: RUL Burmannus F 11, II, 25^v
- 63 10 31** – Van Vliet, Breda, to Christiaan Huygens, Paris
Humanitas semper tua tanta erga me,
 o: RUL Hug 45; i: Huygens, *Œvres complètes*, IV, 421–423, no. 1160

³⁵ Corstens’s edition is followed by a translation.

³⁶ This letter is in verse.

- 63 11 08** – Van Vliet, The Hague, to the Town Council, Breda
Nae dat ick seer spoedighlijck opden 5. deser voorzegde middagh
 o: Breda GA I-1a-228, [4]
- 64 09 10** – Van Vliet, *Brabantium Trinacriae*, to Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm
Gaudeo magnopere non totum me tibi, Suavissime Heinsi, excidisce
 o: RUL Bur F 6 b, 772; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 772-773
- 65 03 01** – Van Vliet, Dordrecht, to Isaac Vossius, The Hague
Quid enim gratus laetiusque mihi accid[ere] possit
 o: UvA III E 10, 211; c: Bodl. MS D'Orville 470, 49; c: RUL Burmannus F 11, II, 27

2. Letters to Jan van Vliet

- 00 00 00** – J.F. Gronovius, [Deventer], to Van Vliet
Per mihi fuit jucundum participem fieri lectionum tuarum
 m: UB M 608, 190
- 00 00 00** – A. vander Dries,³⁷ to Van Vliet, Breda
...missie vanden 17. vanden voorleden maendt
 o: Breda GA I-1a-227, [13]
- 00 00 00** – Christiaan Huygens [The Hague], to Van Vliet, [Breda]
Molestissimis negotiorum litiumque a quibus me
 o: RUL Hug 45; i: Huygens, *Œvres complètes*, II, 268-269, no. 544
- 00 00 00** – J.F. Gronovius, [Deventer], to Van Vliet
Processus Mos scrinianos et bene evenire volo
 m: UB M 608, 192³⁸
- 39 07 09** – Gerard Vossius Jr., [Amsterdam], to Van Vliet, [The Hague]
Quod hactenus responsum ad literas tuas distulerim
 m: UvA B 90
- 41 07 09** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, Paris
Equidem gratum est, Ornatissime Vlitii, quod hominis tui
 o: UB M 608, 143

³⁷ Unidentified correspondent.

³⁸ A fragment of a letter.

- 43 06 23** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Gaudeo recepisce te salvum indulum tuum
 o: UB M 608, 145
- 43 09 05** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Ornatissime juvenum, Descripseram tibi editionem Livianam Gruteri
 o: UB M 608, 146
- 43 12 29** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Nobilissime et Eruditissime Juvenis, En tibi promissi dudum
 o: UB M 608, 147
- 44 00 00** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Immodice me delectavit, utraque tua epistola
 o: UB M 608, 149
- 44 02 26** – Claudius Sarravius, Paris, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]
Non ingrata est mihi illa tua sollicitudo
 i: Burmannus, *Marquardi Gudii...epistolae*, 62
- [44] 06 22³⁹** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]
Accepi literas tuas festinatas et oenigmaticas
 o: UB M 608, 151; c: RUL BPL 885, [2]⁴⁰
- 44 11 21** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]
Ornatissime atque Eruditissime Vir, Non desino tibi mille grates debere
 o: UB M 608, 148
- 44 12 08** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Et literas tuas et folia doctissimi commentarii tui
 o: UB M 608, 150
- 44 12 15** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]
Ego vero nisi multa et politissimi tuo commentario
 o: UB M 608, 153
- 44 12 16⁴¹** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Postremas meas pro charta modulo satis prolixas
 o: UB M 608, 152

³⁹ "Prid. Id. Juny ut nos tempora putamus". From the contents of the letter, it is clear that the year is 1644. This is confirmed by Gronovius's son Abraham, who wrote at the head of his summary (RUL BPL 885): "ut puto 1644".

⁴⁰ Abraham Gronovius's copy of part of this letter: "MSS quibus usus sum in Gellio".

⁴¹ Dibbon *et al.*, 118, date this letter 12-06 in the new style.

[45] 00 00 – Isaac Vossius, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]

Accepi Cynegetica tua, Clarissime Vlitii

m: UvA VI F 30, 143

45 01 12 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague

Vota quae in hoc novi anni exordio rite

o: UB M 608, 154

45 07 03 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]

Amice Sincere, Jampridem scio ingratum esse

o: UB M 608, 155

45 08 10 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]

Quas Idibus Quintilibus dedisti, Vir atque amice

o: UB M 608, 156

45 09 26 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]

Abit Hagam Lucas Langermannus cognatus

o: UB M 608, 157

45 10 20 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]

Narro tibi mihique rem gratissimam ante diem quartum

o: UB M 608, 158

45 10 30 – Constantine Huygens, Hulst, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]

Amplissimi ad doctissimi Vir, Si qua me

c: KB KA 44, no. 386; c: KB KA 45, 137^v; c: Worp, *Briefwisseling*, IV, 245, no. 4181⁴²

45 11 25 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]

Binas tuas cum binis fasciculis ἀντιταλαντοῖς

o: UB M 608, 159–160

46 01 01 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague

An non invides mihi, quod pauculos dies Kinschotio

o: UB M 608, 161

46 02 09 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague

Tu vero perge caetera; nam bis quidem

o: UB M 608, 162

⁴² Worp gives a summary in Dutch. For Constantine Huygens's poem in praise of Van Vliet's book, see J.A. Worp, *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens...* (Groningen, 1892–1899), IV, 59.

- 46 04 16** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Accepi gratissimas binas tuas, et sincere confiteor
o: UB M 608, 163
- 46 05 01** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]
Cum videam te tam fastidiosum aedilem esse
o: UB M 608, 164
- 46 06 21** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Etiame te possident Brabanti, Vir doctissime
o: UB M 608, 165
- 46 09 04** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Jam contubescebam desiderio tuarum, quam opportune
o: UB M 608, 166
- 46 11 13** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]
Scio te mihi irasci, corculum meum, quod mihi etiam
o: UB M 608, 167
- 46 12 05** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [The Hague]
Quum tuae mihi redderentur, commodum scripseram
o: UB M 608, 168
- [47] 00 00** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Carissimum pectus, Et studio tuo et iudicio
o: UB M 608, 170
- 47 01 01** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Epithalamium tuum statim ut vidi legendo
o: UB M 608, 169
- 47 01 18** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Agnosco veterem corvorum istorum cantilenam.
o: UB M 608, 171
- 47 03 18** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Heu me quod grande et improvisum malum et celant
o: UB M 608, 172
- 47 04 08⁴³** – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague
Euge, sic malo. Semper decidere quam exsequi
o: UB M 608, 173

⁴³ Dibon *et al.*, 150, date this letter 04–18.

47 08 28 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [Den Emer]

Quum nuper in Hollandiam excursissem

o: UB M 608, 174

47 10 23 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, Breda

Non tam prolixa quam gratae fuerunt mihi

o: UB M 608, 175

49 02 13 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, Breda

Vetus est πολλὰς φιλικὰς ἀπροσηγορία διέλυσε

o: UB M 608, 176

50 00 00 – Petrus Molinaeus to Van Vliet

Vliti noster amor, politioris

o: BL MS Burney 406

50 03 01 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, The Hague

Accepi gratissimam epistolam tuam mi Vliti

o: UB M 608, 177; c: UB M 608, 178^v–179^{r+v44}

50 11 11 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, Breda

Binas tuas recte accepi. Sperabam me

o: UB M 608, 181; c: UB M 608, 179^v–180^{r+v45}

51 02 07 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, [Breda]

Et doleo excessum quamvis maturum viri de Ecclesia vestra

o: UB M 608, 185; c: UB M 608, 178^{r+v46}

52 01 23 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, London

Primas et ultimas tuarum accepi, medias quas

o: UB M 608, 184

53 10 04 – J.F. Gronovius, Deventer, to Van Vliet, Breda

Gratulor tibi, Amicissimum caput, processus illos

o: UB M 608, 186

54 02 20 – Nicholas Heinsius, Uppsala, to Van Vliet, Breda

Minus diligentem me expertus es jampridem in scribendis literis

o: RUL Bur F 6 b; i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 755–757

⁴⁴ In Abraham Gronovius's hand.

⁴⁵ In Abraham Gronovius's hand.

⁴⁶ In Abraham Gronovius's hand.

- 55 02 26 – A. Martini,⁴⁷ The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Monsieur Mon Cousin, Gisteren ontfangen
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [1]
- 55 03 05 – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, [Breda]
Monsieur Mon Cousin, Gisteren voorde middagh
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [2]
- 55 04 30 – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Des gisteren is hier wederom ter rolle
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [3]⁴⁸
- 55 05 27 – ...Lopes,⁴⁹ 's-Hertogenbosch to Van Vliet, Breda
Hierneffens gaet het
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-228, [9]
- 55 05 28 – Car. Deyvoots,⁵⁰ to Van Vliet, Breda
Deses dient to antwoorden
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [10]
- 55 06 04 – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Voorleden woensdagh voor middag
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [4]
- 55 06 05 – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Ten sedert t' sluijten ende vast
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [5]
- 55 06 11 – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Ick heb U. Ed. onlangs twee brieven geschreven
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [6]
- 55 06 17 – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Inden saecke vanden stadt tegens
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [7]
- 55 05 25 – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
In gevolge van mijne
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [8]

⁴⁷ *Procureur-Fiscaal* of the Council of Brabant at The Hague.

⁴⁸ On the back of this letter Van Vliet noted that these were "Particuliere brieven aan my rakende Stadse saken" 'private letters to me pertaining to town affairs'.

⁴⁹ Unidentified correspondent.

⁵⁰ Unidentified correspondent.

- 55 07 23** – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Dese huijden ontvangende U. Ed. schrijvendes
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [11]
- 55 07 27** – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Soo ick gisteren morgen onse deductie
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [12]
- 55 08 03** – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Uijt U. Ed. lasten van
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [14]
- 55 08 04** – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Gisteren nae middagh, t' sedert den weegh
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [13]
- 55 10 01** – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Ick hadde gehoopt den eerste
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-226, [15]
- 58 10 02** – J.F. Gronovius, Leiden, to Van Vliet, [Breda]
Sane cessavit officium scribendi, memoria et cura mutua
 o: UB M 608, 187
- 55 11 12** – A. Martini, The Hague, to Van Vliet, Breda
Nae lange poursuicte hebbe over drij dagen
 o: Breda GA 1-1a-227, [16]⁵¹
- 58 11 17** – J.F. Gronovius, Leiden, to Van Vliet, Breda
En tibi libellum, cui tuum ingenium lectorem paravit
 o: UB M 608, 188
- 59 01 07** – J.F. Gronovius, Leiden, to Van Vliet, [Breda]
Quum tua mihi reddebantur, Vir Nobilissime aliis Amplissime
 m: UB M 608, 189; m: UB M 644, 95
- [62] 00 00** – Francis Junius, to Van Vliet, [Breda]
Hactenus indulsi Claritatis vestrae desiderio
 o: LA MS 783, 246a

⁵¹ The Breda archive contains other messages to the Town Council in Van Vliet's hand, which I have not included in this inventory because they are not real letters, carrying his signature.

62 01 28 – Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm, to Van Vliet, Breda
Nae nomen tuum, mi Vlitii

i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 768

62 04 10 – Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm, to Van Vliet, Breda
Quid ni enim sic te compellem, amicorum suavissime?

i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 769–770

64 09 03 – Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm, to Van Vliet, Breda
Quantum ex Bibliopola Elsevirio intelligebam

i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 772

65 02 16 – Nicholas Heinsius, Stockholm, to Van Vliet, [Breda]
Claudianum meum tibi se stitisse laetor.

i: Burmannus, *Sylloges*, III, 773

APPENDIX TWO

VAN VLIET'S DEDICATION
TO MAGNUS GABRIEL DE LA GARDIE

Text and notes

ILLUSTRISSIMO ET EXCELLENTISSIMO
DOMINO,
D. MAGNO GABRIELI
DE LA GARDIE,
COMITI DE LECKOU ET ARENSBURG,
DOMINO IN HABSAL, MAGNUSHOFF,
ET HOYENDORP,
S. REGIÆ MAJESTATIS REGNIQUE SVE-
CIÆ SENATORI ET CANCELLARIO,
WESTER - GOTHIÆ AC DALIÆ JUDICI
PROVINCIALI, NEC NON ACADEMIÆ
UPSALENSIS
CANCELLARIO.

Magne Comes, Comitum Princeps, quo Principe tuta est,
Tutoremque suum Svedia jure colit;
Magne, cui meritum posuit Prudentia nomen,
Et præsaga Fides, fataque docta Themis.
5 Omen adimplesti nusquam nisi MAGNVS, in armis
Auxilio Regum, consilioque domi;
Hic Ducis exemplar spectabile, Judicis illic;
Virtutisque foro par in utroque decus;
[*2^v] Commissique simul vacat a moderamine Regni,
10 Non minor Aonidum gloria, duxque choro.
Inclyta Lugdunum quondam, nunc Vpsala testis,
Vpsala præsidio quam bene freta Tuo!

*Translation and notes*¹

[*2'] To the most honourable and excellent lord, Lord Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, Count of Leckou and Arensburg, Lord of Habsal, Magnus-hof and Hoyendorp, Chancellor and Senator of his Royal Majesty and the Swedish kingdom, Provincial Judge of Western Gothia and Dalia, as well as Chancellor of the University of Uppsala.²

Count Magnus, prince of counts, you protect Sweden as a prince, and Sweden justly honours its protector; Magnus, Prudentia³ gave you a well-deserved name, as did Fides⁴ who is full of foresight, and Themis⁵ who knows all fate. You have always fulfilled the prophecy by being *Magnus*: as an aid to kings in war and as a councillor in peace. Here a shining example of a leader, there of a judge; in either field you are an ornament of virtue. [*2'] And, as soon as the government of the kingdom entrusted to you leaves you time to spare, you are as great a champion of the muses⁶ and a leader of the dance. Once glorious Leiden was the spectator, but now it is Uppsala, which is putting so much trust in your support and protection.

¹ In my translation I have tried to stay as close as possible to Van Vliet's Latin text without attempting to reflect the verse. For technical reasons, I transliterated Junius's pica-Saxon into Italics and Junius's pica-Gothic into large capitals. Black letter and pica Icelandic are represented in bold. Greek accents have been faithfully retained. In translating Van Vliet's notes, I have sometimes made minor additions to compensate for his concise style. Moreover, I have expanded abbreviations where necessary. For my translations of quotations, I have copied the translations wherever possible from the dual-language editions referred to in the footnotes. Where the text in Van Vliet's version differed from these editions, I have adapted the translations. My own interpolations are between square brackets. The need for brevity has forced me to keep further references and information to a minimum. I have often referred to *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Georg Wissowa *et al.* eds. (Stuttgart, 1894–1978), and John Warrington, *Everyman's Classical Dictionary, 800 BC.–AD 337* (London, 1961), which provide ample bibliographical information. For modern information about the history of the Goths, I refer to Wolfram's *History of the Goths*.

² On De la Gardie, see *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, x, 657–680.

³ The virtue personified.

⁴ The goddess of faith; see PRA, vi, 2281–2286.

⁵ Themis was believed to be the daughter of Uranos and Gaia, and the mother of the *Moirae* or Fates. She was the goddess of justice and prophecy. See PRA, second series v, 1626–1630.

⁶ *Aonidem* refers to Aonia, a district in Boethia in which mount Helicon was situated. It was sacred to the Muses; see Warrington, 51.

- Si post tot gravium fessus molimina rerum
 Jam tamen indulges otia parca Tibi;
 15 Si studii Tibi dulcis amor, si gloria Gentis
 Tantillum, ac Pietas, demerueret moræ;
 Accipe, quæ vigilata diu Tibi JVNIVS orsa
 Texuit, antiquæ Relligionis opus.
 Accipe SVEDORVM matris primordia Linguæ,
 20 ^aVVLFILE qua GOTTHOS sacra docebat avos.
 JVNIVS huic pietate æquus, præstantior arte,
 GOTTHORVM sobolem pristina sacra docet.
 SVEDIA, felicem te prædico, Vindice tali,
 Grata, renascentes si veneraris avos.
 25 Pro stupor! & memini, quot lucubrata lucernis
 Pagina, quàm longis solibus, ista fuit!
 Nil vigil intactum, nil pernox cura reliquit,

^a *Sozomenus Eccles. Hist. lib. VI. Cap. 36. Sub Theodosio Imp. (cui Ουλφίλλας) & Jornandes Epsicopus Ravennas (tempore Justiniani Imp.) de Getarum sive Gothorum Origine Cap. LI. vocant hunc eorum Pontificem & Primatem, qui eis dicitur & literas instituisse. B. Isidorus Archiepisc. Hispal. Æra CCCCXV. Tunc GVLFILAS eorum Episcopus Gothicas literas condidit, & scripturas Novi ac Veteris Testamenti in eandem linguam convertit. Walafridus Strabo, qui sub Ludovico Pio scripsit de reb. Eccles. Vt historiæ testantur, studiosi illius gentis (scil. Gotthorum) divinos libros in suæ locutionis (quam eandem cum Theotisca facit) proprietatem transtulerunt; quorum adhuc MONVMENTA apud nonnullos habentur; haud dubie de hoc ARGENTEO COD. loquens; ut ex reliquis patet.*

If, exhausted after so many attempts to resolve serious problems, you still allow yourself a little leisure; if the love of study is dear to you; if your nation's fame and your devotion leave you a few moments, accept this work of ancient religion which Junius has compiled for you during long nightly hours. Accept the origins of the Swedish mother tongue with which (a) Ulfila taught religion to the Gothic ancestors. With equal devotion, but more superb skill, Junius teaches the ancient religion to the progeny of the Goths. Sweden, if you gratefully venerate your ancestors' rebirth, I proclaim that you will be happy with such a defender.

I remember with utter amazement how many candle-lit nights and how many long days it took to make this work. Neither by day nor by night did his care leave anything unattended; meanwhile he skilfully deciphered

a. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, book VI, chapter xxxvi,⁷ under Emperor Theodosius (from whom Ουλφίλλας) and Jornandes, Bishop of Ravenna at the time of Emperor Justinian, *On the Origin of the Getes or Goths*, chapter li, state that he was their "Bishop and Primate, who was also said to have taught them their script".⁸ The blessed Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, [states] about the year 377⁹: "Then their bishop Gulfilas composed the Gothic alphabet, and translated the Scriptures of the New and Old Testament into that same language".¹⁰ Walafrid Strabo, who wrote the *De Rebus Ecclesiasticis* at the time of Louis the Pious: "As the histories report, the learned men of this tribe (to wit, the Goths) translated the Holy Books into their particular language (which forms one [language] with Theotisc), of which some [persons] still have documents".¹¹ I have no doubt at all that he was speaking of the Codex Argenteus, as appears from the rest [of his account].

⁷ See Günther C. Hansen, *Sozomenus Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin, 1960), 294–297, in which Ulfilas occurs regularly in ch. 37. See also Patrizia Lendinara, "Wulfila as the Inventor of the Gothic Alphabet...", *General Linguistics* 32 (1992), 218.

⁸ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 688; Th. Mommsen, *Iordanis Romana et Getica*, (Berlin, 1882), 131–132. See the Charles C. Mierow, *Jordanes: The Origin and deeds of the Goths in English Version* (Princeton, 1908), 84–85. Mierow's translation is based upon Mommsen's edition and retains the latter's spelling of place-names and proper names.

⁹ *Æra* was used to denote the era beginning in 38 BC.

¹⁰ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 711; Guido Donini, and Gordon B. Ford, Jr., *Isidore of Seville's History of the Goths, Vandals and Suevi*, (Leiden, 1970), 5–6.

¹¹ See Alice L. Harting-Correa, Walafrid Strabo's "*Libellus de Exordiis et Incrementis Quarundam in Observationibus Ecclesiasticis Rerum*": A Translation and Liturgical Commentary, (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1996), 72–73. The final passage of Walafrid's report about the Goths does not refer to Wulfilas, as Van Vliet suggested.

- Dum vix conspicuas elicit arte notas.
 [*3] Haud secus Hippolyto quàm vitam ^b Epidauria fertur
 30 Restituisse, diis invidiosa, manus;
 Sic male disjunctos, sic JVNIVS ordinat artus,
 Inque suum redigit dissona membra locum.
 Depulsoque situ, plus ^c *Cimeriisque tenebris*,
 Vindicat in claram dædala texta diem.
 35 Nec tamen hic stat cura Viri; ne lubricus error
 Deviet, irradians avia cæca, cavet.
 Ignaris dux ipse viam, perque obsita sentis
 Tesqua novum pandit, ^d GnoSSIDOS instar, iter.
 Cimbrorumque rogos ^e, perque invia rudera lustrat
 40 Quicquid inaccessa Scanzia rupe legit.
 His Frisios, Celtasque, Britannis Saxonas addit,
 Quæque ^f ALRVNA illis vaticinatur anus.

^b *Æsculapius; Virgil. Æneid. VII. in fine & ibi Serv. Ovid. VI. Fastor. v. 743.*

^c *Juxta adagium, quod vide apud Erasm. Tit. cæcutientia, qui id illustrat ex Strabone & Lactantio: a Cimbris petitum, unde & hæc allusio.*

^d *Ariadnes, Ovid. Epist. X, & Metam. VIII, 180.*

^e *Inscriptiones Runicas editas Hafniæ a Cl. V. Olao Wormio.*

^f *Ea vox Tacito restituenda Cap. 8 de mor. Germ. pro Aurinia; ac Jornandi Cap. XXIV. pro Aliorumnas, quas magas mulieres patrio sermone cognominatas refert: a RUNA, (quod habet hoc Glossar. pag. 284.) & A-S. rune, mysterium. Vide & Wormii Literatur. Run. Cap. III. pag. 16 & seq.*

almost invisible characters. [*3'] Just as the Epidaurian hand, envied by the Gods, is said to have returned life to Hippolytus¹² (b), so Junius rearranges limbs in equally bad disarray, and guides the scattered parts back into place.¹³ After removing the dust and the more than Cimmerian darkness (c), he restores the artful text to clear daylight.

Yet, this man's care does not end here; he takes care not slide into error by illuminating the invisible deviations. Just like the woman of Knossos (d), this guide shows the ignorant a new way through moors strewn with briars. And through inaccessible heaps of fragments he examines the funeral piles of the Cimbrians (e) and anything he finds on a rock in inaccessible Scandinavia. To them he adds Frisians and Celts; to the Britons he adds the Saxons; anything the old woman 'Alruna' (f)

b. Asclepius; Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII,¹⁴ and also here Servius.¹⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, v. 743.¹⁶

c. According to a saying, for which I refer to Erasmus under the title *cæcutientia*, who explains it with the help of Strabo and Lactantius as derived from *Cimbris*, which explains this allusion.¹⁷

d. Ariadne, Ovid, *Epist.* x,¹⁸ and his *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 180.¹⁹

e. Runic inscriptions published in Copenhagen by the most famous Ole Worm.²⁰

f. This word has to be substituted for *aurinia* in Tacitus, *De Moribus Germanorum*, chapter viii,²¹ and in Jornandes, chapter xxiv, for *aliorumnas*,²² an expression for "women sorcerers in the ancestral language"; it

¹² On Hippolytus, see PRA, VIII, 1865–1878.

¹³ See above, p. 275.

¹⁴ H. Rushton Fairclough, *Virgil* (London and Cambridge MA), II, 54–57. The reference is to Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 761, 764, 774.

¹⁵ Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen eds. *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii* (Leipzig, 1881), I, 192–193. Servius worked around 400 AD. His main works were commentaries on Virgil and Donatus; see PRA, second series II, 1834–1848.

¹⁶ See James George Frazer, *Ovid: Fasti* (Cambridge MA and London, 1931), 376–377.

¹⁷ See Erasmus ASD 2, 4, 4, 42–45, adagium 1534.

¹⁸ Ovid, *Heroides* x, a letter from Ariadne to Theseus; see Grant Showerman, *Ovid: Heroides and Amores* (Cambridge MA and London, 1977), 120–133.

¹⁹ Frank Justus Miller, *Ovid: Metamorphoses* (London and New York, 1916), 418–419.

²⁰ Worm, *Monumentorum Danorum libri VI*.

²¹ See Allan A. Lund, *P. Cornelius Tacitus: Germania, interpretiert, herausgegeben, übertragen, kommentiert und mit einer Bibliographie versehen* (Heidelberg, 1988), 76–77, 137, who leaves this word untranslated, and reports frequent emendations by earlier editors.

²² Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 688; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 89; and Mierow, 38, who speaks of *Haliurunnae*.

- Non se in tot vertat transformia corpora Proteus,
 Quot populos linguas edocet ille suas.
- 45 O fortunatam te, SVEDIA, terque quaterque,
 Hunc modo Thesaurum si reventer habes!
 At tu successu studii gratare secundo,
 Indefesse Senex! quam petis, acta prope est.
 Blandius aspirant Zephyri tua vota ferentes,
- 50 Forsitan & votis fertiliora tuis.
 [*3ʷ] Jam tibi tranquillam se stravit Balthica Tethys:
 Jam subit Holmiacum salva carina sinum.
 Protinus appulsam MAGNVS solabitur Hospes,
 Officio, dubium, lætior, anne libro.
- 55 Forsan & ostendet cupido nova munera Regi
 Miranti varias insolitasque notas.
 Forsan & exsertis gaudens Rex comiter ulnis
 Indolis Augustæ pignora certa dabit.
 Aurea cui voveo maturent stamina Parcæ,
- 60 Quo se Rege, brevi, munera digna probet.
 Interea Hospitium, nec lautia differet ista,
 Qua magis hospitibus nulla benigna, manus.
 Teque Palatinis pluteis dignabitur Ille,
 Quo propior Regi, Principe, nemo suo est.
- 65 Vtque Illum Musæ semper fovêre, coluntque,
 Præsidio doctos non minus Ille foveat.
 Neve tot impensas noctesque diesque labori,
 Neve tot expensas præla querantur opes;
 Neu detrimentum res sentiat, Ille cavebit:
- 70 Tu modo da nitidis, da nova pensa typis.
 Seu libet *Otfrido* ^s fœdos abstergere nævos,

^s *Is Harmoniam Euangel. ad Lud. Pium. Imp. scripsit rythmis Francicis, circa ann. DCCCL.*

predicts about them. The number of nations to which he [Junius] can teach their languages exceeds the number of transformed bodies Proteus²³ can turn himself into. Sweden, as long as you reverently honour this treasury, your blessings will be manifold.

But you, indefatigable old man, rejoice in the next course of your studies, for what you have been striving for is nearly done. Zephyrus blows more flatteringly whilst he carries your wishes, and perhaps richer things than your wishes.

[*3^v] Serenely, the Baltic Tethys²⁴ already prostrates herself for you; at this time the ship approaches the bay of Stockholm unscathed. Magnus, the host, immediately makes things easy for the berthed ship; it is unknown whether he is happier about this task or with the book. Perhaps he also shows the new gifts to the eager king, who is amazed at the variety of peculiar symbols. Perhaps, the joyful king will give certain pledges of a royal kind, with outstretched arms, in a courtly manner. I hope that the Fates²⁵ will hastily spin the golden threads so that he will soon consider the gifts worthy of a king.

In the meantime, this hand—none is more benign to guests—will not postpone his hospitality and the entertainment for the guests. Since no prince is closer to his king, he will consider you worthy of the palace bookcase. As the muses have always favoured and honoured him, he no less favours scholars with his protection. He will take care that, after spending so many nights and days of work and after such expenses, the presses will not complain about the work, and that the affair does not sustain a loss. You will only have to give new work for these splendid types. Either it pleases [Junius] to wipe out the horrible stains in Otfrid²⁶ (g), or

goes back to RUNA (which is found on page 284 of this *Glossarium*), and to Anglo-Saxon *rune* 'mystery'. See also Wormius's *Literatura Runica*, chapter iii, pages 16 and following.²⁷

g. He wrote a *Harmonia Evangelica* [dedicated] to Emperor Louis the Pious in Franconian verses around the year 850 AD.²⁸

²³ A demigod living in the sea, capable of changing his appearance; PRA, xVL, 940–75.

²⁴ Thetys was Okeanos's wife. Later Roman poets used her name as a personification of the sea; see PRA, second series VI, 1065–1069.

²⁵ The *Parcae* or earlier Greek *Moirae* are goddesses of fate or allegorical representations of the duration of human life; see Warrington, 353.

²⁶ MSS Junius 17 and 80.

²⁷ Worm, *RUNIR*, 16–20.

²⁸ Otfrid von Weissenburg; see above, pp. 169–170.

- Sive polire notas, quas *Tatianus*^h habet.
 Edere ni potior *Glossaria*ⁱ *Francica* cura est,
*Anglica*ⁱ sive prius, *Saxonicumve*ⁱ placet.
 75 [*4] Hoc sibi deponat pensum MARESCALLVS^k & optet,
 Quem dubito doctus sit magis, anne pius.
 Hic quam Saxonicis operam navavit amicam,
 In reliquis tecum participare velit.
 Quæ mea jam gestit palam memorare Thalia,
 80 Illa sed ad præsens jam revocatur opus.
 Hoc opus, hic quo se bellatrix SVEDIA jactet,
 Quo venerabilior nullus in orbe, Liber.
 Hæc de tot GVSTAVE, sacris Augusta trophæis
 Portio, nec titulis inficienda tuis,
 85 Auspicio haud potuit famæ meliore sacrari,
 Non Domino reddi dexteriore manu.
 Salve ô eloqui memorabile pignus aviti,
 Quodque Lycaonio Regna sub axe colant!
 Quo toties tremuit^l Romana tonante Potestas.

^h *Hic alteram Græce, quæ circa idem tempus in sermonem item Francicum sive Theotiscum versa, amplissimeque Notis ab Autore nostro illustrata lucem, quam nondum vidit, expectat: uti & tria ista*ⁱⁱⁱ *Glossaria ab eodem ex MSS. deprompta, notisque aucta; quorum tertium, Lexici ad instar concinnatum, a Rev. Doctiss. Politissimoque V. Tho. Mareschallo atque Autori mihiq̃ue amicissimo, efflagitatur.*

^k *Cujus hic quoque notas habes in textum Gothicum.*

^l *Juxta Catonis illud, verba plus quam gladium, & voces quam manum hostes territare & in fugam vertere. Hinc Ovid. v. Trist. El. XII, 55. Omnia sunt Getici plena timore soni: & Alibi, Nomina sunt ipso pæne tremenda sono. Vide inf.*

to polish the notes in Tatian²⁹ (h); unless he would rather undertake the edition of the Franconian glossaries³⁰ (i), or prefer to do the English³¹ (i) or the Saxon³² (i) first. [*4] Marshall (k) may demand this task for himself, and let him choose it. I am not sure what is greater: his learning or his zeal. May he wish to share the benevolent service which he did to you here [in this book] in the field of Saxon also in other areas.

My Thalia³³ already longs to make this public, but she is recalled to the present work; this work, in which warlike Sweden takes pride, and which is the most venerable book in the world. Gustav,³⁴ this exalted part of so many holy trophies will not spoil your titles of honour; it could never have been consecrated to your fame with a better omen, nor returned to its lord by a more rightful hand.

Hail memorable testimony of ancestral eloquence, revered by kingdoms under the Lycaonian³⁵ sky. Whenever it thundered, the Roman Empire

h. This person [wrote] the other [Gospel harmony] in Greek, which was also translated around the same time into the Franconian or Theotisc language, and which has been illustrated with extensive notes by our author [Junius]. It has not been published yet, but its publication is now expected. The same holds true for these three glossariesⁱⁱⁱ, which the same author derived from manuscripts and provided with notes. The third of these glossaries,³⁶ arranged as if it were a dictionary, is expected from a good friend of the author and myself, the very learned and cultivated Reverend Thomas Marshall.³⁷

k. Whose notes on the Gothic text are also to be found here.³⁸

²⁹ MSS Junius 13 and 42; see above, p. 171.

³⁰ MSS Junius 116a–e; see above, p. 172.

³¹ MSS Junius 4 and 5, the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*.

³² MSS Junius 2 and 3, Junius's Old English–Latin lexicon.

³³ One of the nine muses, see PRA, second series v–1, 1204–1207.

³⁴ King Charles X Gustav of Sweden (1622–1660).

³⁵ Lycaonia, a region in the central part of Asia Minor, does not seem to have any connection with the Goths. See PRA, XIII, 2253–2265. But see Ovid, *Tristia*, III, ii, 1–2: “Ergo erat in fatis Scythiam quoque visere nostris, // quaeque Lycaonio terra sub aze iacet” ‘So then ’t was fated for me to visit even Scythia, the land that lies beneath the Lycaonian pole’; Arthur Leslie Wheeler, *Ovid: Tristia/Ex Ponto* (Cambridge MA and London, 1988), 106–107. Van Vliet's reference to the pole indicates that he meant northern Europe.

³⁶ MSS Junius 2 and 3.

³⁷ On Marshall, see above, p. 98.

³⁸ Marshall's *Observationes de Versione Gothica* in Junius, *Quatuor D.N.J.C. evangeliorum versiones*, 385–486.

- 90 Hæc domitrix rerum linguaque, gensque fuit.
 SCANZIA ^m de valido ducens munimine nomen
 Insula Codano gurgite septa jacet.
 Illa genus, genus acre virûm vacuæ intulit Arcto.
 Hinc GOTHVS ⁿ exorti, nos quoque BELGA sumus.
 95 Belgius hinc, Brennusque, ^o Sacri velut agmine Veris,
 Europæ ^p atque Asiæ maxima regna domant.

^m a Scans/ Belg. Schans/ Grot. in Prolegom. ad Procop.

ⁿ Jornand. de Get. Cap. IV. init.

^o Justinus idem referens eadem utitur phrasi lib. XXIV. Cap. V. ubi vide Berneggeri notas.

^p Livius lib. 38. Cap. 16. & sequ. De quibus Val. Flaccus lib. VI. init. Verum ego nec numero memorem, nec nomine cunctos, Mille vel ora movens: neque enim plaga gentibus ulla Ditior. Vnde apud Ovid. III. Trist. El. IV,48. male scriptum puto nomina pauca, pro rauca. Vide Jornand. Cap. IV. init.

trembled (l). This language and this nation were masters of the situation. The island of Scanzia (m) derives its name from a strong fortress, and lies surrounded by the gulf of Codano.³⁹ Scanzia brought a tribe, a tribe of keen men, into the empty North. Both Gothus⁴⁰ (n) and we Dutchmen originate from them. Belgius⁴¹ and Brennus⁴² (o) rule the greatest kingdoms of Europe (p) and Asia from here, as if [they came] from a

l. According to this line by Cato: “words rather than the sword and voices rather than the hand terrify the enemies and turn them to flight”.⁴³ Hence, Ovid, *Tristia*, v, elegy xii, 55: “All are full of fear of the sound of the Getes”,⁴⁴ and elsewhere: “through this sound the names are fearful”. See further below [l. 200].

m. From *scans*, Dutch *schans*; Grotius in the *Prolegomena* to Procopius.⁴⁵

n. Jornandes, *On the Getes*, the beginning of chapter iv.⁴⁶

o. With reference to this, Justinus, book XXIV, chapter v, uses the same remarks; see Bernegger’s notes there.⁴⁷

p. Livius, book XXXVIII, chapters xvi and following.⁴⁸ About this,

³⁹ *Codanus sinus* was a large sea basin on the German North Sea coast; PRA, iv, 159.

⁴⁰ Presumably from *Gaut*, the legendary ancestor of the Goths; see Wolfram, 37.

⁴¹ The leader of a Celtic host which invaded Macedonia in 280 BC (Βόλγιος in Pausanias); see PRA, iii, 208.

⁴² A leader of the Gauls, who campaigned against the Paeonians (Greece) in 280 BC; see PRA, iii, 829.

⁴³ Based on Plutarch’s life of Cato 28 (1): “λόγου δ’ ἀπειλῇ καὶ τραχύτητι φωνῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχρήτο, καὶ διανούμενος καὶ διδάσκων ὅτι πολλάκις τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ξίφους μᾶλλον καταπλήττεται τὸν ἐναντίον” ‘He would address the enemy with threatening words and a harsh tone of voice, correctly recognizing (and instructing others as well) that this sort of thing is often more effective than the sword in intimidating one’s adversary’; text and translation after David Sansone, *Plutarch: The Lives of Aristeides and Cato* (Warminster, 1989), 92–93.

⁴⁴ See Nicholas Heinsius, *Operum P. Ovidii Nasonis editio nova* (Amsterdam, 1652), iii, 224, whose edition Van Vliet may have used: “omnia barbariae loca sunt vocisque ferinae, // omnia sunt Getici plena timore soni”. [All places are filled with barbarism and cries of wild animals, all are filled with the fear of the sounds of the Getes] Wheeler, 254–255, has: “omniaque hostilis plena timore soni” ‘And all are filled with the fear of a hostile sound’. Both versions occur in the various manuscripts; see R. Ehwald and F.W. Levy eds., *Ovidius: Tristia, Ibis, Ex Ponto* (Leipzig, 1922), 140.

⁴⁵ See Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum, prolegomena*, 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 613; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 60; Mierow, 7.

⁴⁷ M. Bernegger, *Iustini in historias Trogi Pompeii epitomarum editio nova* (Strasbourg, 1631), 357–360.

⁴⁸ See B.O. Foster *et al.*, *Livy* (London and New York, 1919–1959), ix, 50–95.

[*4^v] At GOTHVS in parte late diffusus Eoas
 Innumeris illic gentibus autor erat.
 Hi Scythicas primi Filimero ^q Rege pruinas,
 100 Litoraue Euxini ^r perdomuere maris:
 Sauromatisque procul tota ditioe fugatis
 Cum regno linguas imposuere suas.
 Hic ubi nunc etiam, post tot fera sæcula, ^s restat
 Gotthica ^t Barbaricis mixta loquela sonis.

^q *Jornand. Cap. IV. & v. in med. ubi Filimer (i.e. valde Augustus a Belg. veel & meer) in terra Ovim (ovim Island. hostis) multas gentes subjugasse fertur. Ovid. Trist. lib. IV. El. VIII, 42.*

^r *Lib. IV. Trist. El. VIII, 42. Qua maris Euxini terra sinistra jacet.*

^s *Walafridus Strabo loco supra citato: Et fidelium patrum ex relatione didicimus apud quasdam Scytharum gentes, maxime Tomitanos, eadem locutione (Gothica sive Teutonica) Divina hactenus celebrari Officia.*

^t *Vbi Nasonis tempore Graja fuit Getico mista loquela sono. v. Trist. El. II.*

procession of holy Spring.⁴⁹ [*4^v] But Gothus wandered off widely into Eastern regions,⁵⁰ and became the creator of countless nations there. Under King Filimer (q) they were the first to overcome the Scythian frost and to subdue the coast of the eastern Black Sea (r). After driving the Sarmatians⁵¹ from their entire territory, they imposed their language on them, along with their rule. Even now, after so many uncivilised centuries, Gothic has remained here (s), mixed with barbaric (t) sounds.⁵²

Valerius Flaccus, the beginning of book VI: "Truly neither by number nor by name could I tell them all, had I even a thousand tongues, for no other region is more populous".⁵³ Hence, I think that *nomina pauca* in Ovid, *Tristia*, III, elegy iv, 48,⁵⁴ is a corruption of *rauca* 'hoarse'. See Jornandes, the beginning of chapter iv.⁵⁵

q. Jornandes, chapter iv and the middle of v, where it is reported that *Filimer* (this means 'very elevated' from Dutch *veel* and *meer*) conquered many nations in the land of Ovim (*ovin* is 'enemy' in Icelandic).⁵⁶ Ovid, *Tristia*, book IV, elegy viii, 42.⁵⁷

r. Book IV of the *Tristia*, elegy viii, 42: "In the land to the left of the Euxine sea".⁵⁸

s. Walafrid Strabo in the place cited above [note a]: "We have learned from faithful fathers' reports that even now certain Scythian peoples, especially the inhabitants of Tomis, celebrate the liturgy in that language".⁵⁹

t. Where, in Naso's time, "the Greek language was mixed with the

⁴⁹ The *ver sacrum* was the sacrifice of animals in Spring. It is compared with young men being traditionally sent out in Spring in search of land; see Wolfram, 7.

⁵⁰ *Eoas* derives from *Eos* 'Dawn', who was the mother of the four winds, and related to Helios and Selene; see Warrington, 213.

⁵¹ A tribe living north of the Black Sea; PRA, second series III-1, 1-12.

⁵² Van Vliet referred to the survival of Crimean Gothic, which had been documented by Busbecq in the sixteenth century (see above, p. 178). However, the existence of a Germanic language spoken by people in the region of the Crimea had repeatedly been referred to by commentators from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. See Macdonald Stearns Jr., 4-9.

⁵³ See J.H. Mozley, *Valerius Flaccus* (London and Cambridge MA, 194), 302-303.

⁵⁴ In Wheeler, 118-119, this is l. 50.

⁵⁵ Grotius, *Historia Gothorum*, 613; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 60; Mierow, 7-8.

⁵⁶ Grotius, *Historia Gothorum*, 613-618; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 60-61, 64. Mierow, 8, 11, has 'Oium', which Jornandes takes to be another name for Scythia.

⁵⁷ This reference was placed here erroneously, for it pertains to the next note.

⁵⁸ Wheeler, 192-193.

⁵⁹ I have adapted Harting-Correa's translation, 72-73, to the version of the text given by Van Vliet, which has *patrum* instead of *fratrum*.

- 105 Hic quoque de *Ponto* tua *Tristia*, Naso, canebas,
 Naso Tomitani fama sinistra soli.
 Qui Getico quod enim Vates sermone libellum
 Scripseris, hoc Vatem sit puduisse pudor. ^v
 Quod modo si dederis utinam superesse volumen,
 110 Non tua tanti, Ovidi, *Tristia* pæne forent.
 Adde quod immeritis crimen feritatis ^u inûsti,
 Sævitiæque ^u gravem, Barbariæque ^u notam.
 [**1'] Nil de promerita cupiam decerpere lauru,
 Dummodo pace tua vera referre licet.

^v *Lib.* IV. de *Ponto* *El.* XV,40. Ah pudet & Getico scripsi sermone libellum.

^u *Ipse lib.* V. *Trist.* *El.* VII, v. 46. vix sunt homines hoc nomine digni, Quamque lupi, sævæ plus feritatis habent. Non metuunt leges, &c. *Ibid.* *El.* XII. v. 55. Omnia Barbariæ loca sunt vocisque ferinæ. *Et El.* X. v. 28. Barbara turba, *qui mox* v. 36. stolidi Getæ, de *Ponto* I. *El.* VIII, 2. sævi; *ut & lib.* IV. *El.* VIII, 50. *El.* VI, 12. diri *Lib.* III. *El.* II. & XV, 40. & *El.* ult. 30. feri; *Alibi* infesti, & inhumani sæpius dicuntur. *Sed rectius* Marticolæ IV. *El.* XIV, 14. indomiti 1, 8, 12. *vide infra.*

You, Naso,⁶⁰ sinister reputation of the land of Tomis, it was also here that you sang of your *Tristia* about *Pontus*.⁶¹ What a shame is it that you as a poet are ashamed to have written a booklet in that Getic language? (v). If only this volume which you wrote still existed, then your *Tristia* would not be such a great achievement. Add the accusation of savagery and cruelty (u), the nasty mark of barbarity (u) with which you have branded those who did not deserve this (u). [**1'] I do not wish to pluck from your well-deserved laurel as long as you permit me to tell the truth.

Getic sound". *Tristia*, v, elegy ii.⁶²

v. Book IV of *De Ponto*, elegy xv, 40: "Ah! it brings me shame! I have even written a poem in the Getic tongue".⁶³

u. The same book v of *Tristia*, elegy vii, 46: "they are men scarcely worthy of this name; and they have more cruel savagery than wolves."⁶⁴ They do not fear laws", etc. *Ibid.*, [book v], elegy xii, verse 55: "All places are filled with barbarism and the cries of wild animals",⁶⁵ and elegy x, verse 28: "Barbarous mob",⁶⁶ which has shortly afterwards in verse 36: "stupid Getes";⁶⁷ *De Ponto*, I, elegy viii, 2: "fierce",⁶⁸ as also book IV, elegy viii, 50;⁶⁹ elegy vi, 12.⁷⁰ "fearful" in book III, elegies ii⁷¹ and xv, 40,⁷² and in the final elegy, 30: "wild".⁷³ In other places they are often called

⁶⁰ Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BC–17 AD). The works mentioned are *Tristia* and the *Epistolae ex Ponto*. For a brief discussion of these works, see Wheeler, preface, vii–xliv.

⁶¹ Ovid's place of exile was Tomis; the present-day Constanza in Rumania.

⁶² *Graja* does not occur in Wheeler's edition, 218–219, which reads: "nesciaque est vocis quod barbara lingua Latinae, // Graecaque quod Getico victa loquella sono est" 'the barbarian tongue knows not a Latin voice and Greek is mastered by the sound of Getic'. Heinsius, *Operum P. Ovidii Nasonis editio nova*, III, 212, however, has *Graja*. The adjective *grajus*, -a, -um is sometimes used for Greek, which may explain the confusion.

⁶³ Wheeler, 476–477; *Ex Ponto*, IV, xiii, 19.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 238–239.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 254–255.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 246–247.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 248, in which l. 38 reads: "et rident stolidi verba Latina Getae" 'the Getes laugh stupidly at Latin words'.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 300–301; *Ex Ponto*, I, vii.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 454–455; *Ex Ponto*, IV, viii, 84: "saevos Getas".

⁷⁰ This reference is incorrect. The only combinations of *saevus* and *Getae* are the two previously mentioned attestations.

⁷¹ Wheeler, 390–391, has *duros*. However, other manuscripts had *diros*; see Ehwald and Levy, 239.

⁷² This reference is incorrect. Wheeler, 484–485; *Ex Ponto*, IV, xv, 40: "feros Getas" 'wild Getes', and *Ex Ponto*, I, viii, 15 and 16: "ferus Getes".

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 420–421, in which "feris Getis" occurs in l. 32.

- 115 At meliora Getis vitæ moderamina Zeuta, ^w
 Et pie Zamolxes, ^w & Dicenæ ^w dabas.
 Testatur nitida numerosus Horatius ^x ode
 Castius hac quondam gente fuisse nihil.
 Testificantur idem tot sancta volumina legum,
 120 Justitiæque tenax nunc &, ut ante, vigor.
 Et Scythia Gnuriades ^y Anacharsis, Regia proles,
 Ille tuus morum, Græcia, doctor, erat.
 Quamlibet & mendax, nunquam tamen ausa negare es
 Multum a finitimis te didicisse Getis; ^z
 125 Longius egressi cum Thracia rura tenerent.¹

^w *Jornand. de Get. Cap. v. in medio.*

^w *Idem Cap. XI. toto.*

^x *Is lib. III. Carm. XXIV. Campestris melius Scythæ Vivunt, & rigidi Getæ.*

^y *Diogenes Laertius in Vita ejus.*

^z *Tatianus in Orat. ad Græcos, qua probat, quod omnia eorum studia, quibus gloriantur, a Barbaris inventa sint.*

¹ *Procopius lib. III. Gotth. versionis Grotianæ pag. 386. & lib. IV. pag. 420.*

But you, Zeuta (w), as well as you, devoted Zamolxes (w), and you, Diceneus, (w) you gave better governance to the life of the Getes. The harmonious Horace (x) testifies in a splendid ode that there was never a nation more chaste.⁷⁴ So many sacred volumes of laws, as well as their strict adherence to justice—now as well as in the old days—bear witness to this same thing. Anacharsis the Scythian (y), Gnurus's royal offspring,⁷⁵ he was the teacher of your customs, Greece. However mendacious, you would never dare to deny that you learned a great deal from the neighbouring Getes (z), when they stayed in the Thracian lands, far from their

“hostile” and “inhuman”. However, IV, elegy xiv,⁷⁶ 14, more correctly: “worshippers of Mars”; I, viii, 12: “invincible”.⁷⁷ See further below.

w. Jornandes, *On the Getes*, in the middle of chapter v.⁷⁸

w. *Idem*, chapter xi, entirely.⁷⁹

x. He [Horace], in book III, hymn xxiv: “Far better live the Scythians of the steppes and the stern Getes”.⁸⁰

y. Diogenes Laertius in his life [of Anacharsis].⁸¹

z. Tatianus⁸² in his sermon to the Greeks, in which he proves that “all of their knowledge in which they pride themselves was derived from the barbarians”.⁸³

⁷⁴ Wheeler, 200–201; Ovid, *Tristia*, IV, x, 39.

⁷⁵ Diogenes Laertes calls him the son of Gnurus and brother of Caduidas, king of Scythia; see R.D. Hicks, *Diogenes Laertius*... (London and New York, 1925), I, 105.

⁷⁶ Wheeler, 478–479, who translates ‘war-loving Getae’.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 322–323; *Ex Ponto*, II, ii, 3 and 4: “indomitis Getis”.

⁷⁸ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 616–617; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 64; Mierow, 11–12: “In their second home, that is in the countries of Dacia, Thrace and Moesia, Zamolxes reigned, whom many writers of annals mention as a man of remarkable learning in philosophy. Yet even before this they had a learned man Zeuta, and after him Dicineus; and the third was Zamolxes of whom I have made mention above”.

⁷⁹ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 626–627; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 73–75; Mierow, 21–22: “Then when Buruista was king of the Goths, Dicineus came to Gothia at the time when Sulla ruled the Romans. ... He taught them almost the whole of philosophy, for he was a skilled master of this subject”.

⁸⁰ C.E. Bennett, *Horace: The Odes and Epodes* (London and New York, 1930), 252–253. Van Vliet left out the sub-clause from the passage, which runs in full: “campestres melius Scythae, // quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos, // vivunt et rigidi Getae”.

⁸¹ See Hicks, I, 104–111.

⁸² Tatian (120–173 AD), a Syrian Church Father and the author of the *Diatessaron*, a Gospel Harmony translated into Old High German during the Carolingian period. See Molly Whittaker, *Tatian: Oratio ad Græcos and Fragments* (Oxford, 1982), ix–xvii.

⁸³ See Whittaker, 3–4: “... ἅφ’ ἐπιτήδευσε παρ’ ὑμῖν τὴν σύστασιν οὐκ ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἐκτήσατο” ‘...for which of your own practices did not have a foreign origin’.

Thrax etiam vates Orpheus ille fuit; ²
 Orpheus ille, Deum docuit qui mente colendum, ²
 Flexanima sedans ² Martia corda chely.
 Thrax Sophos * Æsopus, Phrygia ³ licet ortus, habendus,
 130 Æmulus Æsopo Thrax quoque ⁴ Phædrus, erant.
 [**1'] Hac satus evehitur Maximinus origine Cæsar,
 Suesceret ut Gothico Roma domanda jugo.

² *Virgilio Æn.* VI. 645. Treicius Sacerdos; quia & Theologus fuit; etiam homines de feris & duris composuit, *ut notat ibi Servius. Epigr. Vet. in Catal. Virgil.* Sed placidis hominum dictis fera corda mitigavit, Doctaque vitam voce temperavit, Moresque agrestes expolivit Orpheus.

* *Sic Phædro κατ' ἐξοχὸν dictus Fab. 53. & 73.*

³ *Teste enim Strabone lib. X. Φρύγες Θρακῶν ἀποικοι, Phryges Thracum coloni erant.*

⁴ *Tersissimus Fabularum Æsopiarum imitator, nuper Vpsaliæ recusus cum politiss. notis Cl. Jo. Schefferi, id de se eximie testatur in Prol. Lib. III. Ego literatæ qui sum prior Græciæ, Cur somno inerti deseram patriæ decus? Threissa quum gens numeret auctores suos, &c. quæ mellita prorsus.*

own country (1). The great poet Orpheus was a Thracian (2); this great Orpheus, who instructed how to worship God with the spirit (2), while he calmed valorous hearts with his soothing lyre (2). Although born in Phrygia⁸⁴ (3), the wise Æsop, should be considered a Thracian (*), as well Phædrus⁸⁵ (4) who tried to equal Æsop: both were Thracians. [**1^v] Originating from this stock, Emperor Maximinus⁸⁶ emerged, so that Rome became accustomed to its submission under the Gothic yoke.

1. Procopius, book III of *De Bello Gothico*, page 386 of Grotius's translation and book IV, page 420.⁸⁷

2. In Virgil, *Æneid*, VI, 645: "The Thracian priest,⁸⁸ because he was also a theologian, he even calmed men from savagery and ferociousness"; as Servius notes here in his *Epigrammata Vetera in Catal[ogo] Virgil[ii]*: "But Orpheus pacified the violent hearts of men with calm sayings; moderated their lives with a wise word, and polished their morals and rough manners."⁸⁹

*. As said by Phædrus about this great man in fables 53 and 73.⁹⁰

3. For, according to Strabo, book X: Φρύγες Θρακῶν ἀποικοί, 'the Phrygians were a colony of the Tracians'.⁹¹

4. The purest imitator of Æsop's fables, recently printed in Uppsala with sophisticated notes by the noble Johannes Scheffer, testified this about himself in an exceptional way in the prologue to book III: "Why should I, who am nearer to the literary land of Greece, through sleepy indolence fail to uphold my country's fame? Why indeed, considering that the Thracian race counts its authors", etc.,⁹² which is very pleasing.

⁸⁴ On Æsop, the legendary Greek fabulist, see PRA, VI, 1707–1719.

⁸⁵ Phædrus (Augusti Liberatus), a Roman slave of Thracian or Macedonian origin, who wrote 97 fables of the Æsopian canon; see PRA, XXXVIII, 1475–1505.

⁸⁶ Maximinus Gaius Julius Verus was Roman Emperor from 235–238 AD. Originally a Thracian shepherd, he was called Maximinus Thrax; Warrington, 340.

⁸⁷ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 386, 420; Otto Veh, *Prokop: Gotenkriege* (Munich, 1966), 652–655; 738–741.

⁸⁸ See Rushton Fairclough, I, 550–551; Virgil, *Æneid*, VI, 645.

⁸⁹ Thilo and Hagen, I, 89–90.

⁹⁰ See Ben Edwin Perry, *Babrius and Phædrus* (Cambridge MA and London, 1965, rpt. 1975), 256–257; 390–391.

⁹¹ Horace Leonard Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (London and Cambridge MA, 1917–1932), 106–107.

⁹² Perry, 256–257. Van Vliet's reading *suos*, which derives from the Pithou manuscript, was replaced by *deos* in the edition.

- In Latium cives cum deduxere Pelasgi, ⁵
 Ausoniam linguis erudiêre novis.
 135 Sed prius illi iidem ⁶ primævæ elementa loquelæ,
 Dores &, a rigidis addidicere Scythis.
 Quid? quod & haud alia distinguant voce parentes, ⁷
 Quotquot & humano corpore membra vides. ⁸
 Si qua tamen tacito mutarint sæcula lapsu,
 140 Mutatis eadem vis & origo manet.
 Ad seriem gentemque redi, mea Musa, relictam,
 Non satis ampla cui Bistonis ⁹ ora fuit.
 Hic neque prona diu stiterat Victoria cursum;
 Additur imperio trux quoque Dacca novo. ¹⁰
 145 Te neque, ¹¹ Dorpaneu, medius compescuit Ister,
 Quin superata manus Mæsia ripa daret.

⁵ *Dionysius Halicarnassensis sub fin. lib. I. & init. II. Antiq. Rom.*

⁶ *Teste Herodoto lib. I. cap. 57. ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες. &c. Vide Cl. Salmasii de Ling. Græcæ orig. cap. 1.*

⁷ *E. Gr. πατήρ, fatter; ἄττα, ATTA; Fris. haita; Μητήρ, Dor. Ματήρ moeder; Φρατῶρ Æol. BROPAR; θυγάτηρ, DAUHTAR; Belg. doghter/ &c.*

⁸ *κεφαλή, kopff/ Alam. ARMS, ab ἄρμους, Belg. arm/ KINN, B. kinne a κινεῖν. FIGGR, B. & Angl. finger/ a σφίγγειν. φελλός, FILL, B. vel. γόνυ, KNIU, B. knie. ποῦς, FOTUS, Alam. fuoz/ nunc foes. B. voet/ &c. in hoc Glossario passim obvia.*

⁹ *Thracia; quæ ita & Ovidio.*

¹⁰ *Jornand. Cap. XII init. ubi Corillum Regem XL. annos in Dacia Gothis imperasse tradit.*

¹¹ *Jornand. Cap. XIII.*

When the Greeks moved their citizens to Latium (5), they taught new languages to Italy.⁹³ But first the Dorians themselves (6) also learned elements of the ancient language from the stern Scythians. Why is it that they make no distinction at all for words denoting parents (7), and for as many parts of the human body as one can see (8). Although centuries made changes through the silent lapse of time, the meaning and origin within these changed words have nevertheless remained the same.

My Muse, return to the course and the nation you had left; for whom the land of Thracia (9) did not provide enough room. Here, the propitious victory did not halt their progress very long. The wild Dacia is also added to the new empire (10). Dorpaneus (11), the middle Danube did not hold you back either; nay, the vanquished Mæsan bank also surrendered.

5. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanæ*, near the end of book I, and the beginning of book II.⁹⁴

6. Herodotus, book I, chapter lvii, confirms: "The Pelasgians spoke a language which was not Greek", etc.⁹⁵ See Claudius Salmasius on the *Origin of the Greek Language*, chapter i.⁹⁶

7. From Greek πατήρ, *fatter*; ἄττα, ATTA; Frisian *haita*; Μητήρ, Doric Ματήρ *moeder*; Φρατῶρ Æolian BROPAR; θυγάτηρ, DAUHTAR; Dutch *doghter*, &c.

8. κεφαλῇ, *kopff*, Alamanic. ARMS, from ἄρμους, Dutch *arm*, KINN, Dutch *kinne* from κινεῖν. FIGGR, Dutch and English *finger*, from σφίγγειν. φελλός, FILL, Dutch *vel*. γόνυ, KNIU, Dutch *knie*. ποῦς, FOTUS, Alamanic *fuoz*, nowadays *foes*, Dutch *voet*, etc. occurring everywhere in this *Glossarium*.

9. Thracia, as also in Ovid.⁹⁷

10. Jornandes, chapter xii, the beginning, where it is said that "King Corillus reigned for forty years over the Goths in Dacia".⁹⁸

11. Jornandes, chapter xiii.⁹⁹

⁹³ Ausonia, the Greek name for Latium, later used for Italy as a whole; Warrington, 92.

⁹⁴ Ernest Cary, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (London and Cambridge MA, 1937–1950), I, 304–324.

⁹⁵ A.D. Godley, *Herodotus* (London and New York, 1921), I, 64–65.

⁹⁶ Salmasius, *De Hellenistica commentarius*, 5–149.

⁹⁷ Wheeler, 494, s.v. *Bistonii*.

⁹⁸ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 628; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 75; Mierow, 23.

⁹⁹ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 628; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 76; Mierow, 24: "Now after a long time, in the reign of the Emperor Domitian, the Goths, through fear of his avarice broke the truce they had long observed under the emperors. They laid waste the bank of the

Nec vos clade super, Poppæe, aut, Fusce, fuistis,
 A Victore, ducum cæsus uterque, Gotho.¹²
 Hic ubi Semideûm proles caput extulit Anses,¹³
 150 [**2'] In titulis quorum nobilis umbra manet.¹⁴
 Quid Decios¹⁵ cæsos, recidivaque Pergama¹⁶ rursus,

¹² *Id factum sub Domitiano Imp. Jornande teste ibid.*

¹³ *Jornand. ibid. & Cap. seq.* Jam procures suos, non puros homines, sed semideos, id est **Anses/** vocavere. *Belg. Hansen/ groote hansen. Vide Kil. Forte & hinc majores per Germaniam Civitates Hanse-Steden dicuntur, q.d. Ἡρωσπόλεις, ut Germ. Fursten-bergh/ i.e. Principium habitatio, vel urbs; apud Romanos Basilea; i.e. Belg. Konings-bergh/ Cæsareæ, Augustæque & Σεβαστῶν plurimæ. Vide tamen hic in. [sic] HANSA; & Loccenii Antiq. Sued. lib. II. cap. IV.*

¹⁴ **Ansegisel/** corrupte **Ansighisus**, *obses Principis; Ansfid/ ejus pax; Anshelm. ejus galea id est tutela. Answaer/ ejus custos; unde Ansuarii.*

¹⁵ *Jornand. Cap. XVIII.*

¹⁶ ¹⁷ *Idem Cap. XX.*

Neither you, Poppæus,¹⁰⁰ nor you, Fuscus,¹⁰¹ survived the defeat; both leaders were killed by the Gothic conqueror (12). Here where Anses, the progeny of demigods (13), became eminent [**2'] in titles of which the noble shadows remain (14). Why should I speak again about the slain Decii,¹⁰² (15) about Pergama,¹⁰³ destroyed once more (16), and again

12. This took place in the reign of Emperor Domitian, as Jornandes confirms in the same chapter.¹⁰⁴

13. Jornandes in the same chapter and the following: "They then named the most illustrious among them not pure humans but demigods, or *anses*."¹⁰⁵ Dutch *hansen, groote hansen*. See Kiliaan.¹⁰⁶ Hence, the most important towns throughout Germany are called *hanse-steden*, perhaps almost as if *Ἡρωσπόλεις*, like German *fürsten-bergh*, which means dwelling or town of princes; with the Romans *Basilea*, which is Dutch *Konings-bergh*, from *Cæsarea* and *Augusta*, and many *Σεβαστῶν*.¹⁰⁷ See in this book, HANSA, and Loccenius, *Antiquitatum Sued.*, book II, chapter iv.¹⁰⁸

14. *Ansegisel*, a corrupted form of *Ansigisus*, 'a prince's hostage'; *Ansfrid*, 'his peace'; *Anshelm*, 'his helmet', which means 'protection'; *Answaer*, 'his guard', hence *Ansuarii*.

15. Jornandes, chapter xviii.¹⁰⁹

16,17. *Idem*, chapter xx.¹¹⁰

Danube, so long held by the Roman Empire, and slew the soldiers and their generals. Oppius Sabinus was in command of that province, succeeding Agrippa, while Dorpaneus held command over the Goths".

¹⁰⁰ Not mentioned by Jornandes. Van Vliet meant C. Oppius Sabinus († 35 AD), who was Consular commander of Moesia under Emperor Domitian; see PRA, LXV, 744–745.

¹⁰¹ A Roman general under Emperor Domitian who defended Maesia against the Dacian leader Dorpaneus, but was killed in the fight; see Mierow, 24–25.

¹⁰² Emperor Gaius Messius Quintus Decius (201–251 AD) reigned from 249–251. Both the emperor and his son, referred to by Van Vliet as *Decios*, died in a battle against the Goths near Philippopolis in Thracia; see Wolfram, 45–46.

¹⁰³ Pergama, Greek *Πέργαμα*, was used as a poetical name for Troy. Jornandes, xx, reports about Gothic plunderings in Asia Minor in 262 or 263 AD, which included the plundering of Troy. Jornandes also reports the plundering of the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

¹⁰⁴ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 628; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 76; Mierow, 24.

¹⁰⁵ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 629–630; Mierow, 25.

¹⁰⁶ Kiliaan, *Etymologicum*, 175.

¹⁰⁷ See PRA, second series, III–1, 951–953, for a number of places named *Σεβαστή*.

¹⁰⁸ Johannes Loccenius, *Antiquitatum Sveo-Gothicarum libri tres...* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1676), 41–45. The information Van Vliet referred to is not found in this chapter.

¹⁰⁹ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 636–637; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 83–84; Mierow, 32–33.

¹¹⁰ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 639; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 85–86; Mierow, 34–35.

Latoæque ¹⁷ iterum templa cremata loquar?
 Ipse Valens ¹⁸ flammis ultricibus impius arsit,
 Victorum ¹⁹ pœnis arma probante Deo.
 155 Missus in Hesperias Alaricus ²⁰ proruit Alpes,
 Et Dominus Latio jura ducemque ²¹ dedit.

¹⁸ *S. Aur. Victor in Epit. & inde Cassiodorus in Chron. lacrimabile bellum vocant, ut & Orosius lib. VII. Cap. XXXIII. Jornand. Cap. XXVI. in cujus lemmate hæc additur causa:*

¹⁹ Valens Imp. qui eos (*Gothos*) Arriana perfidia infici curarat, divina vindicta ab ipsis comburitur.

²⁰ *Procop. Lib. I. Vandal. Vers. Grot. pag. 8. Jorn. Cap. XXIX. Oros. III. 39.*

²¹ Attalum e Senatoribus Romanis Imperatorem dixit. *Idem ibid. Procop.*

about the burnt-down temples of Lato's daughter?¹¹¹ (17) This impious Valens (18) burnt in avenging flames, while God gave his blessing to the weapons of the victors as a punishment (19).¹¹² Alaric¹¹³ is sent to the western Alps and rushes forward (20), and, as Sovereign, provided Latium

18. S[extus] Aur[elius] Victor in [his] *Epitome* and hence Cassiodorus in his chronicle call it a "lamentable war", just like Orosius, book VII, chapter xxxiii.¹¹⁴ Jornandes, chapter xxvi, who reports this reason in his heading.¹¹⁵

19. Emperor Valens, who had caused them (the Goths) to be infected with the Arian evil, was burnt by them, by way of Divine punishment.

20. Procopius, book I of *De Bello Vandalico*, Grotius's edition, page 8;¹¹⁶ Jornandes, chapter xxix;¹¹⁷ Orosius, III, xxxix.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ Van Vliet latinized Greek Λάτωα, meaning the daughter of Λητώ, Doric Λατώ, who was the mother of Apollo and Artemis. Her temples in Ephesus were destroyed by the Goths; see Warrington, 318.

¹¹² Valens, Emperor from 364–368, fought the Goths at the battle of Adrianople, where he died in battle, probably struck by a arrow; see Wolfram, 127–128. However, in line with the Christian tradition, Jornandes reported a different story about Valens's death, in which he was burnt after the Goths had set fire to the shed in which he was hiding. "Plainly", Jornandes reports, "it was a direct judgement of God that he should be burned with fire by the very men whom he had perfidiously led astray when they sought the true faith, turning them aside from the flame of love into the fire of hell"; Mierow, 43. Valens's Arian convictions were depicted as the cause of his downfall, and the Goths were regarded as the instrument of God's wrath. To any seventeenth-century reader there must have been obvious correspondences between the history of the Goths and the actions of their progeny, the Swedes, in the Thirty-Years' War.

¹¹³ Alaric I (395–470), King of the Visigoths from 395–410. On Alaric and on the migration of the Visigoths to the west; see Wolfram, 117–171.

¹¹⁴ Sextus Aurelius Victor's *De Caesaribus* provides a survey of the history of the Roman emperors from 30 BC to 360 AD. It does not discuss the death of Emperor Valens in 378, and does not mention a "lamentable war"; see H.W. Bird, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus* (Liverpool, 1994). The chronicle of Cassiodorus Senator mentions the death of Valens, but does not speak of a *lacrimabile bellum*; Th. Mommsen, *Die Chronik des Cassiodorus Senator* (Leipzig, 1861), 649. Orosius, *Historia adversos Paganos*, VII, xxxiii, 13, speaks of the lamentable war against the Goths; see Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet, *Orose: Histoire (contre les païens)* (Paris, 1991), III, 91.

¹¹⁵ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 647–648; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 93–94; Mierow, 43.

¹¹⁶ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 8; Otto Veh *Prokop: Vandalenkriege* (Munich, 1971), 16–19.

¹¹⁷ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 651–652; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 96–97; Mierow, 45–46.

¹¹⁸ This information is not in III, xxxix, but in VII, xxxix; see Arnaud-Lindet, III, 113–117.

Ducta domum soror ²² est Athaulfo Cæsaris ultro:
 Hac pax emta illi conditione placet.
 Te Zeno ²³ sobolem sibi, Theodorice, cooptat.
 160 Ne *populi Princeps* ²⁴ nomen inane feras.
 Hirsutos ²⁵ hinc Roma Patres simul utraque vidit,

²² Placidia, Honorii Imp. Germana. *Sic enim leg. in lemmate Cap. XXXI. Jornandis.*

²³ Theodoricus Ostrogotharum Rex a Zenone Imp. Romam evocatur, ab eo adoptatur, Consulatu & Equestri statua donatur. Insignia Regis Romanorum assumit. (*Scil. Italiâ jam devictâ*) *Sic habet lemma Cap. LVII. Ejusdem.*

²⁴ *Deode A-S & Diet Belg.* ΠΙΥΔΑ, *populus*; & RIK. *A-S ric, potens, princeps, ἄρχων.* Hinc Theoderic, Belg. **Dietrick.** *Vide Glossar. suis locis; & mea, si lubet, annotata ad Orationem Domini xx. linguis editam.*

²⁵ *Ovid. v. Trist. El. VII.* Non coma, non ulla barba resecta manu, *de iisdem, quos Hirsutos Getas vocat I. ex Ponto El. VI. Jornand. Cap. XI. Capillatos, quod nomen Gothi pro magno suscipientes, adhuc hodie suis cantionibus reminiscuntur. Sacerdotes a. Pileatos dixerat idem. Aimoinus de Gest. Franc. lib. I. Cap. IV. Cui (Faramundo puta, quem Crinitorum primum facit Chron. MS. Is. Vosii τοῦ πάνν) filius successit Clodio crinitus: illo in tempore Francorum Reges criniti habebantur. Late idem refert Agathias lib. I in Excerptis Grot. p. 532.*

with laws and a leader (21).¹¹⁹ Moreover, Athaulf¹²⁰ takes the emperor's sister (22) as his wife, and agrees that peace is bought on this condition. Zeno¹²¹ (23) chooses you, Theodoric,¹²² to be his offspring, so that you do not carry your name 'prince of the people' (24) on false grounds. As a result, the hairy (25) senators are seen in each of the two Romes; [**2^v]

21. "Attalus was proclaimed emperor by the Roman Senate"; see Procopius, in the same place.¹²³

22. "Placidia Germana, Emperor Honorius['s sister]"; for thus it can be read in the heading of chapter xxxi of Jornandes.¹²⁴

23. "King Theodoric of the Ostrogoths was summoned to Rome by Emperor Zeno, who adopted him and gave him a Consulship and an equestrian statue. He bestowed on himself the title of King of the Romans." (That is, after he had conquered Italy) Thus, it is found in the heading of chapter lviii of same book [Jornandes].¹²⁵

24. *Deode* in Anglo-Saxon and *Diet* in Dutch. *PIUDA*, 'people', and *RIK*. Anglo-Saxon *ric*, 'powerful', 'prince', *ἄρχων*. Hence Theoderic, Dutch *Dietrick*. See its place in the *Glossarium*, and, if you please, my annotations to the edition of the Lord's Prayer in twenty languages.

25. Ovid, *Tristia*, v, elegy vii: "neither hair nor beard trimmed by any hands"¹²⁶ about those whom he calls the "shaggy Getes" in [book] I of *Ex Ponto*, elegy vi.¹²⁷ Jornandes, chapter xi, calls them *capillatos* 'hairy':¹²⁸ "The Goths accepted this name as highly praiseworthy and they retain it in their songs to this day". He also said that priests used to be named *Pilleatos*, 'capped men'.¹²⁹ Aimonius, *De Gestis Francorum*, book I, chapter

¹¹⁹ In November or December 409 the Visigothic king Alaric forced the senate to declare the urban prefect Attalus emperor. Attalus's subsequent resistance to Alaric incited the latter to attack Rome in 410 AD. The codification of the *Lex Visigothorum* was undertaken by King Alaric II (484–507) in the Gothic kingdom in the south of France and not by Alaric I, as Van Vliet claimed; see Wolfram, 157–158; 194–197.

¹²⁰ Athaulf, King of the Visigoths from 410–415; see Wolfram, 164–167.

¹²¹ Zeno, Eastern Roman Emperor from 474–491.

¹²² Theodoric the Great (?451–526), King of the Ostrogoths; see Wolfram 262–332.

¹²³ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 8; Veh, *Prokop: Vandalenkriege*, 16–19.

¹²⁴ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 654–55; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 99–100; Mierow, 49–50.

¹²⁵ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 696; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 132–134; Mierow, 92.

¹²⁶ Wheeler, 236–237, has "trita manu" 'trained hands'.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 294–295; *Ex Ponto*, I, v, 74: "hirsutos Getas".

¹²⁸ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 627; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 74–75; Mierow, 23.

¹²⁹ See Mierow, 23, whose translation I have used. Jornandes explained that the *pillei* were tiaras which were worn by Gothic priests when they offered sacrifice.

[**2^v] Atque frequens fastis lectus in Urbe Gothus. ²⁶
 Tum quoque pars Asiam, Libyen ²⁷ pars subdidit armis,
 Ne qua esset Gothicus circulus orbe minor.
 165 Non Asiæ ²⁸ Macetas defendit adorea victæ,
 Nec te Apeninni mœnia, Roma, jugi.
 Quod si Marticolæ tot bella, tot agmina gentis
 Enumerem, numero sidera victa cadant.
 Nec mihi tot sint, Argo quot lumina, linguae,
 170 Mæoniique Senis nobile detur ebur,
 Multiplices memorem natos hoc semine fœtus,
 Semper humo prolem parturiente novam.
 Haud secus ac pingui Ceres ubere consita glebæ

²⁶ Vide *Chron. Cassiodori sub Theodosiis & seqq. Impp. & in Variis ejus.*

²⁷ *Vandali scilicet, ejusdem, cum Gothis, originis. Procop. Vandal. lib. I. pag. 12, 13. Edit. Grot.*

²⁸ *Sub Gallieno Imp. Græcia, Macedonia, Pontus, Asia vastata est per Gothos, Eutrop. lib. IX. init.*

Frequently, Goths occur in the lists of Consuls in Rome (26).¹³⁰

Subsequently, some of the Goths subjugated Asia by force of arms and another part Libya (27), so that thus the Gothic sphere was no smaller than that of the earth. The Macedonians (28) were not protected by their reputation of having conquered Asia, nor did the walls of the Appenine ridge protect you, Rome. For if I were to number all wars and all hosts of valorous tribes, their numbers might exceed the stars. Even if I had as many tongues as the Argus¹³¹ has eyes, if the noble ivory of the aged Maeionian¹³² were given to me, I would not be able to recount the numerous issue born from this seed. Just as grain planted in a fertile soil

iv: "He (namely Faramund, who is named as the first of the 'hairy ones' [Crinitorum] in the manuscript chronicle of the eminent Isaac Vossius¹³³) was succeeded by his son Chlodio the Hairy; in those days the kings of the Franks were found to be hairy".¹³⁴ Agathias refers to this in detail, in book I, page 532 in Grotius's excerpts.¹³⁵

26. See Cassiodorus's chronicle under Theodosius and following emperors, and in various other entries by him.¹³⁶

27. To wit, the Vandals. For their common origin with the Goths, see Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, book I, pages 12 and 13, in Grotius's edition.¹³⁷

28. "Under Emperor Gallienus, Greece, Macedonia, Pontus and Asia

¹³⁰ Several non-Latin names occur in Cassiodorus's chronicle. Some of these belonged to Goths, such as Ardabur (consul in 427) and his son Flavius Ardabur (consul in 434); see PRA, II, 606–610. Others originate from different Germanic tribes. Ricimer (consul in 384) was the son of a Swabian King and a Gothic mother (PRA, second series I–1, 797–799), and both Bauto (consul in 385) and Merobaudes (consul in 383) were Franks; see PRA, XXXIX, 1038–1047; III, 176.

¹³¹ Argus was the son of King Inachus of Argos, whose hundred eyes had given him the surname *Panoptes* 'all-seeing'; Warrington, 64–65.

¹³² I.e. Homer, who was said to originate from Lydia in Asia Minor, also known as *Mḡoniv*, whose inhabitants were known as *Mḡonec*. See Ovid, *Tristia*, I, i, 47; PRA, XIII, 2122. I owe this information to Chris Heesakkers.

¹³³ The manuscript used by Van Vliet is now Leiden, University Library, MS Vossius Latinus 8° 86, which contains part of the *Historia Regum Francorum*, as well as the *Lex Salica*; See K.A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini* (Leiden, 1973), III, 147–150. See Bruno Krusch, ed. *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* (Hanover, 1888), 245, for this passage.

¹³⁴ Jacobus DuBreul, *Aimoni...libri quinque de Gestis Francorum* (Paris, 1603), 15.

¹³⁵ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 532; Veh, *Prokop: Vandalenkriege* (Munich, 1971), 1116–1119.

¹³⁶ Mommsen, *Die Chronik des Cassiodorus Senator*, 648–651.

¹³⁷ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 12–13; Veh, *Prokop: Vandalenkriege*, 30–33.

- Germinē centuplici luxuriare solet;
 175 Aut veluti populosa novos examina Reges,
 Deficiente cavo, vere sequuntur apes.
 Ostrogothi hinc, Hunnique truces, & Alana juvenus,
 Burgundæque acies, Vandalicusque furor.
 Oppida, Burgundus, ²⁹ quod prima habitârit & arces,
 180 Perque vagando plagas, Vandale, ³⁰ nomen habes.
 Tot procul undantes excepit Celta colonos,
 [**3'] Et Pireneis arva propinqua jugis.
 Hæc serie ductos veneratur Iberia Reges, ³¹
 Crinitosque ³² colunt Francica sceptrâ Duces.
 185 Nomina quod dubitare vetant Regumque ³³ virûmque,
 Quæque vagis fluviis indita, quæque locis.

²⁹ *Isidor. lib. IX. Origin. Capp. II. & IV.* Ita nomen ex locis sumserunt, quia crebra per limites habitacula constituta, *Burgos* vulgo vocant. *Inde Burgundiones, q. d. Burghwoners/ inquit Grot. in Prolegom. ad Procop. pag. 25.*

³⁰ *a Wandelen Belg. i.e. ambulare, sedes mutare. Nam ex Scythia orti Hispanias Africamque usque pervagati sunt. Procop. ibid.*

³¹ *Corona Gothica* por Don Diego Saavedra. *Grotius in Prolegom. & Onomastico ad Procop.*

³² *Vide supra ad num. 25*

³³ *Pharamond, i.e. Waermond/ unde Warmond/ ut vulgo putatur. Sed, cum in Chron. MS. Voss. inveniam scriptum semper Faramund, potius derivem a FARAN, proficisci, & Mund/ tutor, patronus, q.d. Dux & assertor itineris, quod Franci tum aggressi erant, Chlodio, i.e. popularis, a leode, Flandr. Liederijck/ Holl. Dietrijck. Inde & Chlodouechus, ut in eod MS. scribitur; q.d. custos populi; & nisi cum Heroe nostro malimus Luydwich/ pro Clarus bello: & ita reliqua fere Francica & Hispanica primorum Regum nomina merè Gothica.*

is wont to flourish exuberantly and increase hundredfold, or just as richly populated swarms of bees leave their cavity and follow new kings in spring, the soil still continues to produce new offspring.

The Ostrogoths came from them, as well as the cruel Huns, the youthful Alans, the hosts of Burgundians and the raging Vandals. Burgundus (29), because he was the first to inhabit towns and strongholds; Vandals (30), you have your name from roaming the plains. The Celt in the region near the mountains of the Pyrenees [**2'] welcomed so many waves of colonists from far away. Iberia reveres kings from this lineage (31), and the Frankish kingdoms honour the hairy (32) leaders. The names of kings and men (33) as well as those given to places and meandering

were ravaged by the Goths", Eutrop[ius], the beginning of book IX.¹³⁸

29. Isidore, book IX of the *Origines*, chapters ii and iv: "thus they have derived names from places, because they commonly named numerous houses placed along borders *burgos*".¹³⁹ Hence *Burgundiones*, which is almost like *Burghwoners*, as it is said by Grotius in the *Prolegomena* to Procopius, page 25.¹⁴⁰

30. From Dutch *Wandelen*, which is 'to wander', or 'to change habitation'. For they originated from Scythia and they wandered out as far as Spain and Africa; Procopius, *idem*.¹⁴¹

31. Corona Gothica por Don Diego Saavedra.¹⁴² Grotius in his *onomasticum* and *prolegomena* to Procopius.¹⁴³

32. See above, note 25.

33. *Pharamond*, which is *Waermond*, whence *Warmond*,¹⁴⁴ as it is commonly thought to be. But because in Vossius's manuscript chronicle I have found it always written as "Faramund", I would rather derive it from FARAN, 'to proceed', and *mund*, 'protector, defender'; just like 'leader', and 'instigator of a journey', which the Franks began at that time. Chlodio, which means 'of the people' is from *leode*, Flemish

¹³⁸ Friedhelm L. Müller, *Eutropii Breviarum ab Urbe Condita...* (Stuttgart, 1995), 126–126; Eutropius, *Breviarum ab Urbe Condita*, IX, viii.

¹³⁹ Marc Reydellet, *Isidorus Hispalensis Etymologiae IX* (Paris, 1984), 89–99; 170–173; Isidore, *Etymologiae*, IX, ii, 99; iv, 28.

¹⁴⁰ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, *prolegomena*, 25.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁴² This book presents a history of the Gothic kings of Spain. It was published in Antwerp in 1658.

¹⁴³ Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 574–604; *prolegomena*, 47–50.

¹⁴⁴ A village near Leiden, in the Netherlands.

Agnosces Gothicæ totidem vestigia linguæ,
 Qua non ampla magis, fertiliorque fuit.
 Quid quod & undisono procul innatet insula ³⁴ ponto,
 190 Cui glacies nomen. canaque bruma dedit,
 Credita quæ pridem terrarum est ultima Thule,
 Illa ubi tot sæclis inviolata manet.
 Armaque qua GOTTHVS toto circumtulit orbe,
 Victoris meminit quælibet ora sui.
 195 Hinc Runis, Druadumque ³⁵ choris, hinc carmina ³⁶ Bardis,
 Queis modulabantur Martia gesta ducum. ³⁷
 Laudibus his ætas rudis atque annalibus ³⁷ usa est;
 His acuebatur vis generosa modis. ³⁷

³⁴ **Ysland.**

³⁵ Druadum disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata existimatur, *teste Cæsare lib. VI. Dry sane magnum interpretatur Glossar. A-S. dry-cræft*, magia. *Et sic Plinius lib. XVI. Cap. XLIV. Druidas Magos Gallis adpellari tradens.*

³⁶ *Hesychius, Βαρδοὶ, ὁποῖοι παρὰ Γαλάταις, ut recte leg. Noster hic in BRAID. Hinc puto Barditum dictum.*

³⁷ *Tacitus de mor. Germanorum Cap. II. Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriae & annalium genus est) Tuistonem deum, &c. Tum Cap. III. Sunt illis hæc carmina, quorum relatu, quem Barditum vocant, accendunt animos. Idem Gothis tribuit Jornandes Cap. XI. Idem Carolo M. Eginhartus in vita ejus.*

rivers forbid us to doubt this. You will perceive as many traces of the Gothic language, which is the most widely dispersed and fertile of all.

But moreover, why is it that far away an island floats upon the roaring sea (34) which has been named after the ice and the hoary winter—long ago it was believed to be Thule,¹⁴⁵ the ultimate land on earth—where it [the language] has remained untouched over so many centuries? All over the world, wherever Gotthus carried round his arms, each country remembers its conqueror. Hence, there are songs in runes for quires of druids (35) and for bards (36), in which they sang about the leaders' exploits in war (37). The uncivilised era made use of these praises (37) and annals. Noble courage was incited with this poetry (37).

Liederijck, in Holland *Dietrijck*. Hence also "Chlodouechus", as it is written in the same manuscript; just like 'protector of the people', unless, with our distinguished [Junius], we would prefer *Luydwigh*, for 'famous in war'. And thus, the names of a good many of the first Frankish and Spanish kings are clearly Gothic.

34. Iceland.

35. According to Caesar, book VI: "It is believed that the Druids' rule of life was discovered in Britain and transferred thence to Gaul".¹⁴⁶ The Anglo-Saxon Glossary [s.v.] *dry-cræft*, *magia*¹⁴⁷ explains that *dry* is clearly 'magic'. And similarly Pliny, book XVI, chapter xlv, reports that the Druids are called magicians by the Gauls.¹⁴⁸

36. Hesychius: "Bards, 'singer for the Celts'", as it is read correctly.¹⁴⁹ See our [comments] here on BRAID. I think *barditum* comes from it.

37. Tacitus, *De Moribus Germanorum*, chapter ii: "In ancient songs—their only way of transmitting and recording history—they celebrate the god Tuisto", etc.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, in chapter iii: "They also have certain songs, of which the recital, which they call *barditus*, stirs up their courage".¹⁵¹ Jornandes, chapter xi, attributes the same to the Goths.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁵ On Thule, see PRA, second series XI-1, 627-630.

¹⁴⁶ *De Bello Gallico*; H.J. Edwards, *Caesar: The Gallic War* (London and New York, 1917), 336-337. Van Vliet inserted *Druadum* to clarify the context.

¹⁴⁷ MS Junius 2, 75^r, reads *drycræft*, *Maleficia ars*; *Beda* I, 25. However, Somner, *Dictionarium*, I4^r, gives *ars magica*.

¹⁴⁸ In H. Rackham, *Pliny: Natural History* (Cambridge MA and London, 1938-1963), IV, 548-549, this is in bk. 95.

¹⁴⁹ Kurt Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* (Copenhagen, 1953), I, 313.

¹⁵⁰ Lund, 70-71.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 72-73, where *barditus* is translated as German *hall* 'sound'.

- [**^{3v}] Talibus attonitus, Peligne, haud falsa canebas,
 200 Nomina vel solis esse tremenda sonis.
 Hoc tibi jure damus, tenerorum lusor Amorum, ³⁸
 Debueras alias exul adisse plagas; ³⁹
 Nescit amare Getes, nisi bella, arcusque, facesque:
 Hinc tibi trux visus, terribilisque fuit. ⁴⁰
 205 Nunc tua Roma mihi trabeati regna Quirini
 Jactet, & ante suas rustica bella casas.
 Dardanios & avos, & Troas, & Ilion ingens,
 Atque Anchisiaden, Arma, virumque canat. ⁴¹
 Fabula, præ gestis, mera sunt nugæque, GOTHORVM,

³⁸ *Sic se in Epitaphio suo vocat Trist. lib. III Eleg. III. ad fin.*

³⁹ Hostibus in mediis interque pericula versor, *ex Ponto lib. I. El. II v. 15.* Vivimus assiduis, expertes pacis, in armis, Dura pharetrato bella movente Geta. *Sic lego lib. eod. Eleg. IX. init.*

⁴⁰ Truxque Getes armis; &, Nulla Getis toto gens est truculentior orbe; *in Epistolis ex Ponto lib. I. El. VIII, 12. & IX, 15. alterum lib. II. El. VII. 2. & 30.*

⁴¹ *Initium Æneidos Jureconsultis tritissimum, juxta L. LXV. de verb Oblig.*

[**3^v] Thunder-struck as you were, Pelignus,¹⁵³ you certainly did not lie when you sang that the mere sounds made these names terrible. We rightly admit this to you, player of the lyre of tender love (38). You should have been banished to other regions (39). The Getes cannot love anything but wars, strongholds and fires. The resulting image was uncivilised and terrible to you (40). Now, let your Rome boast to me about the rule of Quirinus¹⁵⁴ dressed in stately attire, and about her primitive wars on her own doorstep. Let it sing about the Dardanian ancestors,¹⁵⁵ Troas, great Ilium and the progeny of Anchises, the weapons and the man (41). These are sheer fables and nonsense compared to the deeds of the Goths,

Eginhartus says the same about Charlemagne in the latter's life.¹⁵⁶

38. Thus, he names himself in his epitaph in *Tristia*, book III, elegy iii, at the end.¹⁵⁷

39. "I live in the midst of enemies, in the midst of perils", from *De Ponto*, book I, elegy ii, verse 15.¹⁵⁸ "I live deprived of peace amid constant strife while the quiver-bearing Getan rouses stern war". I read this in the same book [I], at the beginning of elegy ix.¹⁵⁹

40. "The wild Getes fighting with weapons", and "No race in the wide world is grimmer than the Getes", in the *Epistola ex Ponto*, book I, elegy viii, 12, and ix, 15.¹⁶⁰ The second in book II, elegy vii, 2 and 30.¹⁶¹

41. The beginning of the *Æneidos Jureconsultis*, which is very well-known to lawyers according to book LXV, about the binding power of words.¹⁶²

¹⁵² Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum*, 626–627; Mommsen, *Iordanes*, 74–75; Mierow, 23.

¹⁵³ Ovid was born at Sulmo in central Italy, the chief town of the Paeligni, a Sabine people. Hence the name *Pelignus*; see Wheeler, vii.

¹⁵⁴ After Romulus died he was worshipped as the god Quirinus; Warrington, 445.

¹⁵⁵ Dardanus, on Mount Ida near the Hellespont, derived its name from Dardanos, the legendary son of Zeus and Electra, who was the eponymous ancestor of the Dardanians in Troas (the district around Troy), and of the Trojan Royal House. Via Anchises and his son Æneas he thus became the progenitor of the Romans; see Warrington, 181.

¹⁵⁶ G.H. Pertz, and G. Waitz, *Einhardi vita Karoli Magni* (Hanover, 1880), 24; Eginhartus, *De vita et gestis Caroli Magni*, xxix.

¹⁵⁷ Wheeler, 114–115.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 270–271, line 13.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 304–305; *Ex Ponto*, I, viii, 5 and 6.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 300–301; *Ex Ponto*, I, vii, 12. The second reference does not occur.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 350–351, bk. II, epistle 7, l. 31.

¹⁶² The beginning of the *Æneid* as quoted in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. See Paul Krüger *et al.*, *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (Berlin, 1928), I, 774, at §. 660, 5. I owe this information to Chris Heesakkers.

- 210 Tota nisi, ut forsā, fabula Troja fuit.
 Palladium servet Capitolī immobile saxum,⁴²
 Quæque Penatigero signa relicta duci.⁴³
 Auspicioque Numæ delapsa ancilia cœlo,⁴⁴
 Iliacosque focos, Egeriæque sacrum.⁴⁵
- 215 Quæque Sibyllarum lustranda volumina nulli,⁴⁶
 Quam cum portentis anxia Roma foret.
 Majus in hoc uno lætare Volumine pignus,
 SVEDIA, de spoliis tot superesse tibi.
 [**4'] Judice me, certans hoc pignore, SVEDIA vinces
- 220 Quidquid Eleusis habet, castaque Vesta sacri.
 Hæc dubiis meliora oracula consule somnis,

⁴² *Hemistichium Maronis IX. Æneid. ubi de Euryalo.*

⁴³ *Lib. III. Fastor. & Metam. XIV. Scil. Æneas.*

⁴⁴ *Ovid. ibid. v. 377. & seq.*

⁴⁵ *Livius lib. I. Cap. XIV.*

⁴⁶ *Dionys. Halicarn. lib. IV. Livius lib. III. & IV. & passim. Onuphrius de Sibyllis.*

if Troy was perhaps not entirely a fable. Let the Palladium¹⁶³ (42) protect the immovable rock of the Capitol, and the signs left behind by the leader carrying the guardian gods¹⁶⁴ (43), Numa's shield fallen from heaven as a prophecy¹⁶⁵ (44), the Trojan fires¹⁶⁶ and Egeria's sanctuary¹⁶⁷ (45), and the Sibiline books¹⁶⁸ (46) which they were only allowed to consult when Rome was tormented by portents. Sweden, rejoice that among the rich spoils of war, this book survived as the greatest prize. [**4] In my opinion, Sweden, you will triumph over all that is holy about Eleusis¹⁶⁹ and the chaste Vesta when you enter the contest with this prize.¹⁷⁰ Consult these oracles, which are better than the dubious dreams which the old

42. A halfline from Maro, *Æneid*, IX,¹⁷¹ where he speaks of Euryalus.¹⁷²
43. *Fasti*, III,¹⁷³ and *Metamorphoses*, XIV,¹⁷⁴ namely Æneas.
44. Ovid, in the same book, [*Fasti*, III], verse 377 and following.¹⁷⁵
45. Livy, book I, chapter xiv.¹⁷⁶
46. Dionysius Halicarnassus, book IV.¹⁷⁷ Livy, books III and IV, *passim*.¹⁷⁸ Onuphrius on the Sibylles.¹⁷⁹

¹⁶³ An image of Pallas Athene allegedly carried from Troy to Italy by Æneas; see PRA, XXXVI-2, 182-185.

¹⁶⁴ Æneas carried the penates or guardian gods from Troy to Rome.

¹⁶⁵ Numa Pompilius was the second King of Rome, supposedly elected in 714 BC. In the eighth year of his reign a shield fell from heaven. The well-being of the state was said to depend upon its preservation; see PRA, I, 2112-2113; XXXIII, 1242-1252.

¹⁶⁶ Æneas brought the sacred fire from Troy which was kept burning by Vesta's priestesses, who also guarded the *Penates*; see Warrington, 529.

¹⁶⁷ Egeria, a Roman spring goddess, was the wife of King Numa Pompilius, whom she instructed in the holy rituals. She had a sanctuary near Rome; see PRA, v, 1980-1981.

¹⁶⁸ The Sybil of Cumae, a priestess of Apollo, sold the sybilline books to Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King of Rome. They were kept in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill, and could only be consulted with the consent of the Senate; see Warrington, 470.

¹⁶⁹ Eleusis is a town in Attica famous for the Eleusinian mysteries; Warrington, 211.

¹⁷⁰ Vesta, the Roman goddess of the hearth; see Warrington, 529.

¹⁷¹ Rushton Fairclough, II, 142-143; Virgil, *Æneid*, IX, 448: "dum domus Æneae Capitoli immobile saxum".

¹⁷² See PRA, VI, 1317, no. 7.

¹⁷³ Frazer, 120-187.

¹⁷⁴ Miller, 300-361.

¹⁷⁵ See Frazer, 146-149.

¹⁷⁶ This is not in Livy, I, xvi, but in I, xix-xxi; see Foster *et al.*, I, 56-61, 66-75.

¹⁷⁷ Cary, II, 464-469.

¹⁷⁸ Foster, II.

¹⁷⁹ A hermit of Ethiopian or Nubian origin. See PRA, XXXV, 530-531, for references to the *Acta Sanctorum* and Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.

- Delphica quosque tripus, Virgoque stertis anus.⁴⁷
 SVEDIA, si tantis gaudes Heroibus orta,
 Læta nec heroos noscere sperne sonos.
 225 Nec Tibi, SVEDORUM Decus, haud placitura putamus,
 Cum sacra SCANZIGENIS tradita prima leges.
 Nec fore, MAGNE, reor nomen tibi vile GOTHORVM,
 Qui DALIAM Judex WISIGOTHOSQVE regis:
 Neu quod tot bello partis, tot pace trophæis,
 230 Hæc quoque nectamus laurea sarta, tuis.
 Fallor? an & pridem tumulos lustrare loquaces⁴⁸
 Te juvet, & nixo scandere saxa gradu;
 Inclytaque acta ducum testantes visere colles,
 Ardua virtutis semper amantis opus?
 235 JVNIVS his chartis sensus Tibi pandet opertos,
 Arcanas satagens enucleare notas.
 Hæc obiter. Potior fuit illi cura, GOTHORVM,
 Ductaque per socias, lingua vetusta, decem.⁴⁹
 Utque suo juvet ore patres audire loquentes,
 240 Hic Tibi, quod potuit tradere nemo, potest.
 Tentavere quidem magno conamine multi,
 Nec tamen indocti, nec sine laude, viri.⁵⁰
 [**4^v] Verum illos ratio, successus & ipse, fefellit:
 Soli JVNIADE palma relictæ fuit.
 245 Quod Pharos Ægypto, Tyriis Cynosura carinis,

⁴⁷ Sibylla Cumæa *Æneid.* VI. *init.* Virgo Cumæa, annosa facta *Meta-*
mor. XIV. *Fab.* IV.

⁴⁸ *Inscriptiones Runicas a Cl. Wormio editas.*

⁴⁹ *Invenies in hoc Glossario, præter Gothicam, Cimbricam, Cambro-*
Britannicam, Anglo-Saxonicam, Theotiscas varias, veterem Frisicam, Is-
landicam, Danicam, Germanicam, Belgicam, Anglicam, inter se collatas
affinesque linguas, ut cum Græca Hebraicam omittam.

⁵⁰ *Gelenius, Rhenanus, Freherus, Adr. Junius, &c. & ὁ δεινὰ Grotius.*

three-footed virgin of Delphi snores¹⁸⁰ (47).

Sweden, do not scorn the pleasure of studying these heroic sounds if you are proud to originate from such heroes. We are of the opinion that it will certainly please you, most glorious among the Swedes, to read the ancient holy remnants of the Scandinavians. Magnus, I do not think that the name of the Goths will be despicable to you, who governs Dalia and the Visigoths as a judge. You will not find it despicable either that we attach this laurel wreath to the great number of trophies you acquired in war and peace. Am I wrong, or has it pleased you for a long time to examine loquacious barrows (48), and to climb the rocks with firm tread, to visit hills that bear witness of the celebrated deeds of the leaders; always a lofty task for those who love excellence?

In these pages Junius will disclose hidden meanings, while he is busy to reach the core of the secret symbols. This in passing. He much preferred to pay attention to the old language of the Goths, guided by ten related languages (49). And as it is pleasing to hear the fathers sing in their own tongue, nobody can give you that which he can give here. Many men who were very learned and not unworthy of praise tried very hard (50). [**4'] Nonetheless, they were misled by their method, and, as a result, they were unsuccessful. The victory was reserved exclusively for the scion of Junius. Magnus, Junius alone was for the Goths what Pharos was for Egypt,¹⁸¹ the Lesser Bear for the Phoenecian ships, and the Parrhasian

47. "The Sibylle of Cumæ", *Æneid*, VI, the beginning. "The maiden of Cumæ", turned into an old woman in the *Metamorphoses* XIV, fable 4.¹⁸²

48. Runic inscriptions published by the noble Wormius.

49. Besides Gothic, you will find in this glossary Cimbric, Cambro-Britannic, Anglo-Saxon, various Theotisc forms, ancient Frisian, Icelandic, Danish, German, Dutch, English, compared with each other as well as with related languages, not to mention Hebrew and Greek.

50. Gelenius, Rhenanus, Freherus, Hadrianus Junius, etc., and the illustrious Grotius.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ At the Delphic Oracle a priestess, or Pythia, was seated on a tripod in an inner shrine; see Warrington, 186.

¹⁸¹ The famous lighthouse on the island of Pharos in the port of Alexandria.

¹⁸² Miller, 308–311; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIV, 135.

¹⁸³ See above, pp. 34–36, 49, 154, 225–228.

Parrhasiæque faces, navita Suede, tuis,
 (Audiat ipse licet, dedit hæc qui sidera mundo)
 Hoc, hoc, MAGNE, Gothis JVNIVS unus, erat.
 JVNIVS è Francis, ut Tu quoque, finibus ortus,
 250 Qui nec ab ingenuis degeneravit avis.
 Si VossI memor est, & honorat SVEDIA nomen,
 (Lucidius docto non micat orbe jubar.)
 Tantus hic & tanti nec Avunculus esse Nepotis
 Ignotus vestris, neve latere, potest.
 255 Ille Palatinis pluteis quæ promserat ante,
 Hic Tibi nunc cultu splendidiore refert.
 Quique suo merito Codex ARGENTEVs audit,
 AVREUS ad dominas nunc redit ille manus.
 Magna decent magnos si munera, nil Tibi majus,
 MAGNE, nihil vel Te dignius orbis habet.

Ita censet, vovetque cùm Autoris tum suo nomine

EXCELLENTIÆ TVÆ

devotissimus

JANVS VLITIVS J.C.
*Civitatis Ditionisque Bredanæ Syndicus
 & Archigrammateus.*

lights¹⁸⁴ for the ships of the Swedish sailor (you, who gave this star to the world, may agree with this). Junius, originating from Frankish dominions, just like yourself, living up to a noble ancestry. If Sweden honours and remembers the name of Vossius (no light is shining more clearly on the world of learning), then such a great uncle of such a great nephew can be neither unknown to you nor live in obscurity. That which the one produced from the palace bookshelves some time ago, the other now returns with more splendid ornaments. And the Codex which is deservedly named 'The Silver Book' now returns as gold into its master's hands. Magnus, if grand gifts befit the great, the world has nothing greater and worthier to offer to you.

Both in his own name and in the name of the author, such is the opinion and wish of your excellency's devoted servant, Janus Vlitius, lawyer, alderman and town clerk of the town and district of Breda.

¹⁸⁴ Callisto, the daughter of the Arcadian or Parrhasian king Lycaon, was changed into the Great Bear; see Wheeler, 501.

APPENDIX THREE

INVENTORY OF WORKS PUBLISHED BY JAN VAN VLIET

- Jan van Vliet. *Venatio novantiqua celsissimo Arausionis principi Guilhelmo dictata* (Leiden, 1645). Elsevier, 12°.
- . *Sylvarum Bredanarum descriptio prima et altera* (Breda, 1647). 4°.
- . *Quinquatrum Bredanarum descriptio sive in inaugurationem athenei Arausiaci à celsissimo principe Frederico Henrico Bredæ solenniter instaurati, celsissima principe Amelia de Solms, ritè, pie, feliciter initiante, poema* (Breda, 1647). Johannes van Waesberge, 4°.
- . *Authores rei venaticæ antiqui cum commentariis Jani Vlitii ad Christinam Augustam* (Leiden, 1653). Elsevier, 12°.
- . *Parnassus Bredanus sive panegyris, in solenni celsiss. principum in urbem ditionemque Bredanam ad 4 Idus Junias 1653 introitu per Apollinem novemque musas variis argumentis, linguis ac metris repræsentata, Bredæ, typis Subbingianis* (Breda, 1653). Abraham Subbinck, 2°.
- . *Xenia Bredana occasione laetissimi principum introitus comitibus eorem oblata* (Breda, 1653). Abraham Subbinck, 4°.
- . *Jani Vlitii ode gratulatoria Christinae Augustæ, cum, Suecorum, Gothorum ac Vandalorum regno abdicato, in Brabantiam advenisset* (Antwerp, 1654). Plantin.¹
- . *Cæcilia Bredana sive ad serenissime magnæ Britanniaæ, Francicæ atque Hiberniæ regem Carolum II elegia, & alia* (Breda, 1658). 2°.
- . *Carolus redux per musas Bredanas panegyri repræsentatus, cui accedunt, Caecilia Bredana elegia, aliaque eo pertinentia* (1660). 2°.
- . *In mortem serenissime pricipis Mariae ad regem elegia* (London, 1660). 2°.
- . *'t Recht van successie volgens de costumen der stad ende lande van Breda* ([Dordrecht], 1663). [Hendrik and Johan van Esch], 8°.
- . *'t Recht van successie volgens de costumen der stad ende lande van Breda, Met de Bredasche Cronyck* (Breda, 1666). Johannes Evermans, 8°.

¹ Not seen.

- . *'t Recht van successie volgens de costumen der stad ende lande van Breda* (Breda, 1666). Abraham Subbinck, 8°.
- . *'t Recht van successie volgens de costumen der stad ende lande van Breda* (Breda, 1666). Cornelis Seldenslach, 8°.
- . *'t Recht van successie volgens de costumen der stad ende lande van Breda* (Antwerp, 1682). Michiel Knobbaert, 8°.
- . *Bredaesche almanac, en chronijck* ([Dordrecht], 1664). [Johan and Hendrik van Esch], 8°.
- . *Bredaesche almanac, en chronijck* (Breda, 1664). Johannes Evermans, 8°.
- . *Bredaesche almanac, en chronijck* (Breda, 1666). Abraham Subbinck, 8°.
- . *Bredaesche almanac, en chronijck* (Antwerp, 1682). Michiel Knobbaert, 8°.
- . *'t Vader ons in xx oude Duytse en Noordse taelen, met d'uytleggingen, etc.* ([Dordrecht], 1664). [Johan and Hendrik van Esch], 8°.
- . *'t Vader ons in xx oude Duytse en Noordse taelen, met d'uytleggingen* (Breda, 1664). Abraham Subbinck, 8°.
- . *Vertoogh ende bewijs van 't recht des griffiers ampt der stadt en lande van Breda tot onderscheidt van de secretarije aldaer* ([Breda, 1663/4]). 8°.
- . *Vertoogh ende bewijs van 't recht des griffiers ampt der stadt en lande van Breda tot onderscheidt van de secretarije aldaer* (Breda, 1666). Abraham Subbinck, 8°.

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¹ Signatures refer to manuscripts containing material related to Van Vliet's philological studies, correspondence, or records pertaining to Van Vliet's life and career. The manuscripts listed do not include registers from archives documenting births, marriages, etc.

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- . *Archaionomia, sive de priscis Anglorum legibus libri, sermone Anglico, vetustate antiquissimo, aliquot ab hinc seculis conscripti, ... Accessere in hac nostra ultima editione leges Henrici Primi nunc primum editae, ex manuscripto in fisco regis habito: Una cum glossario...* (Cambridge, 1644). Original edition by William Lambarde (London, 1568).
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- . *Monumentorum Danorum libri vi e spissis antiquitatum tenebris et in Dania ac Norvegia extantibus rudibus eruti* (Copenhagen, 1643).
- . *Specimen lexici runici, obscuriorum quarundam vocum, quae in priscis occurrunt historiis & poetis Danicis. enodationem exhibens collectum a Dn. Magno Olavio pastore lausasiensi in Islandia doctissimo, Nunc in ordinem redactum auctum & locupletatum, ab Olao Wormio, in acad. Hafn. P.P.* (Copenhagen, 1650).
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